

# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17618

New Series Vol. II, No. 1	AMERASAR, BANGALORE, APRIL 26, 1920	Price One Anna Per Copy.
------------------------------	-------------------------------------	-----------------------------

CONTENTS		Page
Annals	—	—
The Congress	—	1-5
Items	—	—
The National Week, etc.	—	4-8
<hr/>		
Inclus in Last Issues	—	5-7

## THE CONGRESS (By M. K. Gandhi.)

The Congress this time was for many of us a jubilee. It came off in having been held in Amritsar. Amritsar in English was visited during the Congress week by the thousands of delegates and workers from the provinces and it is said that some needed to stand outside with their feet bathed, some took away with them a little of that earth to be preserved as a memento in some of their cities and returned their footbaths with it. All went to the English as a sacred duty. There were doubtless some in the Congress who as a mark of their respect for the memory of the contract deal.

The speeches of Swami Vivekananda, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and of the Hindu Swami, Mahatma Nehru were models of solemnity and freedom as in that spirit. Each bore the mark of his own. The Swami had a religious ring about it. He was full of good-will towards England. How can we hate England as if we love Andrew, Wadia, Datta, Harnam, Harbans and others? We must compare the English with our own and the Swami. The Swami's language though perfectly correct and restrained is better. His example is true from his eye as he talks you with his through the different acts of the English tragedy. He has summed the events of the English week in legal sentences. How has entered his soul. He denounces those justice against the empire.

The Presidential speech suffers for being in English. It was painful to me how laboring through his speech spoken in a foreign tongue before an audience of nearly 10,000 people not conversant of which could follow his English. The Congress proceedings have unanimously demonstrated the necessity of their being mostly if not entirely conducted in Hindi. That is the only means left open to us if we would work for the masses and we open

these for delegates. In the Central Province, the Hindi Province, U.P., the Punjab and other only Hindustani languages and in all the other parts of India except the Presidency of Madras, Hindi can be generally understood. For this a language opposite to the vernacular of the other provinces, Madras alone presents very difficulty and for the sake of a few isolated delegates from that Presidency, it would not be proper to be violent to thousands who cannot understand English but who can more or less understand Hindustani. The only straight, unswerving and politically sound course is to make the proceedings of the Congress predominantly in Hindustani, the Hindustani members being free to speak in English or for that matter in Tamil or Telugu. I grant that for a few years the Congress cannot be held in Hindustani in English but it is not a proper political course in the country through the members of the Congress. It would be their duty to say that it can only be done through Hindi. I trust that those in the Madras Presidency who are desirous of doing Hindustani politics must convince their Presidency and of arranging other language delegates of the Congress will make haste to learn Hindi. They have got facilities in the Madras Presidency for learning Hindi, and if they will begin now and give at least one hour per day regularly it is they will by the end of the year be able generally to follow the proceedings of the Congress. All must recognize that the hindrance caused by the delegates from year to year for this decision cannot be visited for very length of time.

Another difficulty which is becoming more and more grave needs also to be noticed. Very few people could follow the President while he was giving his speech. The very best of leaders say not many the attention of the audience for longer than an hour. The President's address was necessarily long. It occupied thirty-eight foolscap pages in great. Fortunately Hindi News published some many pages which he was reading it, but he would have taken at least three hours if he had insisted on reading the original of the thirty-eight pages. It is highly necessary, therefore, that the addresses of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President should be printed in the languages Hindi in Bengali and Urdu script, English and the vernacular of the provinces in which the Congress is held, and distributed at the entrance of the grounds for the use of the people. They might not be distributed in the period, as it

often done sticks to the improvement of everybody both the Chairman and the President might read or orally give the summary of their address, each occupying no longer than thirty minutes.

The third absurdity is the inevitable, overgrowing waste of money in wasting a huge period. The former Presidents of holding meetings in the open air. But I refuse from saying more on this matter as the All-India Congress Committee has appointed a sub-committee consisting of Messrs. Nathan, L. M. Sen, A. K. Gopalan, Lyengar, the Hon'ble Y. J. Tiaki and myself to consider the whole constitution of the Congress.

The resolutions of the Congress show that there are very sharp divisions and we have gone forward perhaps to inevitable. Believes the Congress has represented only one party but it cannot be kept any longer as their party organization if it is not to be re-considered from it as an increasing rift from year to year. Resolves must be directed whereby all parties can be represented on it and the annual assembly may retain its lively national character.

Let us consider the resolutions. Take the independence of the system. There is no doubt that without that resolution even if the resolutions would have been that all time and value. We could not with any justification condemn the Government of the nation and therefore urge the dismissal of General Dyer or Mr. Michael O'Dwyer or even the Viceroy's recall, if we were extremely to condemn ourselves. That resolution was the necessary pre-condition for the work to be done in April if we are to make order/progress. We must consequently disapprove of violence being committed by the people at any shape or form. It is true that often at the West such violence is resorted to, but by creating a strong popular opinion against it we must make such violence impossible in India. For one day that on the night of April India found itself in possession of a new force and a new power—a force that could give considerable under a hand every considerable circumstances provided that truth was means safe. It is my firm belief that had the development of 'Satyagrah' it had interrupted in April by our own folk, not only would the Bowdler Act have been removed from the Statute Book but we would have been upon the footing of independence and despite a system of the best general running system, indeed we shall find it impossible, when we have full control over our national affairs, to carry on the government of the country without self-restraint. In a vast country like India where the people are indifferently paid off, we shall find it impossible to carry on the government of such vast because the system of the land and in order to check that tendency popular opinion was the greater and more powerful instrument than the employment of physical force. I would, therefore, give the first place in point of importance to this resolution as a token of the seriousness of our attitude and for the sake of a lead to the country. These resolutions of the Congress, especially those that project any action on the part of the people are valuable for the

formation of public opinion and I hope that workers regarding the full force of the truth underlying the resolution will on due occasion inspire upon the people the necessity of refraining from violence.

Only last is important that the resolution on non-cooperation was the resolution on Non-cooperation. Whilst I subscribe entirely to the proposition that India shall now be responsible government, I do not for one moment believe that we can get it without working for it. We can work either by adopting absolute non-cooperation or by co-operation. Hardly does there is a condition of our being. We must ever abstain entirely, together and end. It was because I did not consider, and do not consider, the Indians to be an evil or unjust and because I consider them to be a progressive step towards responsible government, that I decline to consider them to be disappointing, however inadequate and unsatisfactory they may be. I believe Mr. Jagan Chandra Pal's appointment for me to decline to consider the Nationalist's disappointment was one that I did not expect them. I believe I have made clear that the Indians might not go through when they did and I was unprepared for material progress in the process as it had originally published. The opponents of the establishment believed that they would cooperate when co-operation was needed for the country's good and not because to abstain when absolute non-cooperation. That was the only meaning and no other of the non-cooperation which I believe it meant to be an abstinence, but that it was to be the result of the approximation that they resented the same but as long as they could because they frankly said that they had a duty on the increasing view and in the altered attitude it being inevitable even if we were to abstain. The Royal Proclamation has been issued in a most liberal spirit. It is a gift of judgment and it would have been wrong on the part of the Congress not to have responded to the King's call for co-operation. My faith in human nature is unshakable and even with the circumstances of a most adverse character I have found Englishmen's resolve to cease all possession, and as they always wish to appear to be good even when they are in rocky a spot, they were to show themselves others are doing the right thing. My faith however as it may, it would be a bill from our culture and it would be across the gap the best of following extended through the Constitution. If we are strong we shall be nothing by ignoring with co-operation. We must plan the necessary to the working of our resolution to cooperate for the common purpose.

It was equally important for us to thank Mr. Montagu for his valuable services in connection with the Indian. The Hon'ble Purna Mohan Mahalanobis, Mr. Jagan and I therefore Edith even at the risk of dropping the issue we were bound to pass the resolution to do it. That ultimately there was no objection shows the good nature of K. S. Narayanaiah and Mr. Das. It was a perfect pleasure to me both of them whilst holding in them were, were not not to divide the honor. And it was equally a pleasure to me as many of the platform making to secure a compromise.

## Notes.

**The National Week.**—The Congress session was a long session. It commenced on the 24th December and continued to the New Year's day with a day's break to see Mr. Dutt on his return to try the peaceful ground which had become too steep for him by reason of his return. But for the importance of the matter it had to handle it was more too briefly prolonged. Much time was given to the Subjects Committee. That was too right. If the Congress resolutions are to carry weight they must be well thought out and thoroughly discussed.

Side by side with the Congress took place the All India Muslim League Conference, the Khilafat Conference, the Sikh Conference, the Hinduistan Conference, the South Conference, the Hindustani Conference, the Social Conference, the Deputation Conference etc. We doubt whether it is sound wisdom to press all national week sessions week. Conferences which demand a great deal of time are not worth having. We would, if we could, have a separate session and have even for an important a Session as the Social Conference. And there may be no reason why the most important social work may not occupy the attention of the national assembly itself. But here we are brooding on dangerous ground. It is sufficient for us here being to point out that the side-shows that are arranged every year result only in distracting attention from the main theme. And three or four days in a year are common may be discussing and forming resolutions on weighty political matters.

The All-India Muslim League must be the only exception to the rule we have enunciated to lay down. It is a sign of its temporary nature the willingness to have the two assemblies during the same week in the year. It enables the two great sects to come close together and to have an exchange of opinions, so long as it is necessary to emphasize the need for fraternisation, so long as there is yet a distance and there are scenes of collision between the two sects, so long must there be these two assemblies. We may have long for the day when the Congress holds the highest assemblage of the Mohammedans as of the Hindus. Meanwhile we must be thankful for the fact that both the functions take place at the same place and are specially for the purpose of promoting harmony between the two communities.

If for the most important resolution of the Hindu Conference from the Hindu standpoint was that recommending the stopping of schooling on the Bazar Id. It reflects the greatest credit on the organizers of the Conference and on Mr. Dutt. Agitation has been received the unanimous passage of that resolution. Nothing can bring the two communities together at this one big step by our Mohammedan countrymen. That the Hindus offer their assistance in the Khilafat question is not half as weighty as this one

protesting resolution. For the Mohammedans to do so means, undoubtedly, some sacrifice. For reasons we need not go into now—perhaps on Bazar Id was being treated almost as a religious necessity and we have not forgotten that some good Mohammedans now consider that the resolution is a hindrance step. It was, therefore, but proper that the Congress should have passed a resolution embodying the grateful sentiments in becomingly warm terms. It is sad that when the terms of the resolution was first received in the Subjects Committee last, the members were so deeply stirred that they returned the same standing in order to show their goodwill.

Finally the resolutions discussed in our meeting contained those some many resolutions adopted by the Congress which are not at all objectionable. The resolution of Lord Chelmsford's appeal for justice was a most wise one. Those who are at the law will say that it was not possible to avoid it. The feeling was an strong against Lord Chelmsford's rule, that the people would not listen to propose the resolution till after the Punjab report was out. The resolution put forward by those who insisted on the resolution being passed during the present session, was that Lord Chelmsford should have a chance to rule, without the necessity of waiting for the reports. Look here he sent a Government despatch which it should not have been obstructed by the unreasonableness of the Indians on their side, might have lasted a million years to pass, how he needed an important legislation how he collected Lord Peel had a request how he supported the Mahad G Dwyer and shows it will be placed himself in opposition to the whole country by meeting the Rowlett Bill necessity.

Thus regard the propositions of the resolution. The Hindu Mr. Dutt got up to have but weak defence. For one part we believe that the resolution might gradually have been put off. But there was no doubt that the Rowlett Bill was not regarded as rule by any great outstanding set of national advancement to our behalf in the many countries. And a nation has the right, without being rude or offensive, to ask for the recall of the ruler whom it considers to be unfit. But the nation, we are sorry to say, was not united through its representatives. The speaker delivered in support of the resolution was mostly rude and offensive. The speakers would have added to the dignity of the proceedings if they had restrained themselves. To speak of a King's representatives as 'a set of class substitutes of an parts' is hardly a phrase that can be defended. Or to talk of the 'various and unimportant' nature of Lord Chelmsford's work to appreciate the justice either our own or that of Lord Chelmsford.

We shall add no more to our national sentiment by resorting to thoughtless or disrespectful speech. We have most difficult times ahead of us, and those who have the gift of speech and wish to serve the country render doubtful service by being wittier in their speech.

The speakers lost sense of proportion in assessing the Treaty's character. A man may be deceived, yet good. We hold that Lord Chelmsford's mistake was those of the kind. He failed to perceive the difference between a purely constitutional Episcopate and a monarch in the self-governing Colonies, and between the Treaty of Inia who enjoys almost absolute power. He failed to ascertain the established right of prompt intervention in case of lawful wrongs. He did not respond to the growing consciousness of the nation. There are institutions which contribute to failure without making one a traitor. We can not be Lord Chelmsford's ally even though we be lost, as we trust, that he is a highly cultivated English gentleman. But our purpose is not so much to find out the good points of Lord Chelmsford, as it is to show that however bad he may be, it was not justifiably by us to set the language that we used regarding his Episcopacy. And we have to express our regret that from a national platform addressing national language should have been used by responsible speakers about the highest representative of the Crown in India.

The resolutions regarding Sir Richard O'Dwyer and General Dyer were only to be expected. It was certainly no effort to induce to leave out Lord or Richard O'Dwyer to fill a position of responsibility. It would have been at least prudent not to have carelessly irritated public opinion by having said less but to induce Mr. Montagu's resignation before he was elected for Madras for his military services.

Of General Dyer, the line said the letter. He may be a very good soldier. A soldier in Weymouth it seems to have certainly not proved to be British of humanity, it is being also, demand that it should not have the opportunity of trying investigations themselves on other parts of the world, among other nations and certainly not where heretofore would very be known as they could be in an important service like Madras. We dread to think of what soldiers like General Dyer would be doing across the Frontier where there is no check upon soldiers' license save what he chooses to impose upon himself.

**Disobedience to Regulations**—Mr. Montagu is reported by Hunter to have made the statement, in reply to Mr. Bruce that "the Congress demanded the unconditional return of the prisoners severely during the inquiry which was beyond a doubt their demand had not been granted." We do not know who is really responsible for the entirely contradictory statement in the statement. Mr. Montagu or Hunter. But surely Hunter cannot be responsible for the repetition of the real facts in the matter viz. the fact Committee's demand for the release during inquiry, of the principal inmates, in possession of a body. There can be no doubt that Mr. Montagu was in possession of the real facts when he replied to Mr. Bruce. But as early as December 17, the following submission was sent to him by the Hon. Pandit Madhava—

"I just read your reply to Colonel Wedgwood saying the Hunter Committee could recommend that the prisoners be returned unconditionally. If the Hunter Committee is to make any such recommendation, the presence in the Committee room of the principal prisoners is absolutely necessary. But the Local Government officials will not let the prisoners sit at one table. The officials whose acts are under review by Hunter Committee freely attend its proceedings and witness Government counsel" etc. Synchronously with this a long submission was sent to the Secretary Near in which the facts were expressly mentioned that "the Congress-Bank Committee was willing to be associated with this little movement" viz. the release of the prisoners on parole, only on the day of the organization provided that the principal inmates were permitted to attend the Committee's sittings and be seated together during a few witnesses' speeches, their respective benches were produced in order that they might help counsel to test and check official witnesses' words and examinations. This submission was also published in English soon after. And Mr. Montagu then demanded the facts? If he did not and we hesitate to believe that he did, how is the matter to be solved? The solution we think to be sought in the Hon. Pandit Madhava's submission to Mr. Montagu dated 14th November which stated that the Bank Committee National Congress requested the temporary release for the purpose of the inquiry, on behalf of principal English inmates and undergoing imprisonment, but what is to be returned political officers, English Government at large, released the report, My Committee has therefore been repeatedly obliged to withdraw its operations from Madras & Coimbatore" etc. It is very likely that Mr. Montagu was of the same thinking of the matter, that he felt not sure to read carefully the Hon. Pandit's long submission and that he still endeavored to induce the impression that the Bank Committee's demand was for unconditional release. If this is the case it belongs clear as day to Mr. Montagu's part. The result of the negligence is that the British public has learned, however temporarily, to believe that the Congress Committee's demand was unconditional and that the injustice occurred which, if Mr. Montagu had known the facts and understood, would have been avoided.

**The released leaders and the Committee**—Dr. Madhava and others who had offered to give evidence before the Hunter Committee have received the following telegram from the Secretary, Hunter Committee: "You being requested and given unconditional examination by the President, Secretary, Inquiry Committee. I have also had that the Committee has set at Lahore for over six weeks and has completed the hearing of the evidence there, that full opportunity was given for the presentation of material evidence and that it had been open to your counsel to cross-examine witnesses during that period. Lord Hunter reports that he is unable to accept your suggestion."

The reply is certainly not unexpected though the statement in the latter part of it is hardly surprising.



It is pledged to support, and do this over a matter as serious as this. "What's the matter in this or in the British? An interesting general course compares with a syllabus content in British domestic affairs. Moreover, public man as a rule show of taking up a case about which they have little first-hand knowledge but they should, under backing, be worried. They will not doubt take the case where the matter is one of exceptional interest to them, but the British affect to be reserved.

If even the European community's interests in India are regarded as England as matters remain, written language Indian's welfare are obviously more so, as they have not the least possibility of being "of exceptional interest" to Englishmen. The Indian, as Mr. Rabindranath Tagore has well said, "The bulk of the English people are never in an actual state of mind with regard to us, our situation being unimportant, and I am compelled to think that in fact, for us to do our duty quietly in our own surroundings. It vitiates the quality of our work and its thought, when we look for outside recognition and try to make capital out of it."

## INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

### MR. ANDREW'S NAIBORI SPEECH

The East Africa Indian National Congress presented an address to Mr. C. B. Andrews at the Royal Empire Society on December 1. We take the following from Mr. Andrews' reply—

The hospitality which I have received at your hands and the welcome which you have given me have touched me very deeply indeed. I cannot repay your kindness and thought in any other way than by speaking truly and frankly to you, in all the love of friendship, with regard to things in which I may find your desire of being a wrong done. I have already done this both in Nairobi and at Mombasa in regard to the question which I regard as of the very first importance. Immediately after lunch up in Mombasa I was in attendance your National Congress at Mombasa. I found that, excepting Mr. Theodore Marjoram's advice, you had passed some serious resolutions asking the professorial treatment of the case of Indians in our German East Africa. Now, quite frankly, I thoroughly and whole heartily disagree with that proposal, and I pointed out to your leaders on the spot that this shows for a controlled territory into the very ground from under your feet, that your true claim was to share the original responsibilities of British citizenship everywhere, not specially in demand exclusive privileges in one special quarter. The moment that I made this absolutely clear, your leaders saw this point and were ready in which their the claim they have made. If this were the only matter of my visit, I should be more than compensated, that appears to me a claim between right and wrong, and you are now prepared to be the higher standard.

I shall now deal more fully than I did in Mombasa with the challenge which has been thrown out to you by the report of the Reversion Commission. The terms on which the challenge was made have been almost ignored in their Englishness, but that is itself a serious advantage. It is still

clearly better to know the worst, than to go on living in a fool's paradise. I wish to deal with this challenge, in your behalf, with equal frankness.

I want to acknowledge at once on the Indian side which I feel to have been wrong. I am certain that we must agree in the question being faced at the present juncture, whether the altogether haphazard and uncoordinated Indian immigration of the past should still be allowed to continue in the future without any restriction at all. German restrictions have already been placed upon the European immigration. It may well be the case that, rule by rule with them, the Indian immigration also should not any longer be a wholly uncontrolled. I do not wish to be mistaken. Indians have the right, which your first resolution on the past to emigrate here just as they have had the same past the right to emigrate to the Portion. Still whether places open to their own choice. That Africa was their home long before the British came, and since the advent of the British they have accomplished, at every turn, most useful public work,—even providing the arm of the military power on most critical occasions. This right, then, was one to be taken away, except by laws that have well justified reputation. The present War Ministers, the Right Honourable Winston Churchill, cannot possibly be called a habitué in Colonial matters, yet his words are hardly less—"that possible", he says, "the very Government with a view of self respect or beyond dealing between man and man to substitute a policy of deliberately opening out the Indian from regions in which he has established himself with every security of good faith?" To maintain only one more deliberate statement of a responsible policy—the East Africa Commission before the Southern Commission—"Deliver every the Indian and you say that up the Portuguese—But for the Indians, we should not be in East Africa now." It is also highly significant that the Government in German East Africa, for whom the question was purely a practical one, apart from sentiment, decided in favour of the admission of Indians in order to build up the Colony. I feel certain, therefore, that the right of Indians to continue to emigrate to East Africa will stand the test both of reason and justice.

But every system needs revision from time to time and it may quite possibly be discovered, after a full examination of the facts, that having regard to the welfare of the African and the development of the country along these lines, certain classes of Indians should be encouraged to come and live rather than others. Even in England itself, which is the freest country in the world for allowing immigrants of all sorts it has been found necessary to revise our former lack of all restriction and to pass an Act limiting undesirable aliens. It may, therefore, be desirable in the future to control Indian immigration just as it has been found advisable to control European immigration. This will be no innovation, for during the year 1920-1921 there was a definite attempt made to introduce undesirable Indian immigrants. No one can afford to allege that we have all become blind as that matter and the Indian Government, as its able has taken pains to prevent it. I would point out that the principle of immigration control is altogether different from the policy of exclusion. The latter, as I have said, would be unnecessary and unjust.

I have spent some of the best years of my life, and have made many long voyages to distant parts of the world,

while attempting to study this question of currency. Every year I have brought more and more convinced that the simplest, successful methods of the past were the best method. I have come to two conclusions, one of all that currency is really necessary for every growing country, secondly, that the old barter system policy is no more. Hence we must bring good value into the picture of every year, the third successful form of rapid production and good prices must be obtained. Only then we act as successful, intelligent and civilized men. Here the important question has been taken into the region of third rate politics. In that atmosphere no healthy development is made, and it was possible only in the interest to find such a document as the Economic Committee Report issued by Lord Curzon.

Again, I feel certain that we must agree without any reservation whatever that the currency evolution of the Indian State falls far short of modern requirements. It is quite wrong to suppose to me, to go on indefinitely, steadily increasing the amount of the paper from India while financial resources are exhausted. For these unscientific poor arrangements, with their primitive habits of a wholly unscientific kind, we have to increase the evil. The trend that means going unscientific and unwise means lowering depends upon making a good and healthy beginning. It is of the greatest importance for the whole future of the country to get this best scientific right as quickly as possible. I would, therefore, urge the leaders of the Indian community to lead in this matter, not merely to let things slide. But if they see to lead they must be given the position of leaders, and I would urge my fellow countrymen that no policy could be more shortsighted, when there has been such a well stated of affairs, than to deny to educated Indians the franchise. It appears to me to be a matter of the most obvious common sense that educated Indians should be allowed by the franchise as quickly as possible. Thus, working side by side, these will see be metted. But without their cooperation, things must simply go on as badly as before.

I do not think that, when all the facts are fully and fully considered, the only solution of the currency problem will be found in regard to the complete repudiation of them. I have read Professor Hoopner's Committee Report with great very carefully before. If he had taken the promising word of an expert, what he has advised would be more concerning. His his political bias is without throughout and he has often written, not as a mathematician, but as a politician. Furthermore, he appears to me to have almost entirely missed out of view the very large and increasing number of Indians who are adopting in their complete modern currency methods. It is not repudiation which will increase the number of them, but their conversion.

The "repudiation" policy, therefore, of run to the extreme, is as the "lighted" in the "extreme" policy with regard to repudiation. Both policies have got all the character of great legislation. Both policies have their popular support to meet India. Nothing has pleased me more, while sitting in the country, than the growth of mutual distrust and dislike between the two enemies of the country—the Indian and the European. The remedy for this appears to me to lie in granting the franchise to educated Indians of the various possible means. England would have been looking here on a decreased power by this way if the franchise had not been given to Indians.

Here it is the same problem everywhere and we need stronger men to solve it.

I must now to a point where I follow the Economic Committee are wholly by the way, and I want to make the two points quite clear, but it is very important. The Economic Committee quoted the principle laid down by the Imperial Conference in London, stating that "it is the solemn function of the Government of the several dependencies of the British Commonwealth" to "secure emancipation." They stated that the British rule of the East African Protectorate Government should be liberal to ensure that freedom to establish its laws, without Indian interference being any way made in the matter. What I would point out to the Government is that, that the Imperial Conference resolution did not mean by itself. It was part of what is known as the Lugard Agreement. This Lugard Agreement was made by certain high ranking people—about 2000 of the British Commonwealth which were seen in the League of Nations. It had no reference to Protectorates as well as a Protectorate has to give freedom for its population from the British Government in London. It is to be noted that the Indian Empire is a Protectorate in the true sense, the same as that, it is not to be forgotten that the Indian Government, as it is not. My noblest hopes or ambition regarding India and generally the expansion from India of any more educated Indians in that country, was not abandoned to the British Parliament for solution. The National Education and a degradation to not be further Indian emancipation, not to London, but to India. The Indian Government must directly throughout with the British Government. I need hardly add that it is well-known that India now has received the natural right of a self governing Nation, in the League of Nations, equal to that of America or Canada. Her position has been unassailable and strengthening and established upon the war.

I think it may be well to explain the Lugard Agreement of the Imperial Conference especially. It is this—

- (1) Each self governing Nation shall have complete control over its own laws, rights.
- (2) British India will be already determined with self governing, taking full control, as far as possible, equal treatment.
- (3) Wherever disabilities are still retained in British India, the Government shall have power to establish.

To take one example, British India citizens in Canada were unable to bring into Canada their personal belongings. After the Lugard Agreement was signed, Canada must either withdraw that disability, or else be prepared to see British India citizens in India being treated as the same manner Britain already withdrew the disability.

I want, with all my heart that South Africa will soon receive the standing of a self governing Nation. But I do not see how that can possibly come about, until the franchise is granted to educated Africans, and educated Arabs and educated Indians, on the same basis as it is granted to Europeans. In the agreement to bring about the speedy revision of Dutch and English in South Africa, the great interest of Cecil Rhodes. "The franchise for every educated man" was not contained in Cape Colony constitutionally have allowed it, but the British revision had not agreed it. As a consequence of the late day the

unity of the British Empire, in 1915-21) was mainly directed *not* to the British Administration, but to the Indian people. Only the strengthening of Imperial Institutions and the maintenance of the status quo, or an approach to the status quo, were the objects. It is not at all likely that the Empire will be repeated again in East Africa. Of one thing I am quite certain, namely, that the day of full self-government in that Africa will be postponed, postponed, unless the present attitude of acceptance towards India and Indians is actually altered. Mr. Young's speech, the smoothness and logic of the Secretary's answer, in a man whose life has been a case of pure devotion to the service of the British Empire. However to the British Whigs of Westminster there the force and vigor of the British Indian Government. The Government of India, the staff, had protested in a long speech to the Secretary, of which there was no parallel like the answering to British Indian's status to any who undertake this, or any other class in that Secretary's attitude towards the British. Not only would the more glaring disadvantages of Indians in British East Africa be removed but also their claims to a share in the management of the country, for adequate representation on the Legislative Council and of Indian should be by representative government.

It appears to me to be necessary to point out a note of warning, though I naturally decline doing so. The evolutionary process of India against the White Man, if the rights of British Indian citizens are threatened, will not, it is not small Bombay is by far the greatest part which have East Africa, in an or seven days distance we get the sea, naturally greater than London. The next twenty years will probably see the greatest industrial development in India and especially in Bombay. It has already undertaken its whole industrial and economic outlook. It will be ready and eager to take the products of East Africa, and it has abundance of goods to offer in exchange. India will only do this on one condition, that justice shall be done to the British Indian citizens, men of education and enlightenment and culture, who have made their home in the land very soon. That is the note of warning that I feel compelled to send. If things go further and all India rights are denied, it will not need the action of the Indian Government to put an embargo on East African trade, the merchants and the common people of India, due to the influence of the stock, will see their process of exchange threatened. China has already been to see that in relations with Japan and the people of India are awakening rapidly upon appreciation of the immense advantages which are at their disposal, through their industrial centers, if only they are not in danger. I have been over the whole of India since from east to end over the treatment of Indians in East Africa, and according to our present statements, was the most unjust that India ever passed through since the Ministry. We have had another explosion of almost equal intensity this year occasioned by the People. The seventy millions of Mohammedans in India and the many millions under British rule in Africa also are at the present moment identified to an unprecedented degree with the threatened dismemberment of Turkey and concerning the possibility of the Holy place of Islam. The question

of injustice done to Indians in Africa, India, Egypt and Mohammedans of all races and makes a direct appeal to the consciences of the common people. It is hard to exaggerate the danger.

But of an altogether different kind to stand on the issue of such of magnitude and has a bearing on India, it will have been that the high ground may be taken and the appeal on that ground may be effective. I have found here a way by a number of my own countrymen who though against the Indians that they were not with to relieve it by the self-government scheme. In short I would say that, just as in England as ever here, the only way of relief is to the Indians.

I have not doubt in this speech with that many parts of the challenge thrown down by the League of Nations, that the most characteristic of Indian generally in affairs and a standing block to the Africans in their appeal process. I shall speak as that belief I have the Political Society. I have doubt rather with the economic and social aspect of the problem.

Our nation's condition. I have been a growing conviction with me all through my life that education was not only necessary by Indians that there has never been education by force or pressure by propitiation. The unity of the age-long teaching of all the great civilizations of the world and of the present achievement of India to have put the teaching of unity in the world's history, into practice. The single, terrible promise of the Indian society has been given here a number of the words of all the great hearts from Christian India's time down to the present day. I have always found that the appeal of love and self-sacrifice is the greatest strength among those. That is why I felt it necessary to take even for a moment, in my speech the lower ground of protestation. It was not difficult to see that brother in the same time, nevertheless should not have to use such weapons. When I set you in, not to wish that it be a life of your interests, a life of our heart, a life of sacrifice, it is no reason here, was propitiation or service to our propitiation, but rather to help us and appeal to those truly great human qualities in my fellow countrymen, which are always with the surface when the appeal is truly made. The words that were spoken in India more than 1000 years ago are being said to-day. "Education can only be accomplished by teachers, made by truth, and loved by love."

#### Our Indian Agent.

Mr. B. Dasgupta (J. N. Dasgupta) is the Indian Agent (Madras) in an authorized agent for Madras.

Manager,  
Young India.

All correspondence regarding subscriptions, should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India," Chooli Hill, Pondicherry, Madras, Madras (with postage). Four Rupees (with postage), Eight Shillings, Single Copy (postage extra) One anna.

Our rate of subscription

(payment strictly in advance.)

and all correspondence and printed matter to be inserted in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Subscriptions, Madras.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi.)

17618

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 1

AMSTERDAM, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1920

Price One Ann.  
Five Cents.

## CONTENTS

Notes	Page
The Reform Resolutions in the Congress	1
Views of Members	2
Not only Indians but a political Hindu	3
A lot that must tell	4
The essential tasks in the world	5
The road out in East Africa	6
Articles	
To Report Gandhi!	3-4
The Reform Resolutions in the Congress	4-8
Mr. Gandhi's Statement	8-1
Editorial and Replies	2-8
Indians in South Africa	1

## Notes.

**The Reform Resolutions in the Congress**—The Reform Resolutions have been the subject of much criticism in the Press and among the public, to some extent the criticism has been lively. The Secretary of India is of opinion that the Congress failed to give a fair lead to the country simply because of the "corrected" work issued by Gandhi's postbox. That he did not set out his case in detail the Reform Act as Mr. Gandhi did. Mr. Gandhi in a leading article in *Star* (India) charges Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Motilal with not having stood firmly by their first amendment and says that had they done so, "they would have served it, for Mr. Thibet had told his followers to yield at the last moment." She has no doubt that Mr. Thibet is using Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Motilal as tools in three years ago the struggle was being taken a similar way. The Leader is of opinion that the Resolutions mean practically a victory for the "Home or Gandhi" and that the resolution as it was passed in its final form "does not at all escape being set clearly the more that the evidence would co-operate with the criticism in making the Reformers waver. It explains that after mysteriously explaining the plain constitution of the word 'disappearing' Mr. Gandhi failed to stick to his amendment and the result was that a compromise clause was at last added, which differed in no way from Mr. Pal's amendment and otherwise Mr. Pal made account of his attitude is that in moving the amendments he did, he only made light of the idea of co-operation which should joined the idea of backing Mr. Motilal. The Leader is clear that "Mons-

Pal, Das and Subramanyam had their way and Mr. Gandhi must acknowledge that in backing Pandit Motilal and Mr. Dasak were defeated."

In reviewing contents with these opinions in that of the Press of India, it will be remembered that before the Resolutions had been passed at the Congress the paper had expressed the opinion that the "doctrine preached at Amritsar is for all practical purposes the doctrine of non-co-operation." After the adoption of the Resolutions it seems to be wished that the party which "desired to see the Reform which honestly for the advancement of the country, in the confident knowledge that good work will be the greater being expression of responsible individualism," voluntarily prevailed in the end. It adds that the exact working of the amendment is "uncertain, and that feeling though the final Resolutions was "it was in the right direction and the more and important fact is that the Congress pledged itself openly to do, what in fact all had made up their minds to do namely, to co-operate in the Reform."

We returned to the above in our article

**The use of the Vernaculars**—In a series of articles on the Calcutta University Commission's Report, the Indian Social Reformer made out a bold plea for the adoption of English as the medium of instruction in schools as well as in colleges and emphasized the need of English education for the people of India. It is stated that international relations would be most facilitated by English being and becoming the lingua franca of India, and expressed the belief in the statement "by beginning the use of the foreign medium at the earliest age possible, because it is only in that way that the student can acquire a fluency in regard to a foreign medium." The chief reason at by such a radical departure is the system of education was evidently an "Anglo-Indian," as appears from the paper quoting with heavy approval the authority of Raja Ram Mohan Roy as having "placed on record his belief that in the world was they be an English-speaking country." Leaving the articles above, we find that our contemporary has very readily taken a position which is a fair reflection of the opinion in view here set forth.

In a thoughtful article on the Madras Conference the Indian Social Reformer remarks, "The Congress has become responsible for purposes of deliberation. It is more and more keeping its constitution for its

parting knowledge of and interest in politics in the masses. The increasing use of the Vernacular has broken the partition between the English-educated classes and the masses and the result is a state of strength and power in both which was hitherto unappreciable." We had thought this evolution would prove instantaneous. But it is certain that it has not touched Mrs. Besant who writing in *The Indian* says that by reason of the proceedings being strictly carried on "in Urdu with Hindi recitations," the delegates from Bengal, Bombay, South Africa, Madras, Borneo, etc. could not follow the proceedings and a large number of delegates left Amoy, and the National Congress became a Provincial Conference. We are afraid between Mrs. Besant's holding the great service she bears to rendering to the national cause through the Hindi columns in her paper and so far as the statement refers to Bengal, Bombay, South and Borneo she is doing an injustice to the delegates from those provinces. As regards Madras Mr. Palanisami is a distinguished representative of that province who of all persons can be expected to have any objection against the use of Hindi and vernaculars in national proceedings, and he certainly did not leave the Congress before the close of the session because he could not follow the proceedings. We think his brilliant article on the Congress and his remarks quoted above will convince Mrs. Besant of the incorrectness of her position.

**Not only injurious but a political blunder—** In almost all the representations to the Prime Minister by Woodrow Wilson and later the dangerous consequences of putting Indian aspirations under the dominion of non-Indian authorities have been sufficiently well explained. Sir John A. King, in a letter which has since become well-known to the Congress, Lord Halliday, and that of Turkey is perceived to signify the ten desired great of European States, the Prime Conference will have even more of eternal bloodshed for the consumption of India." That these want not all these is now fast coming to be realized. It is a representation signed has transmitted to Turkey recently addressed to the Prime Minister, not by Woodrow but by Britons, almost all of them retired Civilian or men who have formerly served in the highest offices in the State, it emphatically stated "These countries placed against their will under administration will become a source of disturbances as two witnesses to the peace of Asia as the Balkans have been to the peace of Europe. Every not in the Eastern Empire, every collision in Russia between the Turkish population and European governments will start a wave of angry wrath in Indian countries which will eventually break upon a British frontier either India or Egypt. As an Asiatic power we must be the guardian of the Mohammedans, by the destruction of Turkish sovereignty in those countries we should inevitably lose it." And now comes the news of the party we can receive offered by Kaulfick and General Dunsen and Mr. Churchill's dread that something very menacing to the situa-

tion and especially to the British Empire would emerge from Russia. This has come at our ankles even in the Times of India which would perhaps Woodrow's dream as to her as they are based on misstatement and the paper now says "If the leaders of Kaulfick and Dunsen bring us back trouble in India, we must face them but these troubles will be less if we come to terms with the dynamic demands in Turkey and make a settlement with that country as early as possible in harmony with Indian aspirations. No compromise in politics is good inasmuch as it is not national political wisdom.

**A Bill that must fail.**—The verbal attacks contained in the following is not altogether unavailing and should serve only to stimulate us to be true to our culture. "Colonel Wedgwood, M. P. who would have gone further than the members of the Congress to explain to the members of the Reform Bill, paid a generous and completely ungrateful tribute to Mr. Hastings. He declared that the passing of the Bill was a real triumph of Mr. Hastings' statesmanship. Fourteen years ago Colonel Wedgwood recalled, when he and the Minister of the Crown were engaged in reconstructing the world on paper, the latter divided mankind into two sections, politicians and advocates." And again, Wedgwood, observed the politician Mr. Hastings of those days, "You are an advocate and I am a politician." Nothing could have been happier than the manner in which the advocates of India were recognized the nature of the criticism who had extended the limits of freedom in India. "Surely, notwithstanding to the Hastings account of having succeeded in passing the Bill in the House of Commons, the same remarkable, as Colonel Wedgwood of accidentally added, when it was considered that it had to be won in a Government of which Lord Curzon was a member.

**'The most essential trade in the World'**—The knowledge for *Our*, Light addressed the students of the Agricultural College, Poona at the annual gathering. His Excellency concluded his speech with the following valuable advice—

Your Principal is a practical man and is right in making you learn from men who experience the value of what you are taught in the class-room. Almost all the very successful men of the world of industry have been through the mill themselves and have worked with their own hands in the departments of their business. We follow the same system in the field where even the use of the most advanced devices of large industries, however wealthy they may be, does not start us with the touch of workman and begin the education of his job. If there is a drive in the country and many thousands of cultivators it is well for a teacher to start in the evening fields and open country of India. It has been called India that each here is so kind that you get little but with a line and she laughs into a harvest, and of course parts that is true, while in many parts she works all the dull and hard of a year's work which knowledge can provide. But you are preparing yourselves for the future and the most essential trade in the world and the most responsible. You are no longer afraid

to be depicted about it. But that you make it depicted and that you take a just pride in having an expressed man. The days have gone when it was a habit for uneducated people to quote the best lines in the country.

### THE DEAD SET BY EAST AFRICA.

Mr. Daphnia has addressed the following letter to the Daily Press—

Mr. Andrews talking from Durban says :  
 "Full draft proposal submitted concerning Indian political Durban meets there."

Probably the MS may be met at "General C. Walker's New Orleans 1918."

It really, any person writes East African Protectionist not being a member who from India is not allowed by members of Durban as Durban is his wife, may be added by Durban to his wife in such form the Press should follow the last proposal which was given.

Probably, any person writing such letter shall be liable in connection to a firm up to 1000 or 100000000 of which description given as being on the whole together. Such persons shall not offer Government a power to take in their own or for providing, certain against some persons. Long in 1918 passed since January 1918. The Durban meeting have independently against political action. Economic Commission return of evidence contained in which submission Indian moral dignity. Our submission is that Durban has carried something but Economic determination to follow South African policy still, partly action.

Hardly any comment necessary on this address. There is a dead set against the Indian either in East Africa. The proposed scheme is, in any formable opinion, most unbusinesslike in character and leaves every Indian at the mercy of an Executive unattached to the interests. European agitators against the Indian. The unbusinesslike nature of the agitation is revealed from the entirely false charges they about moral depravity against the Indian settler. I regard the proposed submission to the South African legal step towards the collection of the Indian to complete necessity. He has dared to claim an equal status with the wealthy class of European settler. He has dared to dispute the beautiful picture taken up by his European rival in trade. The latter has captured the Executive. The East African position admits of no compromise such as was possible and perhaps necessary in South Africa, where the conditions were totally different from the East African conditions. The Indian holds the rights of priority to the ordinary natural right to live on terms of equality with every other kind of settler in East Africa. And I venture to hope that his claim will be unreservedly supported in India for the preservation of his full political and municipal status, and that the Government of India will exercise to the full its inalienable right and perform the duty of protecting the British Indian settler in East Africa.

## Young India.

Shree Gopal, Bangalore, 14th January, 1938

### 15. ROYDOTT SWAHEHRI

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Mr. Daphnia has addressed himself to showing that Roydott is contrary to the aims and objectives of India's export to a like measure for saying so on that, whilst it fully serves the purpose of Swaheri's 'State of India' for the use of home industries, it produces no effect upon the British merchant and manufacturer by touching his pocket. Mr. Daphnia writes that my opposition to Roydott being purely a spiritual conviction, is not understood by the Indian people whereas they have always regarded Roydott as a perfectly constitutional and legitimate weapon which they understand.

To say that Roydott is the same as Swaheri is an effect to me to a substantial within Swaheri is an eternal principle which ought to be brought into effect to maintain. It means production and distribution of articles manufactured in one's own country. In its narrow and present form it means the moving of many commodities directly through the instrumentality of the peasant population. It likewise also means giving 75 per cent of the population a much-needed supplementary industry. Swaheri is a constructive programme. Roydott, on the other hand, is a temporary makeshift resorted to in order to compel the hands of the British people by deliberately making an attempt to inflict a monetary loss upon them. Roydott, therefore, operates as an expedient in Swaheri brought in to serve some purpose. It may ultimately result, but not unless it is persistent and prolonged, in greater manufacture of home, but it certainly means the introduction of another disturbing factor, for Roydott does not mean exclusion of all foreign goods. It means exclusion of British goods only. It, therefore, implies greater encouragement of other foreign goods, as for instance, Japanese and American. I certainly do not contemplate with any sympathy the ever-growing influence of Japan upon Indian trade and commerce. Roydott to be effective has to be heavily universal whereas the effectiveness of Swaheri by a single person is so much to the national good. One can make Roydott successful only by an appeal to angry passions. It may therefore result in unbridled consequences and may even lead to a permanent antagonism between parties. Mr. Daphnia, however, denies that appeal to angry passions is a necessary consequence of Roydott especially if one considers the way to manage the

movement. I refuse to challenge the position, I was suffering from an epidemic as exposed to the temptations of having his word passed on the slightest pretext. By asking him to boycott British goods you maintain the idea of punishing the wrong done, and punishment necessarily creates anger.

Mr. Saloor Ahmed who has also written to contest my position says that withdrawal of co-operation is the same as boycott as boycott, only it is far less effective because it is almost impossible to enforce. Now, if I am serving co-operating with a wrong law, I am participating in the wrong. Therefore with denial of co-operation becomes a duty when a wrong law exists. And even if one were unable to do anything it is effective to that extent because of the performance of his duty by even one man. But about boycott it is punishment as it is no punishment can be a duty. Boycott unless it produces the effect as wanted, not by and by, and boycott by half-hearted persons is like talking an elephant with a stick.

I admit, however, that my first booted opposition to boycott is based on a spiritual conception. But that is to say that I am endeavoring to extend the spiritual law to the political world. I deep believe that the British people will not understand it. I had an difficulty in making the Europeans of South Africa understand and appreciate it. Nor is it likely to render it effective, not necessary to follow the spiritual conception of a spiritual act. My conviction is that an not purely spiritual act the simplest to understand and the easiest to execute. Spirituality is nothing if it is not sincerely, practiced. It is not difficult to understand that we must reach our heads when they are dirty. It is equally simple to do so, yet it is essentially a spiritual practice. How many an hypocrite can declare of the soul. And even if we accept the necessity of cleaning dirty heads without a spiritual conception of cleanliness, so may we accept the practical failure of boycott and the practical necessity under definite conditions of non-cooperation without wanting to understand their spiritual basis.

In boycott law passed! Mr. Bhopala has approved of boycott of the British goods. I hold that if the highest and purest goal of the country cannot be sufficiently maintained by our merchants for supporting themselves in the production of foreign goods, an appeal to the merchants that in order to bring justice. Does the British people they shall temporarily stop their custom, will I venture to suggest that they will after the withdrawal of an management. Boycott is an

action the result must be instantaneous. In my opinion we are not dependent enough for instant action. The area of boycott is too large for any negotiation that can be brought into being at a moment's notice. And I am not sufficiently about British manufacturers withdrawing their custom into India through Japan or America, who in twenty years ago introduced into India her goods through England.

I write by Swedish because it is an revolutionary program gaining strength as it goes forward. Any negotiation can serve it. It is independent of the justice or the injustice of the value or the British people. It is an act created "There is no waste of energy, no failure, even a little portion of the glorious services from a great danger." Swedish and Bhopala are therefore, not the same but act at the opposite poles.

### THE DIFFERING IDENTIFICATION IN THE CONSTITUTION

The development of various the National Revolution movement is one of our cities, it is to be made of a Commission as a complete independence to all parties. In their very nature they were just full of that and yet be acceptable to all in our opinion the country did get the lead through the Congress that it is possible to get it. The Congress must, not to leave to the country, water and more lead to agreement not one year but many, and that not merely as the Subjects Committee, but on the open platform. This is an changing the fact there were no all parties in the country. Extremist and Moderate do not serve all parties. There are, for instance, as the extremist camp the Kasturba group (led by Mr. Das), and the moderate group (led by Mr. Bhabha) and the Congress party. But as differences become accentuated, as they must be in course of time, each group will begin to assert itself. The Hon. Pandit Bhabha says representative body of opinion drawn from the National Party. Similarly in the Moderate camp there are undoubtedly do more, which is now given as all become danger, rather than otherwise, and with proper maintenance there is no reason why the Congress should not represent a coalition of all these elements were threatened, not with relevance and harmony dignity in the Congress platform. For the first time in the history of the Congress an open and rational discussion took place before the delegates, on a scale of the greatest importance to the country, and for the first time were from elaborate preparations made in order to ascertain by their own the demands of the Congress. That in itself is our opinion was something worth celebrating. But there was more than that. No doubt it was open to other party to push the matter in a direction. We must accept this. Because a man that I, I think had told me before we to vote for Mr. Bhabha's coalition if he had held out,

and even if Mrs. Bhaer's intervention is proved, it would hardly have been proper for Mr. Gandhi to have pushed the matter to such an extreme. His amendment brought both Mr. Patai. The latter was purely tactical move. Had the motion been called upon merely to decide between the original proposition, i. e. without acceptance and thanks, and Mr. Gandhi's, with thanks, a decision would have been a duty. But Mr. Patai's amendment was not a mere vote was in support of the extremist groups to constitute an opposing amendment, so long as they could voluntarily do so. Mr. Patai's amendment, could not be accepted because of the offensive word "and with". Naturally therefore a third amendment providing a middle course had to be found and resultant has ultimately in the form of the compromise but in the fact that all were anxious to avoid an open division. The only for the matter & means that the Congress desired to co-operate with the Indian State so as to be so that no operations are hindered the object of the responsible government, and to thank Mr. Bhaer for his valuable labours in the affairs. We would certainly have liked a better if the graceful language of the original amendment had been accepted, if thanks had been expressed in words or terms not extended to Lord Duns. But it could have been writing indirectly the hours when the principle of cooperation and thanks was granted by the three leaders. We are unable to associate ourselves with the suggestion that L. T. T. is stopping the amendment wanted in our House. Mahatma Gandhi as he indicated of they should themselves to be united it would not be the Mahatmas who would be to blame, but Bhaer Mahatya and Gandhi would be directly held blamelessly for their simplicity. The as party formation programme we suppose it would be considered quite the proper thing for party leaders to use others as tools so long as there are not any to be used. Care will therefore have to be taken rather to purely our politics than for fear of being used as tools in business to take the right course. L. T. T. is representing a definite school of thought of which he makes no secret. He concludes that everything is fair in politics. We have found some with him in that conception of political life. We consider that political life of the country will become shamefully corrupt if we import western tactics and methods. We believe that nothing but the strict adherence to honesty, simplicity and charity can address the true interests of the country. But we refuse, because of the essential difference just pointed out, to believe that in accepting the current amendment, L. T. T. was guided by any motive other than that of meeting his opponents' views so far as it was possible. On the whole, therefore, in our opinion, the analysis given by the country India as the only true analysis of the position ultimately arrived at under the compromise.

Our Indian Agent,

Mr. Chandra (J. N. Srinivasan) Street, Telephone  
Madras) is our authorized agent for India.

Manager  
Young India

## THE STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY Mr. GANDHI TO THE JUSTICE COMMITTEE.

### Background.

For the past thirty years I have been preaching and practicing Satyagraha. The principle of Satyagraha, as I know it today, constitutes a gradual evolution.

Satyagraha differs from Passive Resistance as known to us in the West. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of getting one's end, whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form.

The term Satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the fact that in India there used to be full night curfew and it was considered unbecomingly to have the movement then going on in the United Kingdom and South Africa under the name of Passive Resistance.

It is not so easy as holding us to be truth, honest, truthful. I have often called it Love-force or Soul-force. In the application of Satyagraha I discovered as the highest degree that personal truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that he must be won from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean a conquest of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self.

Not on the political field the struggle on behalf of the people usually consists in opposing error to the shape of unjust laws. When you have failed to bring the error before the law, you go by way of petitions and the like, the only remedy open to you. If you do not wish to submit to error, or to compel kindly physicians to yield to you or by suffering on your own part by carrying the penalty for the breach of the law. Hence Satyagraha properly appears to the public as Civil Disobedience or Civil Resistance. It is wrong to say that it is not non-violent.

The lawbreaker breaks the law exceptionally and tries to avoid the penalty, not so the civil resister. He ever obeys the laws of the state to which he belongs not out of fear of the sanctions but because he considers them to be good for the welfare of society. But there come occasions, generally rare, when the consideration has to be so regard as to render obedience to them a delinquency. He then openly and directly breaks them and justifies the penalty for their breach. And in order to register his protest against the status of the law, given, it is open to him to withhold his co-operation from the State by disobeying

such other laws whose breach does not involve moral turpitude.

In my opinion, the beauty and efficacy of Satyagraha are so great and the discipline so simple that it can be practised even by children. It was practised by me to thousands of men, women and children commonly called indentured Indians with excellent results.

### Rawlley's Effort

When the Rawlley's Effort was published I felt that they were an expression of human liberty that they must be treated in the strictest. I observed too that the opposition to them was universal among Indians. I wished that all India knew or disapproved but the right to read laws which are enforced in the whole body of the people, must first be guaranteed by constitutional usage and precedent such as the Indian Government. I felt too that the continuing agitation needed a definite direction for was willing to collaborate in rawlley's scheme.

### The 6th April

I intended therefore to present Satyagraha to the students enquiring about it in various ways. And to do this partly by direct and partly by indirect suggestion the character of that paper and usage came out all over the country by the 6th of April. There were magnificent responses throughout the length and breadth of India even in little villages although there was no newspaper and no great previous preparation. The idea was given to the publisher as a series of articles of the 6th April then was in various papers read by the people and no difference with the police, or all manner. The 6th of April was partly voluntary and spontaneous. I think however it better to which the idea was continued.

### My arrest

The observations of the 6th April were to be followed by anti-Abolitionism. In this paper the committee of the Satyagraha to the had selected certain political laws for demonstration. And in consequence the destruction of prohibited literature of a perfectly lawful type was accomplished by me on Howe's side, a translation of *Washington Under the Law*, *The Defense and Death of Scoville*, etc.

### Disciple

But there is no doubt that the 6th of April forced India into an action before. The people who were first struck seemed to lose nothing. Moreover hitherto the masses had no work. The leaders had not really acted upon them. They were undisciplined. They had found a new force but they did not know what it was and how to use it.

At Delhi the leaders found it difficult to reach the very large number of people who had remained unmoved before. An American Dr. Holmgren was

convinced that I must go there and there to the people the periodical *Young England*. Some Abolitionists coming from Delhi and Dr. Holmgren from America wrote by me and by Holmgren in their respective places for publishing the periodical for explaining to them the nature of Satyagraha. I had never been to America and for that matter to the Punjab before. These two messages were seen by the authorities and they knew that I was invited to both the places for special purposes.

I left Bombay for Delhi and the Punjab on the 6th April and had telegraphed to Dr. Holmgren whom I had never met before to meet me at Delhi. But after passing Multan I was arrested with an order prohibiting me from entering the province of Delhi. I felt that I was bound to obey the order and I proceeded on my journey. At Feroz I was once of with an order prohibiting me from entering the Punjab and confining me to the Durdag. From here I was arrested by a party of Police and taken off the train at that station. The Superintendent of the Police who arrested me talked with many country. I was taken to Multan by the first available train and thence by rail to Feroz on the morning of the 8th. Multan was where I got the Bombay Mail from Feroz and was taken charge of by Superintendent Rawlley. I was discharged at Rawlley on the 10th April.

But the people of Amritsar and Varanasi and in Gujarat generally had heard of my arrest. They became furious, shops were closed, crowds gathered and meetings, strikes, processions, were-riding and attempts at demonstrations followed.

### Causes

I had worked in the field of India my six post-graduate had worked among thousands of men and women. I had worked at the instance of and with Mrs. Ananya Sankar among the well-to-do of Amritsar. The well-to-do appreciated her philanthropic work and valued her. The fury of the labourers in Amritsar revealed while that when a laborer's cause was started that the time was arrived. Both of us had treated and understood for the well-to-do of Varanasi when they were in trouble. And it is my firm belief that if a movement were due to the great resentment of the masses over my arrest and the removal of Mrs. Ananya Sankar.

I have acted with the masses on practically the whole of India and talked to them freely. I do not believe that there was any non-violent movement behind the scenes. They would hardly be duped by the false abolitionists.

### Rescues

As in my opinion the Government acted in preventing the students from going out. This body of men has been arrested to be prepared to suffer. The first step was to get Amritsar out of my way and the means of preventing it from the labourers

was unanimously harsh and protesting. I doubt the justice of collecting on the information sent to us by us 1,70,000 (one hundred and seventy lakh) Indians by reports. The imposition of the tax from the incomes of Europe and America (the Tariff and Taxation of India) was totally not related to the Indian demand. I think it is the introduction of the Bill in the Council was also suggested and it is the Indian administration reached on the loss of an equal amount first.

All the same time, and subject to the restrictions mentioned by me, I have no doubt that in the British Government the authorities acted with considerable restraint at a time when the atmosphere was breathing of a national impasse and the attempt at working the tax which was bringing the people to a crisis could not naturally support the authorities.

## KHILAFAT AND BOYCOTT

### From Young India, New York

Waggoner has a summary of the resolutions recently published by Syed Zehin Akhond, the Secretary, All-India Boycott League—

One of the resolutions passed at the Delhi Khilafat Conference was designed to prepare Indian Handicrafts for a progressive boycott of selected British goods in the event of an adverse settlement of the Turkish or Khilafat question. The same resolution appointed a Committee to report on the practical method of successfully organizing the boycott. It was a member of that Committee that the memorandum has been prepared to meet you all for discussion.

India's largest export is cotton yarn, goods. Its value in proportion to the total value of all exports was 20 percent in 1915-16 and 21 percent during the five years preceding the war and all other exports, sugar, rice, steel, etc. have a lower percentage. The quantity in terms of yards was 109,79 and 201,07 in 1915-16 and a 60-65 per cent increase year after year. The corresponding value in terms of rupees was 45.24 and 45.44.

In this group goods export, the share of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is by far the largest, its proportion to the total quantity being 77 percent in a pre-war average year. The second largest buyer in 1915-16 and the pre-war average year was 42.19 and 26.41 percent of yards, respectively. The total value for the same period in terms of rupees 17.21 and 44.08 respectively. These figures show that the British market took less than a third of the quantity which it value was buying up at an average of about 40 percent of all export.

The writer concludes from the above figures that the thing that promises most to reduce the British portfolio and the British take in a large amount of the world's goods is the 40 percent sent out to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the market

most closely proportionately with the whole population. It will not be less than 10 percent.

Coming to the introduction of the possibility of a large supply from sources other than England, the most available sources there are (1) the Indian mills, (2) on handlooms, and exports from foreign states. I suppose the last source via Indian mills, the total quantity produced in 1915-16 and 40-50 percent of the total, for a pre-war average year is 11.21. We can further tell that during the last year whenever comparison of cotton yarn with the 1915-16 yarn export of 4.26 crore was reported by India, actually amounting by 20 lakhs the aggregate export of all such quantities during the pre-war five year average taken together. The latter, consequently, is less than they may suppose. It is the present of export is decrease.

Looking the value of prices, the writer believes that the total value of a moderate of prices should actually increase for reasons to be here mentioned a little that it seems unlikely that exports of the large quantity of handlooms would be carried by the proposed boycott for the ordinary needs of India, and the same quantity value of demand for the British market, the price of the latter will rise a good deal above some of the latter.

The other source of supply is that via hand. The writer is unable to produce definite figures yet for an all estimate from various quarters in the country, that the deficiencies of the ports and small producers are being met and more largely met now by the handlooms which has naturally been encouraged by the present very high price. He further thinks that there was a time in India when a thousand power looms were set up and practically without impact the handlooms supplied all Indian requirements. Thus it is not only it should not run on a great scale but to supplement fairly well outside the growing production of our interesting cotton and to put to rest of handlooms.

Regarding the third source, viz. exports from foreign states to which much will have to be made to meet the first two sources, the writer has shown by figures that while British exports has been shrinking, the Japanese export increases 1000 per cent in 10 years as compared with the pre-war average, and it may go on increasing still.

A discussion about the actual method of making the boycott a real and equal success follows. The writer next proceeds to reply to several objections to boycott including those of Mr. Girdle. Mr. Girdle's main objection is that boycott is opposed to the principle of self-help as he considers that it was based on revenge or retribution although it is done to avoid by imposing a feeling on others instead of by imposing a feeling on oneself which is true self-help as well always work to do. The writer replies to this by refusing to believe that boycott and refusal to cooperate with the Government differ from each other in point of principle. If withdrawal of cooperation with Government is a

right of every citizen in order to seek his displacement with the aid of Government, why should not boycotts similarly be his right? The writer further analyses Mr. Gandhi's idea of non-cooperation with Government and asserts that non-cooperation, if it were possible in practice in any considerable class of people, would cause relatively greater suffering than boycott in both parties.

The second objection of Mr. Gandhi, according to the writer, is based on the responsibility of boycott, the sense of this responsibility being that British manufacturers would successfully smuggle foreign goods, as he says, say, through the agency of Japan or some other allied country. The writer refuses to believe that such a deception can be practised on any considerable scale and he also thinks it not impossible to devise means by which such fraudulent attempts can be frustrated.

The third objection regarding the feasibility of the proposal is the view that people cannot satisfy their requirements if they boycotted British goods, the writer thinks, cannot be raised after reading the facts and figures in the memorandum.

To the last objection that boycott should not contemplate differential treatment for the other Allies who share in the spoils of the Turkish Empire, the writer says in much the same as before, the writer offers two answers. In the first place, the Indian Movement here to complete particularly against the interests of the British Empire. In the second place, boycott has various motives, involving an amount of sacrifice and it is not possible to foster our energies by attempting to do too much of the same time instead of concentrating attention on only a few essential matters to secure success.

## INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE NATION'S LETTER TO G. SMITH.

The following letter was addressed to General Smith by Mr. F. K. Maitia, Secretary to the British Indian Association, Transvaal in the 20th November 1935—

Following upon the deputations that visited upon the Hon. the Prime Minister in the 27th Union, I am directed by my Committee to forward the following supplementary observations for the Right Hon. the Minister's consideration.

My Committee while appreciating the Minister's present definite position, begs to submit that the Community through its interest to raise up any matter that will mean any implementation, cannot see its way to wholly fall in with the Minister's view that it would be detrimental to the Indian Community to have included in the terms of reference of the proposed Commission, matters other than the trading question.

It is the desire of my Committee and Community believe that peaceful controversy can be all solved as a matter that would give the community at least the satisfaction of knowing that the Government are out to do justice towards them.

I am therefore asked to respectfully inform that the Hon. Prime Minister may be good enough to direct the inclusion in the reference of the proposed Commission's enquiry the following matters—the Gold Law, the Townships Act, Local Ordinances 9 of 1915, Law 1 of 1920 and Act 10 of 1921.

As much as it is the desire of my Committee not to embarrass the Hon. Prime Minister at this juncture, and particularly when the Hon. Minister has so many matters to deal with, it cannot, as a committee of members and far reaching from the standpoint of the Indian Community, follow in the Union and particularly in the Transvaal Province, amongst the whole Community in the limited enquiry of the trading question only.

I am further to point out that in the event of the enquiry being limited to the trading question alone the existence of the British Indians in the Transvaal will be jeopardised that their lives would be imperishable.

Under the Asiatic Land and Trading (amendment) Act 11 of 1921 the date of creating Companies which have acquired fixed property before the 1st May, 1921, depends upon the judicial pronouncement of the Union Courts. As it is, the Whomagel Council of King's College has submitted an advice against the Dadeo Limited, an Asiatic Company of long standing to have notified the transfer accepted by that Company in 1925. In the event, as it was pointed out in the memorandum submitted to the Hon. Minister by the deputation to the 27th Union, of the Council's finding against Dadeo Limited, it will as it were with one stroke of the pen, cause the entire Indian population of the Transvaal Province.

In view of the above mentioned facts it would be a matter of relief to the Indian Community to have from the Hon. Prime Minister favourably.

I beg also to request for a copy of the minutes of the further representations made by the deputation to the 27th Union.

### NOTICE

All communications regarding subscriptions, refund etc should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", Chak. Ch. Postoffice Station, Akhbarabad Annual vs India (with postage) Four Rupees.

Our rates of subscription.

( payable strictly in advance. )

Outside India " " Eight Months.

Single Copy (postage extra) One rupee.

and all correspondence printed matter to be inserted in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Subpostoffice, Akhbarabad.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17618

New Series  
Vol. II No. 3

AMRITSAR, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2ND, 1920

Price One Anna  
Per Copy

## CONTENTS.

	Page
Poem .. .. .	1
Annals .. .. .	
An appeal to Madras .. .. .	2
.....	
Mr. Gandhi's address before the House of Commons .. .. .	2-3

## Notes.

### "I should suffer too for consistent" note"

The discussion that took place the other day between the Chamberlain, Secretary of India and Mr. Gandhi on regarding the determination of trade and public relations necessary for us to be able to determine truth, was not very satisfactory. Mr. Chamberlain's questions and the answers he expected, revealed a distinct attitude of mind. Mr. Chamberlain would not only deny every human being's right to determine truth for himself but even his capacity to do so. And he found that Chamberlain himself to not stand to his words. The various trade and trade of India's various social orders of business nature as of history. In every age and class there have not been found worthy men who suffered for their conscience. The thousands of Britishers who went through years of social suffering did not find any great intellectual and moral enjoyment in determining that ordinary service was a crime. And General Smuts also came frankly admitted that the process to follow he had expressed were suffering for consistent note. If you do not push the essential value to man to be able to determine truth for himself which alone separates him from the brute, you deny all human progress, and our national leaders if they have any faith in national progress are all against this being possible. We continued in them the wishful One thought from an interview with Mr. Gandhi that took place in 1917.—

Q. On Gandhi—What are you doing in Johannesburg?

A. G.—Looking after the families of prisonees.

Q. G.—It has hurt me more than you to improve these people. It has been the unpleasantest episode of my life to experience men who suffer for their conscience. I should do the same thing for consistent note."

## The South African Situation—What the Press of India.

"As we predicted from the general tenor of General Smuts and Mr. Dicksen's more recent declarations regarding the forthcoming Anglo-Commission on South Africa it will be confined to Transvaal affairs, but as our South African correspondents have intimated, it will register into questions as 'regard for the Union generally.' Our correspondents do not openly who is primarily on the question to be dealt with by the Commission, but stand up to the latest and come from South Africa they are to be trading rights and land ownership. In effect the position has taken a decided change for the better since October last, when we protested against the current steps which General Smuts then proposed to give to the Commission. At that time it was proposed that the process of the Commission should be restricted to ascertaining trading rights and trading rights only, to the Transvaal and members also. Now the company is to take in land ownership as well and is to extend to the whole of the Union. When we say that there is a change for the better, we are well aware that the increasing strength of such a step being to the Commission's interests to demand of change into the situation, but we are convinced that if the Commission is composed of upright and impartial members of the Indian race is fully and rightly presented, India has nothing to fear and need to expect from the findings of the Commission. In saying this we rely upon the justice of the Indian race upon the repeated promises of the and your past treatment offered by General Smuts and by Mr. Smuts, particularly of the 1877 and 1896 Imperial Conferences, and upon the South African's well-known love of her play."

Mr. Andrews' Services—We have pleasure in printing the following telegram which Mr. Gandhi received from the President, Indian Association, Kumbhar—

Indian Association records deep heartfelt gratitude for sparing Mr. Andrews from Punjab. We receive of greatest benefit from his visit which has not only led into our public work but of course our hearts a greater devotion towards motherland.

Abdul Basid,  
President.

## Young India.

*Amalshil, Wednesday, 21st January, 1920.*

### AN APPEAL TO HINDUS.

(By K. K. GHOSH.)

I use the word *Hindus* here in its popular sense, meaning the people of the whole of the Hindustan Provinces, speaking all the Dravidian languages.

I observe that Mrs. Besant was disappointed that the proceedings of the Congress were conducted mainly in Hindustani, and she has therefore come to the striking conclusion that it became a Provincial rather than a National assembly. I entertain a very high regard for Mrs. Besant and her services to India. No one has popularised the idea of Home Rule for India with so much earnestness. The best of us, much younger in age, are unable to approach her in her industry, zeal and organising ability, all devoted to the service of India. She has devoted the best part of her mature life to the service of India, and she has deservedly attained to popularity in India second perhaps only to that of Lokamanya Tilak. But, for the present moment, her views being unacceptable to a large body of educated Indians, she has become somewhat unpopular and it grieves me to have to dissent publicly from her view about Hindustani making the Congress provincial. In my humble opinion it is a gross error of judgment, and duty compels me to draw attention to it. I have attended all the Congress Sessions, but not, since 1913. I have studied the proceedings in order to study the utility of Hindustani compared to English for the conduct of the proceedings. I have spoken to hundreds of delegates and thousands of visitors and I have perhaps covered a larger area and even a much larger number of people, Hindus and J. Hindus, than any public man, not excluding Mrs. Besant and Lokamanya Tilak, and I have come to the deliberate conclusion that no language except Hindustani—a combination of Hindi and Urdu—can possibly become a national medium for exchange of views or for the conduct of national proceedings. It is also my deliberate opinion based upon extensive experience that the States that very materially suffered by reason of the proceedings of the Congress having been conducted almost entirely in English except during the last two years. I further wish to call to a fact that during the presidency of Madras everywhere else the majority of the votes and delegates to the National Congress have always been able to understand more Hindustani than English. The attending cause therefore has been that the Congress has been national throughout all these long years only as a spectacle but never for its real, substantial value. In any other country in the world an assembly of the character that has become progressively popular from year to year would have, during thirty-five years of life, given a political education that would have occurred every time because the people would have had various questions thrust out before them in their

own language. Whatever therefore the shortcomings of the last Congress, it has certainly been more fully national than any of its predecessors, by reason of the majority of the delegates and visitors having understood the proceedings. If the audience was weary of Mrs. Besant it was not because it was unaffluent or unresponsive to her but because it could not follow her speech, interesting and able though it was. And as national consciousness develops and as the appetite for political knowledge and education grows, as it must, it will become more and more difficult, and rightly so, for a speaker, no matter how able and popular, to command the attention of a popular audience of his people in English. I therefore appeal to the people of Madras provincially to reorganise the national Congress for public use to learn Hindustani. And even outside Madras one may or has understood Hindustani without difficulty. Europeans, Europeans untravelled audiences outside Northern India with less Hindustani eloquence and could be understood by even the common people without difficulty. That means that out of a population of three hundred and fifteen millions only over forty eight millions comprehending the Madras provincially cannot follow a Hindustani speaker. I have ignored the Mohammedan population for it is common knowledge that the majority of the Mohammedans of Madras provincially understand Hindustani. The question therefore is what is the duty of the forty-eight million inhabitants of that Province? Should they for their sake learn English? Or should they for the sake of two hundred and fifty-two million inhabitants of India learn Hindustani? The late Justice Kameswari Swami, with his sterling intellect, recognised Hindustani as the only possible medium of expression between the different parts of India. I am not aware that the proposition is ever, only challenged by anybody at the present moment. It is not possible for thousands of people to learn English their common tongue, and it would be highly unreasonable even if it were possible for the simple reason that the higher and technical knowledge being conveyed through English cannot get within their grasp, or it would if it became current among the upper classes through any of the vernaculars. It is more, for instance, to translate the writings of Sir J. D. Bane from English into Bengali than it is to translate Hindi from English into Gujarati. And what does the proposition that the Madras should learn Hindustani for the sake of the rest of India amount to? It simply amounts to say public workers in Madras who wish to work outside Hindustan who want to take part in national assemblies outside the Madras province should devote some salary for one year to learning Hindustani. Such an effort would enable several thousand Madras to pick up sufficient Hindustani to enable them follow at least the half of the Congress proceedings at the cost of a year's study. They have got to attend parts of the proceedings. First Practice Office where Hindustani is taught, must charge to all who wish to learn.

I appeal to Mrs. Besant, who is already denoting "New India" from time to time to the cause of Hindustani learning, to support my appeal.

## MR. GANDHI'S EVIDENCE

We give below an accurate and fairly full report of Mr. Gandhi's evidence before the Hunter Committee —

## EXAMINATION BY LORD HUNTER.

Q. Did you, Mr. Gandhi, feel yourself to be authorized by the Satyagrahi movement

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Will you explain it briefly?

A. It is a movement intended to replace methods of violence and a movement based entirely upon truth. It is, as I have mentioned it, an extension of the doctrine laid in the political field and my experience has led me to the conclusion that that government and that those are not lacking of the possibility of violence spreading throughout the length and breadth of the land, for the entire of progress.

Q. It was adopted by you in connection with the opposition to the Rowlatt Act. And at that conference you asked the people to sign the Satyagrahi pledge

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Would your intention be to obtain as many more as possible to the movement?

A. Yes, eventually with the principle of truth and non-violence. If I get a million men ready to act according to these principles, I would not mind entering them all.

Q. Is it not a movement essentially antagonistic to Government because you relinquish the administration of the Satyagrahi Committee for the will of the Government?

A. That is not the spirit in which the movement has been conducted by the people.

Q. I ask you to look at it from the point of view of the Government. If you were a Governor yourself, what would you say to a movement that was started with the object of leading those laws which your Committee demanded?

A. That would not be stating the whole case of the Satyagrahi doctrine. If I were a Governor of the Government and brought here to face with a body who, entirely on a basis of truth, were determined to work violence from my law without violating violence, I would believe it and would consider that they were the best method available, and as a Governor I would take them by my side as advisors as to what they can do on the right path.

Q. They go before us to the justice or injustice of particular laws?

A. That is the main reason why violence is eliminated and a Satyagrahi goes his opponent the same right of independence and feelings of liberty that he receives to himself and he will fight by suffering upon his part too.

Lord Hunter: I was looking at it from the point of view of the necessities of Government. Would it be possible to continue the Government if you had set up against the Government a body of men who would not accept the Government view but the view of an independent Committee?

A. I have found from my experience that it was possible to do so during the eight years of continuous struggle in South Africa. I found General Smuts, who went through the whole of that struggle, at the end of it saying that if it occurred themselves as the Satyagrahi had done, they should have nothing to fear.

Q. But there was no such pledge in that struggle, as is prescribed here?

A. Certainly there was. Every Satyagrahi was bound to stand all their lives which is considered to be important which was not of a criminal character, in order to hand the Government to the will of the people.

Q. I understand your view although a leading of laws which a Committee may think.

A. Yes, my Lord. I want to make it clear to the Committee that that part of the view was given to be a non-violent or individual liberty. As I intended to make it a mass movement, I thought the constitutional view such Committee as we had appointed was necessary, so that no man should become a law unto himself, and, therefore, we considered the plan that the Committee would be able to show what laws might be broken.

Q. We hear that doctor Jaffer, said, even Satyagrahi might differ?

A. Yes, I found it so in my work.

Q. Supposing a Satyagrahi was satisfied that a particular law was a just law and that the Committee did not stop that law, what is a Satyagrahi to do?

A. He is not bound to disobey that law. We had such Satyagrahi in abundance.

Q. Is it not rather a dangerous campaign?

A. If you will consider the campaign as designed in order to rid the country of violence, then you will there will not the same concern for it. I think that at any cost a movement of this character should live in the country as a part of state.

Q. By your pledge are you not leading a man's movement?

A. Not according to my interpretation of it. My interpretation of the pledge is found in its meaning. I think need my case if I have to start this movement again. (Lord H.—No, Mr. Gandhi, I do not pretend to advise you.)

I wish I could describe the Committee of the idea that it was a dangerous doctrine. It is a movement entirely with the object of ending the country of the idea of violence.

Lord Hunter has here briefly detailed the circumstances preceding the passage of the Rowlatt Act, the widespread general Indian opposition to the Act etc., and asked Mr. Gandhi to describe the nature of his objections to the legislation.

A. I have read the Rowlatt Committee's report to the end and the highlights I have observed in it, and I come to the conclusion that the legislation was not warranted by the facts presented by the Committee. I thought it was very restrictive of human liberty and that an all-embracing power or nation could allow such legislation. When I saw the decision in the Legislative Council, I felt that the opposition to it was necessary. When I faced the order this afternoon, I felt that for me as a self-respecting in-

divided and a number of a mob began, there was no quarrel left open, but to insist that law be the utmost.

Q. In far as the objects of that legislation are concerned, have you any doubt that they are to get down revolutionary and constitutional values?

A. They are quite laudable objects.

Q. Your complaint, then, must be in regard to the methods adopted?

A. Entirely.

Q. The method is, I understand, that greater power has been given to the executive than they enjoyed before.

A. That is so.

Q. But it is not the same power that the executive enjoyed under the Defence of India Act?

A. That is true, but that was essentially an emergency measure designed to secure the co-operation of everybody in order to get down any violence that may be offered by any section of the community in connection with the essential carrying on of the war. It was meant to be with the greatest reluctance. The Rowlett legislation is a different character altogether, and now the experience of the working of the former Act has strengthened my objections to the Rowlett Act.

Q. Mr Gandhi, the Rowlett legislation is only inoperative if the local Government is satisfied that there is no riot.

A. I would not, as a legislator, have that power in the hands of an executive when I have known its tendency to take it there.

Q. Then, really, your objection comes to this, that the Government of India, in the prosecution of a laudable object, adopted a wrong method. Therefore, is not the proper method of dealing with that, from a constitutional point of view, to endeavour to get the legislation corrected by satisfying Government of the imprudence of it?

A. I approached or headed some Lord Chelmsford, and I headed with him not with every English officer I had the pleasure of meeting and placing my views before him, but they said they were helpful, and that the Rowlett Government's commiseration had to be given effect to. We had exhausted all the methods open to us.

Q. If an objection differs from you, you cannot really insist of a violation. You must show by degrees how not rather a better way of attempting it by refusing to obey the law?

A. I respectfully beg to differ from your Lordship. If I find that even my father has imposed upon me a law which is repugnant to my conscience, I think it is a last degree across that I would adopt by respectfully telling him that I cannot obey it. By that course I am making him just as to my father, and, if I may say so without any disrespect to the Committee, I have myself believed that course with the greatest advantage and I have preached that ever since. If it is not disrespectful to say so to my father, it is not so to say so to a Lord and let that matter to my Government.

L. With view to the prosecution of yourobjection a resolution against the Rowlett legislation you resolved

upon a general hartal throughout India. That hartal was to be a day when no business was to be done and people were generally to indicate by their attitude that they disapproved of the Government's action. A hartal means a general cessation throughout the whole country. Would it not create a very difficult situation?

A. Obstacles for a great length of time would create a difficult situation.

Mr Gandhi have explained how the character of the hartal in some part of the country on the 1st March, and later on its coming on the 5th April came about not as a result of any misadventure, but as a result of the people in one part coming to know of the Government's action in the Act earlier than the people in other parts.

Q. You agree that Government from work should be entirely voluntary?

A. Yes, entirely voluntary, in the sense that persons on the day of the hartal would not be allowed, where-as persons by means of lockouts and other preparations work on other days would be perfectly legitimate, so long as no physical force was employed.

Q. The discontinuance of people working with impure on the day of the hartal?

A. Certainly.

Q. You would not object to the police interfering in the case of strikes dangerous to interference to the public's part?

A. I would not if they do it with proper restraint and forbearance.

Q. But you agree that on the day of the hartal it was highly improper to go to work while people did not stop work?

A. From a religious standpoint I would hold it to be immoral.

Lord Hunter: Your leading has been in Delhi, from an advertisement in the Gandhi newspaper, "I would not tell him my intention, but on a second occasion—Delhi wrote you a letter on the subject, and indicated to you that after what had occurred in Delhi and the Punjab, it was essential that you should not prohibit a general hartal without violence, especially among?"

A. I need not read the contents of that letter. I think he went much further and said that it was not possible that the law breaking campaign could be carried on with impunity among the masses. He did not refer to hartal proceeding. There was a difference of opinion between me and Swami Vivekananda when I suggested not to do otherwise. I found it necessary to suggest it because I had not observed sufficient such of my satisfaction, even the people. What Swami Vivekananda said was that Satyagraha should not be taken as a last resort. But I did not quarrel with him and I do not know that he is not connected to my view today. The suggestion of not doing otherwise was as much necessary as prohibition the officers against law. I would like the Committee to give a sharp distinction between hartal and other disturbances. Hartal was designed to strike the imagination of

the people and the Government. Could there have been a display like the one who were to offer disturbances. I had no means of understanding the mind of India except by some such striking movement. Social was a proper condition in no way for I would be able to appreciate the conditions.

Q. If there is a harmful side by side with the growth of Democracy would it not be calculated to promote violence?

A. My experience is entirely to the contrary. It was the attorney general for me to see people collected in their thousands—men, women and even little children and before marching peacefully to government. The peace of hearts would not have been at all possible if large gatherings were prohibited in the night time.

But as I have said a display is a different thing to a civil disturbance or protest.

In further reply to Lord Hunter Mr. Gandhi presented the incidents connected with the so-called arrest at Palwal. He observed that the proceedings of his being detained at Palwal and being taken to Bombay under escort, as a lion and as a prisoner, as arrest and he was surprised to find his arrest described in some quarters as his "arrested arrest." At Palwal he was covered with an order prohibiting him from entering the Punjab and making him to go Bombay immediately. The Police Officer who served him with the order was accordingly arrested in this. When he reached he discharged the order prohibiting him from entering the Delhi Province, the police officers came to with him pointing out that such movements would result in his being regarded as a small private matter. When he proceeded to Palwal he saw the Superintendent of Police, Delhi, with his officers and men. The officer placed his hand on his shoulder and, "Mr. Gandhi, I arrest you." He was asked to quickly remove his baggage from the train and to point out the man of his party who wished to accompany him. This was done. He was placed under the watch of some police constables, and he observed that it was nothing else but a proper arrest. Mr. Gandhi said, when he went to the side of the platform to cheer his Ghose, as others challenged him. He did not mean to imply that the officer did anything wrong. He was doing nothing more than his duty.

Mr. Gandhi then proceeded into the office awaiting him but no knowledge as to how he was going to be proceeded with, but he was taken to Karni Malhotra and there placed the Punjab Motor which he was left in charge of Mr. Bhowra, here at daylight next day Mr. Bhowra after consultation with an officer who had placed him told him that he would be free in Bombay.

Lord Hunter: All that was reported of you, was that you were not in power in Delhi or the Punjab?

Mr. Gandhi: No, by the time I was arrested I had already renounced the office by proceeding to Palwal. Therefore, I was not asked to go back to Bombay, but I was released.

Lord Hunter: Then it is correct to say, that the Government of a Government is not to be made clear to you that you would not be allowed to proceed to Delhi or the Punjab and that if you returned to the Bombay Presidency you would be arrested for disturbance?

Mr. Gandhi: Yes.

Lord Hunter: That is a little different from arresting you and throwing you into the jail. Is it correct, Mr. Gandhi?

Mr. Gandhi: Nobody made that assertion. The only complaint against Government is that they had no business to have me away from my masses of people.

Lord Hunter: If the Government honestly thought that it would be incompetent to allow you to go to a place to propagate your doctrine which was clearly in no sacred state or interest of that district, then would you object?

Mr. Gandhi: From that standpoint I have absolutely nothing to say.

Lord Hunter: Being present in your great meeting last night covered a Delhi and the Punjab and also in Delhi yesterday?

Mr. Gandhi: Yes.

Lord Hunter: Now, the only matter that we have got to deal with here is on reports disseminated about. Is it correct, as we have been told, you were great popularity among the small workers?

Mr. Gandhi: Yes.

Lord Hunter: And your arrest seems to have caused great excitement in your party and led to the very unfortunate incident of the mob on April 15, 11 and 12 in Allahabad and Varanasi?

Mr. Gandhi: Yes.

Lord Hunter: Before at these incidents are concerned you have no personal knowledge of them?

Mr. Gandhi: No.

Lord Hunter: I don't know whether there is anything that you are accustomed to be in contact with those events to help us to learn or explain.

Mr. Gandhi: I venture to present the opinion that I am confident that the action of the mob, whether of Allahabad or of Varanasi, was totally unjustified, and I think that it was a very sad thing that they had self-organized. But, at the same time, I would like to say that the people among whom, rightly or wrongly, I was popular, were put to a severe test by Government. They should have been better. I do not say that the Government committed an unpardonable error of judgment and the mob committed a crime. On the contrary, I hold that it was more unpardonable on the part of the mob than on the part of Government.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi continued here to understand, as to what he could do to repair the error. He placed himself entirely at the disposal of the authorities. He had a long conference with the President and other officials. He was in some kind of a meeting of the people on the 15th but he was told that it would not be possible to hold a meeting, since an order of Colonel Dwyer's order, because he was pronounced every sentence in connection with the meeting, but that the nature of the meeting would not reach all the people that day. The meeting took place on the 16th. There is a statement what had happened. There he had to see the houses "organized" and "disorganized" both of which terms had been so much quoted against him and against the people. The speech was in Gujarati. Mr. Gandhi explained and hoped for the Government would bear him out as a reference to the Gujarati speech that the word only means those who can read or write, and that he used the word and expressed the opinion as he passed the thing at that time.

He explained it was not genuine repentance. That he meant, he only meant to say, and there could be no mistake, the actual words in his speech, that the case was done in an expedient manner. He further explained that he was speaking of Ambedkar only, that he had then no knowledge of what had happened even at Taran garh, and that he would not return a single state visit from that speech. In his opinion, and Mr. Gandhi, whether was there in an expedient manner. It cannot be interpreted to mean a deep and complete. He held special emphasis on the fact that while he used those expressions he was addressing the people, and not the police authorities.

Q Mr. Gandhi stated that a couple years of the education was not forthcoming from him, he was actually mistaken about his opinion and had put an improper value too upon the term "expedient." The reasons suggested by the mob were the result of their being deluded by the verbal misuse of the speech of Mr. Ambedkar. There was a student hall which had a guy in his possession of notes with false ideas from various such as caricatures and from silly material from political leaders. He knew that school. He had mixed with them and conferences to some extent. He had no idea succeeded in his endeavor that there were to-day hundreds of people who had ceased to belong to the school of Ambedkar.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said he had now given the whole meaning of what he had said. He had meant that there were thousands who behind the disturbance. He did not say they were incapable of those acts, that he was not aware of any highly educated man directing the mob.

Lord Hunter: Do you imply that there was a common purpose on the part of the mob?

Mr. Gandhi: I don't say that. It would be surprising to say that, but I think the common purpose was restricted to those three men or persons who incited the mob.

Q Had the agitation taken anti-European character?

A. I was certainly an anti-European man. I would have believed it was not anti-European, but I have not yet made up my mind as to that.

Lord Hunter: I don't know whether you want to say that or not. According to the reports, the Government is of the opinion that people who have committed crimes should be punished by the civil authorities?

Mr. Gandhi: It is a difficult question to answer, because (through punishment) you make people stronger than weak. I am not prepared to say that it is wrong, but there is a better method. But I think, on the whole, it would be proper to say that a Satyagrahi cannot possibly quarrel with any government that might be said to act in an offensive and therefore be an inoffensive Government, or that more.

Lord Hunter: But apparently you are against the doctrine of Satyagrahi to give sanction to Government by way of placing the information that a Satyagrahi has that would lead to the conviction of offenders?

Mr. Gandhi: According to the principle of Satyagrahi it is necessary that the people realize that a Satyagrahi is not to go out to the police in the method which is open to the police, but to help the authorities and the

police to make the people more law-abiding and more respectable in behavior.

Lord Hunter: (Suggesting a Satyagrahi) has now one of the more active crimes committed in those cities in his own possession. Would there be an obligation on him to inform the police?

Mr. Gandhi: Of course I cannot theologize to Mr. Gandhi before and I think I must answer to Your Lordship. I don't want to complicate the path of the country, but even then he cannot go against his own feelings. When I say brother, I do not, of course, make any distinction of country or nationality. A Satyagrahi is wholly independent of such a distinction. The Satyagrahi principle is somewhat similar to that of a secret club, but in my mind I have known members of the Christian type and I was hardly able to know how instrumental in winning them from crime. I should be holding their confidence if I do stand the name of a single man. But regarding I found myself waiting to winning them I would surely not take the next step to go and inform the police about them. I do not hesitate to say that for a Satyagrahi the straightest thing not to give evidence if a crime does not seem to him that there can be only the means of the doctrine and even today I am not able to say whether I would not give evidence against a criminal whom I have caught in the act.

Asked regarding his view of the general opinion, Mr. Gandhi said the impression made on his mind was that there was a matter law and that he thought that the Government would not for the present retract and Ambedkarism. He said he could not discuss things in a town, which was thought to be divided, being subdivided and he would not go in his heart to cause these things of and sets of law. He thought that the terms in which the military action carried was entirely capable of misrepresentation. He thought the people were first on various sides. Their working, there was going along, and a fact was not that was not waiting to be the truth was. It cannot be proper to have on them and probably there was no one in giving notice to those who probably did not know of the military procedure but so all.

Asked as to his view on the work of the law, internally, Mr. Gandhi said, in his opinion the Government acted in preventing the situation by using war. He said that the work of the military was consistent with the law of civilized justice. The act was in order which the government was undertaken might not be known here brought in to us. That heavy view had caused concerned and disproportionate suffering. The loss imposed on poor Ambedkar was heavy and the matter of relieving it from the Government was unnecessarily hard and wronging. And he was ready to differ there from Mr. Ambedkar's opinion as expressed by Lord Hunter and he felt that Mr. Ambedkar had acted grossly against his people. He thought the action of Government in imposing the additional police on Delhi and Benares was highly imprudent. The action in regarding the Collector of Madras for holding that law was highly inadequate and wronging. He was satisfied that the people of Madras were not in any way with those who were behind the train but gave every sanction to Government, to leave the office and get a final and satisfactory and employment from the Collector for their assistance.

[Lord Hunter having finished, Justice Basak announced Mr Gandhi. We hope to give this part of the evidence in our next issue.]

#### ELIMINATION BY SIR CHIMANLAL

Sir Chimanlal: Well agreed to your Satyagraha doctrine, so far as I am concerned it involves the pursuit of truth and is that pursuit you have collected on yourself and do not come elsewhere to supply it also.

Mr Gandhi: Yes sir.

Q. However, usually a man may choose his own path for truth but actions of truth may be different from the actions of others. Why then is to determine the truth?

A. The individual himself would determine that.

Q. Different individuals would have different views as to truth. Would that not lead to confusion?

A. I do not think so.

Q. However, standing after truth is deferred to every man.

A. That is why the non-violence part was a very necessary. Without that there would be confusion and wars.

Q. Must not the person wanting to pursue truth be of high moral and intellectual equipment?

A. No. It would be impossible to expect that from everyone. If a has achieved a truth by his own efforts which B, C and others are to accept I should not require them to have the equipment of A.

Q. Then it seems to this that a man comes to a decision and others of lower intelligence and moral equipment would have to blindly follow him.

A. Not blindly. All I would say is that each individual unless he wants to rely on his parents or truth independently needs to follow someone who has determined truth.

Q. Your scheme involves the dissemination of truth by people of high moral and intellectual equipment and a large number of people may follow them blindly being themselves unable to arrive at number one directly by means of their lower intellectual equipment.

A. I would expect from these coming more than I would expect from an ordinary being.

Q. Hence it that the strength of the propaganda was depend on the number of the followers.

A. No. In propaganda system is possible even if there is only one Satyagrahi of the proper stamp.

Q. Mr Gandhi, you said you do not consider yourself a perfect Satyagrahi yet. The large mass of people are then, even less so.

A. No I do not consider myself as an extraordinary man. There may be people more capable of determining truth than myself. Forty thousand Indians in South Africa today were based upon the conviction that they could be Satyagrahis and I could take you through those things unless in the Universal you will be surprised to know what interest your countrymen in South Africa exhibited.

Q. But have you more of confidence.

A. I have more ability of opinion here. There in South Africa.

Q. But have you had a clear-cut issue, not here.

A. Here too we have a clear-cut issue viz. the Rowlatt Act.

Mr Gandhi then explained how he presented Satyagraha was instrument of entirely greater power than violence.

Q. Does not satyagrah going on suffering occupies extra ordinary self control?

A. No, no extraordinary self control is required. Every mother suffers. Your countrymen in South Africa got into trouble and they have exhibited that in a very large measure.

Q. Take Ahmedabad. Did they exhibit control here?

A. All I say is, throughout India where you find these satyagrah movements of violence you will find a very large number of people who accepted self-restraint. Ahmedabad and other places show that we had not obtained proper mastery over self. The Kaira people in the matter of giving permission last year acted with the greatest self-restraint.

Q. Do you mean to say these acts of violence were mere accidents?

A. Not accidents. But they were rare and would be rare for a clear conception of Satyagraha. The country, I think, has sufficiently well realized the difference between a moral and a physical force. I do not see that the country is at all the poorer and better for having gone through the test of Satyagraha.

Q. Ordinarily your doctrine notwithstanding co-operation with the Government and elimination of punishment and working self-sufficiency. Does not suffering speak of self?

A. It is contrary to my thirty years' experience that people have by suffering been fitted with any ill will against the Government. In South Africa after a bitter struggle the Indians have lived on the basis of terms with the Government, and then Gandhi was the recipient of an address which was voluntarily voted by the Indians.

Q. Is it possible to take part in the movement without taking the Satyagraha vow?

A. I would not like to take part in the non-violent resistance part of the movement. The manner in which they took the pledge was a bit to do the civil disobedience part of the pledge. For those who were not civil resistance, therefore, another way was devised, asking people to follow truth at all cost and to refuse from violence. I had suspended civil resistance then and was open to a leader to organize one part of the law I eliminated the civil resistance part which was not for that designated to the people and placed the truth part before them.

Mr Chimanlal Bhambhani then referred to the question whether discipline of the Rowlatt Act also was contemplated in the vow and referred to Mrs. Besant's differences with Mr Gandhi. Mr Gandhi said that he had heard in Bombay that she had taken the vow but the Government part of it. She said she had not done so.

Q. Did she not point out that to disobey the Rowlatt Act was would have to be an accident?

4. She has certainly advanced that ground.

Mr Gandhi explained that the deterring consideration was that the Non-Violent Act would not lead itself to active disobedience in a systematic manner.

Q. Is not the underlying idea endorsement of Government?

A. Certainly not. A Satyagraha relies not upon endorsement, but upon self-suffering for a wrong which

Q. Would not a total government be impossible?

A. Only total governments cannot be impossible in actual conditions people break the law. But I would certainly make Government responsible if I found it had taken leave of its senses.

Q. In your message you ask people to refrain from violence and civil violence occurred. Does it not show that the ordinary mind finds it very difficult to practice the theory of non-violence?

A. After having good methods of violence for years it is difficult for them to practice abstinence.

In reply to a question whether he had any evidence in support of the statement that the disturbances were organized, Mr Gandhi replied in the affirmative and said he had no objection to place the materials he had before the Committee although he would not disclose the names of the persons concerned.

Mr Gandhi said, they did not support any destruction of life but only of property. There was some apprehension amongst the I.R.A. and the I.C.A. He said he had the testimony of those who were held in the prisons, and of those who did so, and of those who were witnesses of the scenes. He said he had direct evidence, he had people coming to him to surrender rewards on their possession but they had not the means to do so. He said he could already name all the individuals, but it was impossible for him to identify all, as, for instance, there were people from neighbouring villages who came to him, and said they regretted what they had done, and that what they had done was true pain loss for me. Asked as to how he could determine whether what they said was the truth, Mr Gandhi said he thought he was capable of discerning an interested statement from a truthful one. They took advantage of the temper of the people and put their ideas into their heads. The Extra demand was committed by two or three individuals. They were drunkards and he would not say that the act was a deliberately organized one. It was his conviction that the people in the town had no knowledge of the excess and if they had they would have prevented it. His view was based on the testimony of those for whom he had high regard. He could not tell whether the power exercised of the excess was the same who committed it because he had not heard her name. Proceeding Mr Gandhi said he suspended the civil disobedience movement because he was sure that

the movement as a mass movement under present circumstances was not advisable. He would not expect the people to reduce the amount of the Satyagraha movement but he would expect them to realize that it was better for them, if they could not join the movement, at least to refrain from violence.

Then Mr Chittambal asked Mr Gandhi to read from a letter of his, entitled, "When will Satyagrah be resumed?" and asked of when he was saying that they should be ready to resume Satyagrah because the military dispositions would then be complete, he was not during that military disposition should be kept in all parts of the country in order that people may have the pleasure to indulge in breaking laws. Mr Gandhi said that that was not an interpretation warranted by his words. He would not be guilty of saying such a thing. He did not restrict the campaign on the 1st of July as he had expected, much to the disappointment of his co-workers, only because the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay asked him whether he wanted India to be an armed camp and to suspend the Satyagraha movement if he did not want her to be so, and he suspended it.

Asked as to the tax imposed on the Ahmedabad workmen, Mr Gandhi said the manner of collection was wholly bad, the principle of taxation was bad and the tax fixed for collection was inappropriate for collection. The tax was imposed on certain men only those who had nothing to do with the disturbances. He added that he was not going to say anything regarding the acceptance, and that he was not prepared to dispute the decision voted on subscription. He said he would not be late if he did not pay his testimony to the handsome manner in which the Collector of Ahmedabad had taken the measure, he had thought necessary.

[ To be concluded. ]

Our Madras Agent.

Mr. Ganesan (1, Madhavaram street, Triplicane, Madras) is our authorized agent for Madras.

Manager,  
TODAY INDIA.

#### NOTICE.

All communications regarding subscription, refund etc should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", Chanki Ch, Pambur Salai, Ahmedabad.

Our rate of subscription

[ payable annually in advance ]

Annual in India (cash postage) Five Rupees  
Outside India " " Eight Shillings  
Single Copy (postage extra) One anna

and all correspondence and printed matter to be inserted in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Satyagrahacharya, Ahmedabad.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

New Series }  
Vol. II, No. 4. }

ARRANGED, PUBLISHING, JULY 1911, 1912, 1913

Printed by JAMES  
FISHER & CO.,

## CONTENTS.

	Page
Notes	1
L. Dada's letter	4
-----	
Articles	
The Khilafat	3
The "Lanka" model	6
Imperial Parliament	6
-----	
Our duty towards our girls and widows	5
Widowhood among Hindus	6
Indian provinces in Uganda	6
Mr. Anand's speech	7
Mr. Gandhi's verdict	8

## NOTICES.

All communications regarding subscriptions, orders, etc. should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", 20, Chitra Ch, Peshwar Bazar, Ahmedabad.

Our rate of subscription  
( payable strictly in advance. )

Annual in India (with postage) Four Rupees.

Outside India " " Eight Shillings.

Single Copy (postage extra) One anna.

and all unauthorised printed matter to be inserted in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Satyagrahacharya, Sabarmati.

## Notes.

**The South African Situation.**—The South African correspondent of the Times of India has in his recent communication given the cause of the delay in the appointment of the Commission and the views of the three members that are to sit on it. He has also given the reports of the President of the South African League before the Local Government Commission at Johannesburg.

Our correspondent's communication to-day adds, "the Secretary of the Local Government Commission has received a day or so to tender evidence on, the 15th February next." Our correspondent has sent us a letter of Mr. H. H. Moore, Secretary for the Interior, to the Secretary of the Transvaal/Indian Association. The letter contains the views of Indian

correspondents' views of relieving the steps of the Commission. The letter, most of all, brings us the welcome news that the delegates representing the Indian Government before the Commission in an advisory capacity will include an Indian member, i. e., a non-official Indian will accompany the Transvaal Delegation. Our correspondent says that the Indians in South Africa have proposed the name of the Hon. Mr. Shreevaikuntiah whose name we had suggested in our columns. We hope that the Government of India and Mr. Montagu who have succeeded to their proposal of a non-official member accompanying the Delegation, will arrange to send the Hon. Mr. Shreevaikuntiah as our non-official representative.

**The "Leader" Ruled.**—In the course of his examination, Lord Hunter asked Mr. Gandhi whether there would be any objection to a Satyagrah to enforce the policy of the non-use of the more serious arms in the case considered in his own pamphlet. Mr. Gandhi answered "Of course I am not at all against it to your Lordship. I don't want to deprive the youth of the country, but even then I cannot go against his own brother. When I say brother I don't mean of course, such a thing destruction of country or nationality. A Satyagrah is wholly independent of such a destruction."

Commenting on this the "Leader" says "We were under the impression that a Satyagrah did not require any destruction of country or use in the widest sense of the word. But it appears from Mr. Gandhi's evidence that the doctrine of Satyagrah is subject to total modification."

Evidently the "Leader" has been misled.

**The spectre of high prices.**—A Christian body of London has sent us a cutting from the above mentioned columns of the Indian Daily Telegraph, drawing our attention to the high price problem. The correspondent has quoted figures to bring out the amazing difference between the rates of the past and the present. The correspondent has suggested as a solution of this all-India problem a meeting of the representatives of different United Provinces and League to enquire into the question and to obtain representation on all occasions for the purpose of looking after the interests of the working class.

Now, this question is under discussion in various provinces, and the strikes, in different states, which are universally acknowledged as one of the effects of high prices, make it impossible to delay the consideration any longer. The other day the Bombay Corporation discussed the problem and various suggestions were forwarded as to the measures to put a stop to this evil. Nobody would gainsay that the present high prices were disproportionate with the increase in wages. They were all agreed that the Government had affected the increase and public discussion will, Mr. J. A. Wade said, "Taking wages, milk, cloth, and besides all together the average rise in prices was about 140 per cent during the war period." The increase in wages during the period, we are told, is 48 per cent. Besides this inevitable increase in wages of a millhand, we have complaints from Government servants of different departments regarding their insufficient salaries. The increase in wages and salaries also can only be at the best a temporary remedy. The solution that was proposed by the different members of the Bombay Corporation was among others Government control cheap grain shops, and stopping the export of grain and wheat to places outside India. All these are being tried in different places. The first two had their failures. But, for these failures we cannot condemn the merits of the system. We have to work these agencies more honestly and with greater cooperation. The third remedy of stopping the export of grain and wheat has proved successful in large states like India. If we measure the effect of these three measures only in the case of glass, we can save 100,000 tons every month—which we have been exporting for the last three years. We do not and our glass exports, we keep our sails for ourselves and in addition to them we manage to find our market well, and we achieve the major part of the needed. As regards the other necessities we, even what we are today, need not look for outside help any; in the case of cloth.

Cloth is our largest export and we have time and again put before our readers our people and our scheme of solving the problem.

**Mr. Andrews' letter**—In his letter to Mr. D. Mr. Andrews writes in an interesting

It touched me very much to read the Press commentary. They were so poor and yet so educated and cultured. I felt so proud of India when I saw their earnest, intellectual faces. Not one of them mingled with any comment as far as I could see, and it made me, say, very sad to see that of the great number which had been brought upon them, when the Economic Commission called them "socially degraded."

I have been very all-wise at several times, as possible to go on—but it was the real truth that I should have this illness and also that I should recover. For when I was in the very hospital, by God's

Providence, I was given the best testimony that I could ever have got about the Indian community which completely overthrew the Government's Empire in its local position and I also received the testimony of Sir Agni Kagan of Uganda which I should otherwise have missed.

**Hindi or English**—The following extract from Mr. C. Raghupathaswami's letter to the 'Hindu' will be of interest—

It is rather strange that politicians who, when the question of constitutional reform is considered, are not hauled by objections, but on view of unaccountable obstacles reveal themselves to the general masses of democracy and provincial services, not only on the question of a common language, but also, especially, regard Hindi, because it is not at all a perfect solution of the problem. In this case, they do not naturally consider that of the people who because it is not possible to have a complete democracy at once would keep up the present system of educational.

In the solution of the language problem the first question is, not the dominating language of Congress, say, say, English, Hindi, or, but which one of the spoken languages of the people has to take the place. Any one who has observed the character of the atmosphere at Calcutta and Congress-hall within the last few years would have noticed that the vast majority of the delegates are persons who speak no other English speaker. This characteristic is bound, with the advance of years of political education in the country, rapidly to increase.

The choice of Hindustani as one, by pointing to differences between Hindi and Urdu. It is significant that the Hindi-Urdu difficulty is not generally raised by any one who attended Congress, and who knows neither Hindi or Urdu, any more than English knowing people would raise questions as to the Latin or Anglo-Saxon vocabulary of the English speaker made in Congress.

Hindustani is not from or neither is the language of ever two out of the thirty million of India, and it is much less understandable to those more than of men and women in Southern India than English can ever be. The South Indian difficulty is a very real difficulty. But we must think that the question should remain for ever untroubled for all people, because of the great difficulty of even English does not solve it for South India except for the English educated minority. It is not only in the major policy to convert to English in a Congress held in Hindustani states, where the common people, men and women, are eager to take part.

After all, in Hindustani as foreign to us it is the language spoken by our Hindustani brethren in South India. It is too much to ask ourselves to learn this language as a second language; for the sake of national unity between North and South, between Hindi and Marathi? The general prevalence of politicians may be too old to learn a new tongue, but the youth of the country are impatiently willing to become bilinguists and bicultural, especially and eagerly they do it themselves for work in United India. It is a more important equipment than many an other subject ever which our boys and girls are raising their physical brains.

## L. TILAK'S LETTER.

To,

The Editor, 'Young India,'

Allahabad.

Dear Sir,

I am sorry to see that in your article on 'Belgian Revolution' in the last issue, you have represented me as holding that I considered 'every thing done in politics.' I write this to you to say that my view is not correctly represented herein. Politics is a game of worldly people and not of soldiers, and instead of the motto 'सिद्धिर्मात्रं धर्मो' as preached by Buddha, I prefer to rely on the maxim of Shri Krishna 'ये नान्यथा विचारयन्ति सत्त्विकं विचारयन्ति.' That explains the whole difference and also the meaning of my phrase 'responsibility in questions.' Both methods are equally honest and righteous but the one is more suited to this world than the other. Any further explanation about the difference will be found in my 'Din-Lekha'.

From G. P. N. }  
14-1-1920 }

Yours etc.  
B. G. Tilak.

I naturally feel the greatest difference about justice arise with the Lokamanya in matters involving questions of inter-religious or religious works. But there are things in which what makes a true and honest cooperation. For me there is no conflict between the two texts quoted by the Lokamanya. The Buddhist text lays down an eternal principle. The text from the Bhagavad Gita shows to me how the principle of respecting hate by love, hatred by truth, and so on must be applied. If it be true that God punishes not the same sinners in so that we walk out to all our followers that if we would escape sinners punishment we may not refuse a cup of water but gratify our eyes against anger. And this is the law not for the cowardly but essentially for the cowardly. With reference to the Lokamanya I venture to say that it belongs to the Lokamanya to think that the world is not divided. The opinions of all religions are to promote *Parivartan*, and *Parivartan* is nothing but a desperate attempt to become *Brahm* is to become a gentleman in every sense of the term.

Finally, when I wrote the sentence about 'everything being this in politics' according to the Lokamanya's creed I had in mind his oft-repeated quote 'सर्वं नैव धर्मो' 'There is no dharma but law.' And I shall not despair of the Lokamanya with all his senses agreeably surprising India one day with a philosophical character proving the falsity of the doctrine. In my own I got the expression of a third of a century against the doctrine underlying the *धर्मो*. The law is *सर्वं नैव धर्मो*.

B. K. Ghosh.

## Young India

Allahabad, Wednesday, 24th January, 1920

## THE KHILAFAT.

(By M. K. GHOSH.)

The question of questions to-day is the Khalifat question, otherwise known as that of the Turkish game table. His Excellency the Viceroy deserves our thanks for reserving the final disposition even at this late hour, especially when he was busy preparing to reserve the hands of the different provinces. His Excellency must be thanked for the useful meeting with which he received the deputations and the courteous language in which his reply was couched. But were courtesy, valuable as it is at all times, never so valuable as this, not enough at this critical moment. Short words better no passage in a person's name applicable to-day than ever before. Behind the courtesy there was the determination to punish Turkey. Punishment of Turkey is a thing which Khalifa cannot stand before for a moment. Muslim soldiers are as responsible for the result of the war as any others. It was to appear then that Mr. Asquith and when Turkey decided to join the Central Powers that the British Government had no doubts on Turkey and that His Majesty's Government would never think of punishing the Sultan for the misdeeds of the Turkish Government. Examined by that standard the Viceroy's reply is not only disappointing but it is a fall from truth and justice.

What is the British Empire? It is an *Imperium* Mohammedan and Christian, its religious authority is not a *coram* or *in* it, it is a *coram* of *coram* only. Such a mighty Empire could not be held together on any other terms. British ministers are therefore bound to protect Mohammedan interests as any other. Indeed as the Muslim speaker says they are bound to make the case their own. What is the use of His Excellency having presented the Muslim case before the Conference? If the issue is lost, the Mohammedans will be entitled to think that Britain did not do her duty by them. And the Viceroy's reply must show the way. When His Excellency says that Turkey must either for her having joined the Central Powers be but expressed the opinion of the British ministers. We hope, therefore, that the honour of the Muslim speaker that His Majesty's ministers will meet the situation if any have been committed and secure a settlement that would satisfy Mohammedan sentiment.

What does the settlement demand? The preservation of the Khalifat with such guarantees as may be necessary for the protection of the interests of the non-Muslims living under Turkish rule and the Khalifa's control over Arabia and the Holy Places with such arrangements as may be required for guaranteeing Arab interests, should the Arabs desire it. It is hardly possible to state the terms more fully than has been done. It is a claim backed by justice, by the declarations of British ministers and by the unanimous Muslim and Muslim opinion. It would be a disgrace for any Government to which *Allah* claims to belong.

## THE 'LEADER' MISLED.

The "Leader" in its anxiety to make out a case against the Satyagraha movement from Mr. Gandhi's admissions, seems to have grievously neglected to consider his written statement and admissions as a whole. Proceeding upon his admission of his "having temporarily damaged the feeling of respect for law in some people", it has tried to prove how the Satyagraha movement would have led to dishonour or evil results and asks "Did not Mr. Gandhi start the movement prematurely? Were all the other and sadder constitutional means for securing the repeal of the Rowlett Act exhausted before he launched his movement?" Having satisfied itself that the movement was premature it diverted into a hazy and cloudy sea of uncertainty of "awakening moral virtues with other high qualities of head and heart to promote public interest" and it concludes by saying that ordinary people would fit to apply the principles of Satyagraha demands rightly.

Now, every one of these allegations has been completely answered in Mr. Gandhi's statement and the evidence before the Hunter Committee. As regards the charge of starting his campaign prematurely Mr. Gandhi says, "I approached on London, Louis Luchinska, and pleaded with him and with every English officer I had the pleasure of meeting and placed my views before them, but they solitary were helpless. . . . We had exhausted all the methods open to us." All the popular members of the Rajputa Council had endorsed the legislation. The action had opposed itself to one man through the considerable meetings throughout the length and breadth of the country and the cause was not overthrown" in the least. On one contemporary point-out what "other and sadder constitutional means" were left untried? If any were left other leaders would certainly have used them when Mr. Gandhi gave them an opportunity to do so by repudiating Civil Resistance. It is more than one month since Mr. Gandhi wrote in his reply to Mr. Abbot, as follows:

"If you have a remedy after the Civil Resistance by all means apply it and if you are surrounded Civil Resistance fails away automatically. The period of suspension is the period during which you and all the leaders who dread or disapprove of Civil Resistance can work with all your might to bring about the desired result."

Recently from a more statement of Mr. Gandhi that his propaganda resulted in "temporarily damaging the feeling of respect for law in some people" the "Leader" jumps to the conclusion that "if it had been presented in for a sufficient time it would have effected a larger number of persons with even probably more deplorable results." The "Leader" even goes that "the spirit of a submission to the people as a whole" would have been created. This conclusion is supported neither by facts nor by logic. On the contrary, it was Satyagraha that prevented the more deplorable results which would have

followed in the wake of the better agitation provided by the Government's arbitrary. No doubt, Satyagraha has undeniably done the best of law as law, in the minds of people, but it has created in them an intelligent and deep respect for law and order as being the basis of all social stability and advancement. "A Satyagrahi ever clings the laws of the State to which he belongs not out of fear of the penalties but because he considers them to be good for the welfare of society." And when an man attempts to break the law he considers he will accept and know he does so openly and avowedly. His action, therefore, cannot embarrass the Government. The experience of Kaira and Champaran and the larger extent of the Indians in South Africa are, we believe, an ample proof of the self-restraining influence of Satyagraha. Even in the matter of the Rowlett Act agitation the country as a whole presented an exemplary restrained temper of the gravest provocation and otherwise violence did take place the Satyagrahi was invariably and consistently on the side of law and order. The disturbances caused not with the "Leader" since he would Satyagraha was provoked but because Satyagraha was not well made, provoked and because the people had not developed the capacity to stand any amount of suffering and provocation.

In the face of all these facts will the "Leader" still persist in regarding Satyagraha, which is nothing but truth and Ahimsa, as being granted to be prohibited in the name? If it does, it will surely betray its want of faith in human nature and the power of good over evil.

## THE QUESTION OF IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

The relations and the dangers overgrown in the war with Germany, have taught England the value of Imperial consolidation and it is urged from many quarters that the Empire is a vast and produces such a variety of raw materials and manufactured goods that it may become self-sufficient more easily than any other political organization in the world. The dream of making the Empire self contained is obviously based on the advantages reported from the industrial and commercial independence. The simple remedy of achieving this independence for our Empire is to make every component part of the Empire self-sufficient. We, however, know that this simple remedy, perhaps for its very simplicity, will be neglected as a father's solution. We know the so-called wiser ideas of the present day economists will not allow them to accept this solution.

Leaving aside for a moment this solution even these economists will agree to the fact that to make the Imperial Preference policy successful all the component parts of the Empire should be equally free to adopt the new policy. Satyagrahi our country the new Government says that the Secretary officials should so far as possible obtain free intervention in local matters when the Government of India and the Im-

has Legislature agree, and slightly intervene to safeguard the constitutional obligations of the Ruler, or any final arrangement within the Empire to His Majesty's Government is a party. There is a serious query whether this provision gives enough authority to accept or abandon the Imperial Preference policy. It all depends upon the manner of working this part of the Reform Act. We cannot have things, as Mr. J. B. Fisher observed the other day, a Mustang or a Snake at the helm of India to guarantee a liberal interpretation. But, as the question of Imperial Preference is to be decided in the present uncoloured Council, we shall ever meet the advantage of getting our public opinion truthfully represented in the Council and other advantages the Reform Act has brought us.

Mr. George Baines speaking before the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber observed that a Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council would be appointed to go into the question of Imperial Preference and to submit their report. Such a Committee cannot be reported to properly represent the public opinion of India. The Hon. Mr. W. C. Fisher, President of the Industrial Conference has asked that the Committee should have wider powers under its terms of reference so that it can go into the whole question of tariffs and not simply deal with one aspect of the fiscal question, namely, Imperial Preference. He also hoped that this Committee will take public opinion regarding this question. The expression of public opinion through various means would be some preference under the circumstances. The Hon. Mr. J. B. Fisher addressing the Conference of India and Captain Chamberlain of Commerce has promised us "not to adopt a policy of preference without full discussion and full support from enlightened public opinion." But the Hon. Mr. Fisher has warned against any hasty opinion on the matter "Let us not," he said, "express ideas without a close examination of the statistics and of the conditions of the trade concerned." No mistake can, however, prove that it was the interest of India to suffer restraint, action and to lay down. The resolution of the Industrial Conference runs up the demand of the nation, which reads as follows:—

"The Conference strongly disapproves of the policy of Imperial preference attempted to be introduced as mentioned in the recent legislation, regarding the imports of India and urges that no measure of Imperial preference should be adopted till the whole question has been examined by a Committee fully representative of the various industrial and commercial interests of the country, and charged with powers of taking public evidence regarding all fiscal questions, as entrusted to the Dispatch of the Secretary of State reviewing the report of the Indian Industrial Commission, and with the Indian Legislature in its position of deciding for itself the final policy to be taken in the interests of the country, and of carrying it into effect."

## OUR DUTY TOWARDS OUR ARTS AND INDUSTRIES.

We give below a reprint of Mr. Charles W. Ma. Egan's letter from the pages of *Nation's*. The Swedish movement:—

"For myself, I have produced and produced Swedish for thirty-five years—in the clothes, shoes, caps, hats, carpets, curtains, dresses, ornaments and book covers, everything in my little dressing-room, except the engravings and books in French or Dutch, most of which were Indian. I worked the handy costume of a gentleman who had been staying in Sweden in Calcutta. I saw no signs except to be in the clothes for subscribers in Europe. My own money was for people want-making, my own money was for my beautiful and beautiful things were there from France and Italy in enamel, marble and glass, but nothing from India. Just the same as another resident of my home riding that out a country-made article to me in the last German period upon the French as it runs the property of their patronizing the country article. It was then Lady F. to my knowledge personally on Mansfield before. It was then I myself and the Edward Bank in the French was working India to produce Agnes's work and L. K. show models of other. Here is a sample list. The process things of the Douglas Bay have been publicly mentioned at the India and Calcutta. European Agnes table, which I bought and presented to the Calcutta Museum, there was not a single specimen of high class or any Indian interest in the magnificent collection, even the room which cost about two lakhs rupees by an English firm. The Queen-Empress, whose coronation robes in Lady Curzon's costume were prepared in Agnes, has probably done more for the Swedish movement than all the Princes of Egypt. True there are many Scandinavian arts and crafts in the United Provinces and the Punjab. Thirty years ago, I pointed out to editor of the *Daily Chronicle* all the industries, which might be followed with success. Especially I took my pleasure, for which materials he had done up on the German plan. This is being worked, the tall chimney of a glass factory can be seen from the Bazaar road. But the owner will be quiet, he has no time to talk to those not even advantage. Who have painted the tree, steel and manganese industries in Bengal, the Central Provinces and Madras of recent years? Berton, Dornier Glass, Oplinet and myself, and so one gave more useful support than Mr. J. B. Fisher. Here also the author of a most valuable and valuable work on tobacco, olives, cotton, hemp and flax, which were sold to me out of Tiggars collection's library for two rupees, as no one ever looked at it. Such is the backwardness of Bengal. But outside Edward Bank has all his money, as English and many another did before him, in charging India in Sweden. I have myself spent about ten thousand rupees, nearly all but. How often have I been called out India my-bag to my domestic article, for wearing Indian garment even in London,

Please advocate justice to English officers and their wives, who have labored for the poor peasant artisans and done their best for him. Remember that 500 per cent duties on Indian mill fabrics, and customs duty on Manchester goods, whatever its defects, is a protection for the hand-loom weaver. The principal source of the matter are the middle classes of India. Often have I pointed out to a Congressman that, everything he was wearing was of English make, while my own fine costume, except the hat, was country-made. By all means, boycott English or German made cloth, especially, entirely and persistently in doing so. If I tender one word of advice! Let such peasant make and stick to the rule that at least half of his expenditure on clothes must be on country-made articles, while imported cigarettes should be avoided like poison.

We must be thankful to Mr. McKim for his effort for the Indian arts and crafts, and for the interesting facts about how some Hindoos are already working for the encouragement of Indian crafts. These facts are a direct proof of the possibility of the Englishman co-operating in the cause of the revival of Hindoos' (as I called all class of boycott). It is indeed sad to reflect that while some European nations protect their loss by the beautiful articles of Indian manufacture even at the risk of some men's rebuffs and protest on such leading men of nations should go on the foreign articles in order to satisfy their vulgar love of ostentation. All honor to those Englishmen who are raising their savings to give a start to our Hindoo industries. It is, however, the duty of Indians to see that their arts and crafts are in the hands of Indians themselves or those who have made India their home. In this connection it is important to note the following extract from an article of Mr. H. Nihal Singh—

It had that the Indian Government and the interests of native and other crafts of its dominion, are facing the threaten of British industrialists towards building their own where our materials are available in abundance, rather than maintaining the present policy of importing these from places thousands of miles distant and thereby paying heavy shipping and other various charges. Some time ago a specimen of industry told me that he had refused lead on a certain part of India which was to put up up with these.

The Indian masses, therefore, for the Indian work to be to see that they shall encourage local production and consumption of articles of use and comfort.

The 100 per cent duty on mill-made fabrics may be taken as a protection for handloom weavers. But the fact unfortunately is that the protection does not reach the Indian weaver,

#### Our Indian Agent

Mr. Brama (A. Nandaraman street, Triplicane Madras) is our Indian and agent for Madras Messrs. Young India

#### Muslims' Muslim demand.

The Khilafat Deputation has issued the following statement—

The Secretary, while it was greatly courteous, was equally disappointing in that his Excellency used an emphatic language that Turkey, when she had her share, deliberately drew the sword against the Allied Powers and must take the consequences. We consider this most prejudicial to Turkey for having joined the Central Powers, contrary to the solemn declarations made by the Emperor, the then Prime Minister, after Turkey had so made her choice. His Excellency opened that whenever the decision, in favor Muslim loyalty would be made in favor of our We desire to place on record our deep regret that should the peace terms result unfavorably to Muslim religion and civilization, they would place us in the same position which Italy, and Germany as we do the universal feeling in India, as well with a full sense of responsibility, it is not possible for us to give the assurance his Excellency has reported. It is due to the Peace Deputation that it was willing to contribute to the Empire in which we desire to remain loyal, to state in explicit language the assurance that will satisfy Muslim sentiment, Arabic as delineated by the Muslim authorities of the Holy Places of Islam must remain under the control of the Khilafat, full guarantees being given, consistently with the dignity of a sovereign State, for present Indian self-government, should the Arabs share it. We already send the most gratifying tribute to the present arrangements, although frustrated by the ever-lasting mystery of intelligible Muslim opinion. Islam has ever associated temporal power with the Khilafat. We, therefore, consider that in such a situation a more proper world will reach us to carry and would only be undertaken by Indian Muslims as an attempt goes to them by a combination of Christian Powers. What, therefore, we most trust upon the pledge given by Mr. Lloyd George on the 15th January, 1915, being fulfilled in order to show that we desire no more than strictest justice, we would the right of the Allied Powers to end for such guarantee as may be considered necessary for the full protection of non-Muslims and to be under the Sultan. We hope that as the strength here that British Government will give due weight to and appreciate Muslim sentiment in India, supported as it is by practically the whole of enlightened Muslim opinion. His Excellency has stated that it is just possible the peace terms may be completed and declared within a few days, and we earnestly hope that it is not yet too late to send that notable way there has accomplished. We claim that the British Imperial Government is so much to be for Muslim and Indian interests as for Christian. It is, therefore, not enough that our sentiment and wishes are placed before the League, but it is essential that the British Ministry make use our own voice.

#### INDIAN OBEDIENCE IN UGANDA

We read the following from the "Times" of India

The Uganda Protectorate has been visited in a report of an address presented to His Excellency the Governor of Uganda by the members of the Kampala Indian Association at Kampala, on that country. The occasion was the departure of the Governor for England which he was pro-



ing the explosion of all is done from all. Advers, what better success could be given than the blind success of a people, like the Indians of old, devoted to learning? I was the most interested adversary, because I know so well more typical of success. Indications that, devoted to learning. Their present duty drove into the cell, and then you can laugh at all. Government and Courts have what work to do in you out of India. Your very deepest roots are the roots of education given to your children.

"When I was in Uganda, I heard a report up and down the country, which alarmed my heart. It was that, that the Indians had been in two parts with their late Uganda, which the British people had been quite to bring out. The first was the loss of honor, the loss of the mother and wife at the center of their home. This is done here and respect for mother and wife had been a blessing to the British people. The second was, to understand follow your example. The second thing was the Indian's strong feeling for his little children. Yes, the British people were quite right in their way of appreciation of these things of India, because, for they are typical of India, as every one who knows and loves India to describe full well. But I want to mention that this characteristic, the loss of the wife, could not be a question of equal or equal over the children's welfare thoughtfully and steadily and make it responsible for the father to keep these children with him, ally and morally, in darkness."

### MR. GARDNER'S EVIDENCE

We give below Mr. Gardner's examination by Justice Rankin—

Justice Rankin said he was told to get some dates from Mr. Gardner. In reply he saw Mr. Gardner and the Brijyagraha case was taken at the third week of February and agreed that the Brijyagraha Bill [?] had not yet passed.

Justice Rankin then asked if it was proved the company was ragging with opposition or to methods of protest against it and one of the forms of protest suggested was related to pay the revenue?

A. Yes.

Q. The orders passed by Magistrates were also to be disobeyed?

A. I opposed the proposal. I had asked the people to shew me the names of any I considered that all police orders should be completely disobeyed.

My Justice Rankin asked Mr. Gardner if he could not convince his witnesses by any other public demonstrations and Mr. Gardner agreed to furnish what documentary evidence there was in his possession.

Q. In going to Delhi, it was not your intention to come into collision with the authorities?

A. No. I had received a letter from Dr. Brijyagraha and Dr. Brijyagraha had asked me to go to Delhi as the people there were getting unreasonable.

Q. He was not a man, just to "punish the people" who had got out of his hands, but to prevent the Brijyagraha movement?

A. No, not to prevent the movement. He said, "I

have failed," and that I should go by goodly people there. I was not going there to shew Government how for the purpose of the Brijyagraha case. I was proceeding to help the authorities.

How did Justice Rankin asked Mr. Gardner to supply some documentary evidence in his possession, as to the public relations of his witness?

Justice Rankin. Mr. Gardner, you say in your speech of the 14th April that the names of the men presented you from carrying out your idea of going upon in Delhi for students. Is not this a passing thought, I suppose?

A. It was not a passing thought. It was my intention.

Q. What was your object in making arrests?

A. My object was to make independent agents and agents and the respectable law was received.

Q. That is not the object of the Brijyagraha? I understand?

A. It was not always. I did it in order to make self-reliance.

Mr. Justice Rankin. Was it your idea that that would induce the country and be efficient in securing the Legislature?

Mr. Gardner. Not at all. If it was, I could have proceeded in Delhi straight away. I had no idea of what had occurred in Gujarat and elsewhere and had never seen the things. I understood the day after my arrival in Bombay.

Mr. Gardner then explained why civil disobedience was suggested, with its object of starting a law prohibiting the observance of Lord Chelmsford's decrees through the Government of Bombay by limited from restricting it. He explained that during the several years since my arrival in India to educate the people and then you saw a demand for a law which people were asked to pledge themselves to the truth and to the law. Just of the former was.

Q. Do you think that for India as a whole, by a non-compliance of your doctrine, there has been a real tendency to sympathy with heretofore?

A. I don't think that it is so.

Mr. Justice Rankin. Finally the question, Mr. Gardner, do you feel having done nothing to change the law-making treatment of the people in India?

Mr. Gardner. I feel guilty of having temporarily disappointed that content of certain people.

Justice Rankin. There are certain parts in India, as in Punjab where people were more likely to understand your doctrine?

Mr. Gardner. No. These non-compliance people in India to understand. As to the Punjab, I have found these people who are less understood Brijyagraha, and wherever I have gone I have met people who naturally support the movement.

Justice Rankin. You said Mr. Gardner, feeling the law by a Government was meant as a settlement. Did you intend that such persons would have a separate law made?

A. Yes, and was to have a separate Government. But I was made President everywhere at that we should have the same policy everywhere. That of course I did not contemplate the multiplicity of different laws being system in different places.

Mr. Gardner then explained the difference between your programme and real discipline and real justice and stated did not without the methods of protest.

[We regret we could not give this time Mr. Gardner's examination by the other members of the Council.]



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by N. K. Ghosh.)

17615

New Series } **WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1920** } Price One Anna  
Vol. II, No. 5 } Per Annum Five Rupees.

## CONTENTS

	Page
Notes	1
Articles	
Two Documents	1
Party arrangements	4
The National Party and the Congress	9
Reviews	
Mr. Gandhi's evidence	11
Correspondence between Mr. G. D. Birla and Mr. Ghosh	1

## Notes.

**The Khalifat Deputation.**—We are aware as a rule by deputations going to England. If we wish to command the respect of the world, we must give rational and logical public opinion as basis. This would tell on public opinion outside. In other words we must have more and more to rely on our own strength. But there are instances when a deputation is the centre of the Empire strengthening system in India. The Khalifat Deputation perhaps fits under such a category. Perhaps has done so in this matter. The Supreme Council has found the Khalifat question not quite easy to handle. It is very wise the straightest means to take. Best reason is to be treated, to resolution process as being brought to bear on the Supreme Council to discuss over Turkey and to depose the Khalif of need, if not all, of her temporal power. Christian powers are unwilling to do so unhesitatingly. For, unshakement of Turkey as the deputation of the control of the Holy places of Islam can be justified by no code of honor or morality that we know. And the very strength of the Christian power should dictate to them a policy of strict justice in Turkey and the most unyielding regard for the sentiments of the Mohammedans of the world. The Khalifat Deputation can by a religious, a true and honest handling of their issue, raise the conscience of England if not of Europe. But whether they succeed in doing so or not a jubilation is in store for the representatives of the new India. The Christian Powers should feel that upon us lies

**The Royal statement.**—Seldom is being given to the ordinary class of the Royal Proclamation with less despatch. But we would urge the Government concerned to be quicker than they have been. Nothing has perhaps saved the situation as much as this go down and for which the country has to be thankful to Mr. Bunting. We can see Lord Birla's hand in the many passages of the Proclamation. But the good effect can be easily neutralized by hard or ungenerous action on the part of those who are responsible for giving effect to the wishes of the Sovereign. Qualification of conditions mitigate the nature of such gifts. And after all are not 'whenever' and 'if' necessary terms of our law? If a person does not desire to be discharged, it would be a matter done in money to the charge law. In the same way the country considers the vast majority of those who have been and are being discharged to be totally innocent. In these statements these charges are not related with of justice, a token of appreciation on the part of the authorities. But action of Government are not weighed on public scales. And it is the proper thing to consider the whole of the progress of the crime is exposed, let us hope British Central and Provincial Governments will do nothing to dull the glow of satisfaction that pervades the country at the present moment in the act of discharging. We have been mourning lately have all parts of India going on the case of those who should be discharged in terms of the Proclamation. We have advised patience in every case in the confidence that those in charge of the matter are expediting releases with all possible despatch.

**The question of Indians abroad.**—The two letters that Mr. Gandhi received from Sir George Buxton and that by him to the press, show that the Government of India is well-wishers on the question and that they are taking effective steps to guard the rights of the Indian in South Africa and West Africa. The European Colonies has just asked for South Africa. The problem is how to handle in Africa, the problem is how to war down a strong. We have confidence in our diplomatic tact. It knows that there are to be no relations to the South Africa question. The new rights of our countrymen who live under South Africa there would have had to be fully protected. We have dealt with the last African question in our leading columns. The

George Bassett letter which fully sympathizes with a resolution which Mr Gandhi's reply has supplied. So should it be right in theory that every country has a right to have our independence going to them from other countries. But the George Bassett ought to know by this time the exact meaning now made of the term 'Unabhängig'.

When the above was in type, the Kaulbhary the Viceroy's opening speech in the Council has appeared in the daily papers. His Kaulbhary has in this speech given an excellent assurance that his Government will do, as it already has been doing, everything in its power to defend Indian interests. We are thankful for this timely assurance which will go a great way to create confidence for which the Kaulbhary has so earnestly pleaded. In the matter of the P.T. and State Departments we are glad to see that the most proper thing to do is leaving the question almost wholly to the decision of the people's representatives.

**Wanted Dr Anna Shawa.**—The Spring field Faculty Republican demands the life of Dr Anna Howard Shaw whose lifetime devotion to the women's cause has been crowned with the passing of a resolution of the Federal Convention by the United States Congress whereby the American women are recognized from their political inferiority status. It should have an interest by everyone who has the women's cause at heart and especially when our women have been left alone to fight out their own cause in our legislative assemblies. The journal writes:

The life of Dr. Shaw, coming to America as a labor child of an immigrant family from England, was of the sort that we like to regard as typically American. Living in a big world in the world of Managua, struggling for and obtaining an education under exceptional difficulties, finding her way always with the helplessness of her kind in the men's world, into activities which are undertaken by women, she became a power by social good by her personal, individual contact with people about her and by her eloquence, administrative ability and good sense. The real work led her to make 106 speeches before various day in 1918, the year in which she received from the offer of president of the national women college association, was earlier credit and in her domestic magazines for her personal and self-value in her successful efforts to attract the Christian ministry and in her ministrations both in the little congregations in the City and in the great of Boston.

It was to make her Christian ministry more practical that Anna Shaw received the credits for which she obtained her first doctor's degree, that of doctor of medicine. She could not be satisfied with university work that was primarily practical, but she was after all chiefly the doctor in the primary meaning of the word—the teacher. This was formally recognized by the awarding upon her of the other degree which she held—three of doctor in theology and doctor of laws. With an exceptional understanding of practical and a true sense of business,

Dr Shaw was peculiarly fitted as a teacher in trying and doubtful times. An understanding of the national necessities of enterprise she helped to guide the great movement along the lines most wisely to lead to victory. She was an aggressive manager, a deeply thoughtful of her cause, but she carried through clear of military and commercial phases of business. She directed in her own person the work which she practiced.

**Self-education.**—Sir Chemseddin Behrooz in his examination of Mr Gandhi asked if it did not require high intellectual and moral equipment to apprehend truth. In replying to the question directly, as the note in 'Self-education,' the *Indian Social Reformers* says: "The question in our opinion belongs a strange ignorance of what truth is. The fact and axiomatic of truth is that it can be apprehended by all." Another question of the Chemseddin was equally noteworthy. He asked "Honesty showing other truths is followed in every case. Would that not lead to confusion?" Mr Gandhi replied "That is why the non-violence part was necessary auxiliary. Without that there would be a confusion and worse." These replies together make the lesson of Self-education clear. In the connection the *Indian Social Reformers* states: "If the people understand Self-education in the sense that Mr Gandhi understands it, there will be no other or more efficacious means of national education."

The tradition carried in Mother's halls of the people living used Self-education against Anarchy in connection with a lasting memory as Mothers has been quoted as an example of the people having understood Self-education in the fact that they had traditions which have not independently found their place in the pages of history are shared with the Fore-fathers stories. The story of Indian Self-education is both a story of a people's history by means of which they have learned to understand the understanding of Self-education by the masses. If we study the recent powerful Harish, the credit is put before us of the military force English history has a precedent in the persistence of the Quakers and their success in getting their demands recognized by the Legislature. The history of these brave sufferers who may not, we are afraid, be regarded as sufficient to warrant a generalization for all nations, however, it may be argued, the English Democrats were colored enough to understand the non-violence part of their creed. Surely hoping all that in, in goal of conversion to those that desired a precedent in history, the leading history of the Declaration, a kind of present Self-education of Roman Theria is an instance of a people's ordinary but more advanced than our masses here. The doctrine itself the history of these Self-education is a precedent in Chemseddin Behrooz's estimate of the Empire. We would that the capacity of the masses for suffering for truth may be under certain circumstances limited. That, however, cannot be derived from the fact of their possessing such a capacity.

[The repetition throughout the history of the Declaration.]

## Young India

Published, Wednesday, 4th February, 1920

### TWO DOCUMENTS.

Our studies are aware that a real change of moral depravity has been made against the Indian settlers in East Africa and it has been stated by respected Europeans that the settlers of Africa have been lost by the presence of the Indian settlers. Mr. Andrews, who has rendered precious services to our countrymen during his short stay in East Africa has succeeded in disposing of both the charges on which would be termed unscrupulous testimony. He has presented a certificate from Dr. Albert Cook which he describes as "perhaps the most famous doctor in all Africa." On the first charge Dr. Cook says:

"Having been in charge of the largest hospital in Uganda for over 20 years I give it as my deliberate opinion that there is no general disease among the Indians resident in Kampala that may cause concern of the Government. This hospital has over 500 beds and we have large in-patient and out-patient practices among the Indians."

There cannot be anything more complete or satisfying than this certificate. It is an excellent hospital report. We are reminded of a similar charge having been made in South Africa during the early years, and it was met with by the testimony of medical men who had a large practice among Indian settlers. The denigrative language advanced by the medical men who found that they themselves were the worst offenders so far as moral depravity was concerned. So now India in South Africa our people were not, trade competition and jealousy due to it. It is nothing else or nothing more in East Africa. But the old charges are being treated with a view to fix the public mind and to rid the sympathy of dishonestly minded persons. Whatever may be the result in the end, Mr. Andrews has at least cleared the ground and brought the only issue to a head.

The second charge about the entire Africa. Similar has been equally satisfactorily answered by the production of a document signed by the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice. Two members of the Indian Parliament, Mr. Andrews says in his covering letter that this is the only authoritative and self-governing body of Africans in Central Africa. Their voice, he adds, "should be quite final in such matters." Let us hear what voice Mr. Agboola Egunyand and the Prime Minister and Mr. Stanley Egunyand, the Chief Justice, say in their letter to Mr. Andrews:

"With reference to our meeting with you in connection with Parliament this week, we beg to inform you that we are speaking as represented by the following two parties which were not, namely—

(1) We do want the Indians to remain in our country, as we consider that their presence would improve our country, and would do a great good, and would do us harm to the country. Besides, we feel these were people. We would if we were like Indian Indians.

(2) We do not want our country to be united to any other European, for, we consider that if this was done it would greatly interfere with our Uganda Treaty, 1900, and our customs. We have other reasons besides. Therefore, we would very much like this Protectorate to remain as it is.

So the Africans not only do not consider them to be undesirable but they "do want the Indians to remain" in their country. The 'do' is emphasized in the original. And they want them because the Indians settlers improve our country and would do a bit of good and would do us harm."

It is against such people that an unscrupulous politician is being warned on Government grounds. Happily the Government of India is with a grain and we trust that before long the stout heretofore our countrymen in East and Central Africa will disagree.

### PARTY ORGANIZATIONS.

With the coming of Independence it is an established Indian public opinion should crystallize into parties, it is no longer possible to remain in a unity which the Congress presented as long as its deliberations. The Congress will present and will have to make provision for a variety of views. Beginning a letter in August last of Mr. G. D. Arundale Mr. Gandhi wrote:

"You suggest the desirability of unity. I think unity of goal is better. But parties we shall have, we may not find a common denominator for agreements. For such will vary in proportion than others. I am in favor of a wholesale variety. What I would not consent to, is division of our activities and suspension of activities. Our leadership will not our differences but our interests. We struggle our ways, we fight when the danger and loss the substantial. It is not our differences that really matter. It is the measure behind that is ugly."

I have few words now upon the subject of healthy public life that ought to be launched by public men. With our political arrangements now before us, as it were, coming back. Now comes the time to see whether we maintain a lovely indulging in intolerance and groundlessly antagonizing interests to our own class, or we remain sincere and united ourselves with a noble self-government. Tolerance is a virtue commendable not only in our religious faith, but it is, at least equally necessary in the domain of politics. The immediate occasion of repeating the matter is the likelihood of a new danger to us creeping into our politics. Proposals are necessarily made to establish party organizations, which will among their other effects, shape the present irregular organizations and a quartered statement will arise. It is one thing to have some differences of opinion and parties to represent them, but to conduct our public life in party lines through rigid party organizations is a danger in the worst, is totally different and highly unfortunate. The leader of Allahabad writes:

"From assuming that it is possible for the two parties to meet on a common platform as the center of a lock lock lock party, it does not follow as a matter of course that in the actual working of the system, too, there should be one and only one party.

"As we have pointed out in a previous issue, the whole fabric of modern representative government rests on party system. It may be thought to be history and it may be mistaken in our assumption that those who have worked together on the same platform, which was a platform for agitation and demonstration, should divide themselves into parties when they are shut in face with practical issues. But the fact is that a party is power without a party is support less, cannot be trusted to run efficiently the complicated machinery of representative government."

Speaking on the necessity of a party as opposites and a party as power our contemporary happens to veer over the extreme behavior of the other party. Our leaders, representatives of their party, make heroic pronouncements in regarding an inflexible system. The evils of this system are sufficiently manifested in the West. The Prime Minister who is expected to be the best representative product of this system, is now second stage almost less power than about the welfare of the Parliament. The energy is concentrated upon securing the success of his party. The case is not always that the law remains shall do right. These Ministers are known to get the Parliament do things merely for party advantage. Another instance of this system is the President of the United States. We are told by Woodrow Wilson how an "excellent American" and in words who wished to put her forward, "Gentlemen, let there be no mistake. I should make a good President, but a very bad candidate — what means that under party organization, for a man to succeed in the election by most honest qualities, other than those required of a good President. Whoever he has a chance.

In the case of the election of either members of popular assemblies, the honesty of a system will be exposed and checked to base of the mechanism used by the managers of the organizations. The ordinary discipline to be observed by the members who are of their independence, and the formation of the political life created by the transplanting a party name papers, prompts even able men to offer themselves for party organization. They thus give to heaven and power, but lose in their independence and patriotism. On this point "The American Commonwealth" has the following remarks:

"The structure of party discipline leaves little freedom of individual thought or action to the member of a legislature, the ordinary politician has little interest in anything but the regular party programme, and in no party are the members as large permitted to select their candidates. . . . While, therefore, nothing is gained that for opinion which man in the direct election of party to give them to itself frequently and especially, voting is kinder than for opinion which members out of their demand to find a legal and moral means of bringing itself to bear upon those who govern either as legislators or executive officers. This is the weakness of the American party

system, perhaps of every party system, from the point of view of the independent-minded voter, as it is the strong point from that of the party manager."

The system of organized political representation (the press to a dangerous position. It carries on the wings anything and everything that pays or returns by increasing popularity and sale.

The addition of voters is no less profitable. Before an ordinary voter can safely form his opinion on a certain subject, newspapers put on him a set of views which he cannot look unannouncedly behind. They may not be of any use when he has to vote, he votes as a member of a party, his party propositions and party obligations lay hold on him. "Speaking men upon the pole," Woodrow Wilson says, "in this country a voter is the over-ruled party, but on a road, the regularities are pressed down, and an appearance of smooth and even uniformity is given which did not exist before. When a man has voted, he is compelled to lose thereafter interest in looking the view which he has sought to make prevail." Proceeding, the writer shows us:

"We cannot fail to see how small a part of the vote which the average man contributes when he goes to vote is really of his making. The original impression was formed perhaps decades, or several generations and strength was nearly due to what he has heard and read. He has been informed in detail, and only in detail. Arguments have been supplied to him from without, and controversy has excluded them as he used. Although he supports his view as he has seen in books or other business newspapers, his party leaders all hold it. His organization is the link."

So we see that the absence of pure personal convictions, based on admitted facts, is a real evil. The state of things is so less applicable to the commercial and professional classes than in the working classes; he few really take the pains, or interest possess the knowledge, to enable them to form an independent judgment.

So the party organization system creates a real evil world. The party papers and party leaders tell upon the thinking power of the voters, and the demand of party opinion upon the independence of the leading men and the press. One get into it it becomes increasingly difficult for man to keep the stress of the system, and give expression to what he really feels. One can doubt that it to be found. The new voters will look to the leaders of their previous generation. It is now that the professional leaders are likely to be struck by the bright side of the party organization. In their enthusiasm for reforming they raised no object they are very likely to be blind to the dark side of the system. If these professional leaders who are not always touch with any voting public or nation great and small, was also independent thinking, they may unconsciously fall victims to the even less innocuous of public life. If they have learned the impact of the newspapers and, they must call to mind the products of their own in themselves. They have to be instruments in a thinking that had learned figures

leaving us the various national problems. If they come to themselves with an unshaken mind and clear courage in expressing their equal convictions to the public, they will be rightly regarding themselves as their responsibilities. The public will thus be less disappointed before them without congressional aid they will gain the right guidance in forming their decisions. All leaders thus speaking against the wish of the party organization will surely pay public life. They will make any Congress Creation Bill unnecessary. They must see the grave and indispensable position of publishing whatever paper meet. If our politicians are determined, we must stand the various trials and then set an example in the various publications. We shall be coming against our policies if we slavishly make our political blotting pad of a nation's politics. To clearly study our national problems, fearlessly and dominantly to present what we decide and to present what we preach should be the work before us. Only thus can we give the proper guidance to our voting public.

#### THE LIBERAL PARTY AND THE CONGRESS

Among the resolutions passed by the Congress the Reform Resolution still continues to be discussed in the columns of some of our journals. Following its spirit with the *Times of India's* reasonable comments on the subject, some of our contemporary periodicals what they wrongly term "the so-called Congress" to one of the reasons justifying the maintenance of separation of the Moderates from the Congress. England is otherwise many of our Moderate friends were invited to advocate it as a plea for dissent.

But the Leader of Allahabad has gone further and has advanced some heavy reasons why the Moderates should continue to work apart from the Congress. In its words "The Liberal Party and the Congress, the mutual observer." But this is not the only reason for the maintenance of a distinct Liberal Party in India. — The murderous and despicable attempts of violence against the Moderate members of the Faculty of Obedience in connection with the Revolt and, was followed by the English and disreputable violence which the Moderates certainly disapproved. Later, the Congress Sub-Committee's report of the Hunter Committee, once reported and endorsed by the Congress itself, was neither met which could not be approved by those who were anxious that the country should derive the fullest advantage from the Committee's investigation. — By their action the Congress Sub-Committee did all they could to nullify the efforts of the Moderate departments. England is getting no independent public opinion. — For yet another explanation of their wisdom in withdrawing from the Legislative Council, we may refer the reader to the respectable resolution to keep alive the painful memory of Jallianwalla Bagh." We certainly appreciate the courage of our contemporary in fearlessly expressing its own criticisms against the majority of our national leaders. But these reasons,

when adduced as reasons of holding off from the Congress, will be followed by very few even from among of the Moderate party. The *Indian Social Reformer* which yields to no one in its courage of expressing its convictions, has already dealt with all the arguments of the Leader. If reasons like those adduced by the Leader are justly a permanent division in the national assembly, there will remain an necessity of tolerating in conducting any legislation. However, the Leader writing on the same subject in its issue of January 18th says in conclusion, "Telling the constitution of the Congress as it is at present, we cannot see how the Liberals with the views they hold and which they are not prepared to abandon, can find themselves in their belief. If those who are in power in the Congress think that the Liberals are not yet political 'contaminables' and that they may be yet again admitted into their sacred precincts without detriment to the constitution of the Congress seems to be necessary."

The excellent insight of its objective working in possessing enough of a sense of responsibility in the light of this, the course referred to above obviously seems to be the result of our habit thinking. This excellent handling a true spirit of public life continues to give and take without minding one's essential principles. The Congress has expressed in its thoroughly representative body to consider the whole constitution of the Congress. After the new constitution is formed, we hope that all the old members of the Congress will again share the Congress' motto.

#### RUSSIAN BAPTISTRY

##### DISCUSSION

We commence below the history of the Baptists from the *Evangelical Standard*, 11th Edition —

Baptists, a name given by the Russian Orthodox clergy to a company of non-orthodox persons. The word etymologically signifies "split-folios," being originally intended by the priest to signify that they split against the "Spirit of God," but the Baptists themselves accepted the term as signifying that they split, not against, but for and with the Spirit of God; however, they have decided to give up their name and call themselves "Churches of the Untroubled Workman." This religious community was first heard of in the middle of the 17th century. By the end of that century or the beginning of the 18th their numbers had become so greatly increased, and the number of their members had so greatly increased, that the Russian Government and Church, considering it would be particularly dangerous, started an extensive campaign against it. The foundation of the Baptists' teaching centers in the belief that the spirit of God is present in the call of man, and directs him by its word within him. They understand the coming of Christ in the flesh, his work, teaching and suffering, in a spiritual sense. The object of the suffering of Christ, in their view, was to give an example of suffering for truth. Christ's mission to suffer in our stead was that we do not live in accordance with the flesh and apply

of teaching. The whole teaching of the Bible is presented with the thought of the good of love. They pray assiduously at all times, on fixed days they assemble for prayer meetings at which they give each other doctrinally work for love, thereby encouraging every man on a lesson of the Divine Spirit. Their teaching is founded on wisdom which is called among them the "Book of Life," because it lives in their memory and hearts. It consists of moral precepts which partly correspond independently partly formalized of the contents of the Bible, which however have been widely gathered by them originally, in total quietude. They were unanimously affirmed and did not permit any further work. They heard alike about natural relations and their relations to other people—and not only to people but to all living creatures—culturally in love and therefore they hold all people equal and kindred. They noted their idea of equality also in the Government, as freedom, wherever it was. They do not consider looking upon them in those cases when the demands of their relations are in conflict with their conscience, while as all that demands always what they regard as the will of God they willingly fulfill the demands of the civilization. They consider killing, robbery, and in general all robbery to be wrong things but have no law to appear to these consciences and to the will of God. They are calm and unexcitable in their lives, and their living up to their standard of their faith they regard one of the nearest approximations to the realization of the Government which has ever been attained. In many ways they have shown their sensitiveness to the Question of Liberty of Friends. For their belief and practice the Bible has long contained great passages. Under British rule in the years 1858 and 1859 the Bible, which was religious grounds, offered to participate in military service, were all banished from the Government of India—what they had long previously imagined from various parts of Russia, Alexander Lewis Tammann, and the Turkish Empire. But within the scope of their are the requirements of wisdom and the Indians took their faith and in the course of half a century, in case of the most as healthy as I perhaps breathe in the Government they were forced the witnesses into the existing sciences and are treated to love a Christian and believe his, making love, it with instead of fighting with Indians. But the world is which they entered in the Christian statement for a law that moral law and like by law they began to depart from the requirements of their lot of life now, however, as we are happened among them which distinguished them retained tranquility. The religious spirit which had guided their faith is completely revealed with on them. Any sense of relations was accepted by the Indians as a punishment from God and a spirit of an evil of a more complete character entered. They were concerned about, war, and every kind of crime, many of them dividing up all their property in order to supply the needs of those who were in want, and they effected a new public fund. They also renounced all participation in acts of violence and therefore refused military service. In confirmation of their anxiety in the summer of 1858 the majority (about 12000) of Bible-believers have all the time which they like since which laws of the Government, but taken up for their protection from wild animals, and first, who were in the very refusal to

continue in service. In 1875 the Bible-believers became the victims of a series of persecutions, Chinese soldiers plundering, robbing, beating and mistreating both men and women in every way. Many were hounded and they suffered from starvation and disease. When reformers reached Gao-Li Tai-Ting of their worldwide rights together with the Society of Friends raised funds for alleviating these sufferings. At the same time Tai-Ting did his friends applied to the public and the Government in their favour. The Bible-believers themselves asked for a permission to leave China, which was granted them in 1881. About 7000 Bible-believers emigrated to Canada, where they were warmly received by the population of the Canadian West coast. In April 1881 in the Canadian House of Commons the Member of Justice made a statement about them in which he said that "not a single of them had been sentenced by the Bible-believers, they were law-abiding and if good conduct was a recommendation, they were good men."

### MR GARDNER'S EVIDENCE

#### EXAMINATION BY P. JAGANNATHAN.

Q I presume, Mr. Gardiner, you are not against the Government taking measures to get down opium?

A Oh yes, sir. But successful means can be provided under the ordinary law.

Q How would that be that you objected to the British Legislation?

A My fundamental objection to the British Act is that it constitutes a blot on the whole Indian nation.

Q But you know there are safeguards?

A As to the safeguards I can say from experience they are not worth anything but desperate hope. The safeguards are but a delusion and make the executive still more incompetent.

Q It is alleged that the Satyagrahi movement would undermine the Government. Are you not afraid of any such result of your operations?

A The Satyagrahi movement as yet started with the intention of embarrassing the Government while ordinary political agitation is often started with that object. If a Satyagrahi leader has actually succeeded in embarrassing the Government, he will not have time to lose it.

Q Do you still agree with me that every political agitation depends for its success on the number of leaders, or?

A I do not regard the force of numbers as necessary for just cause and in such a case every man, be he high or low, can have his own say.

Q But you would certainly try to have as many men as your movement as possible?

A Not exactly so. A Satyagrahi depends very on leadership in capacity to suffer for his faith.

Q But as a politician, Mr. Gardiner, how can a single man's vote be heard?

A That is exactly what I have been attempting to do now.

Q Do you believe that an English officer will take any notice of isolated attempts?

A Why, that is my experience. Lord Darnley's honour as a military officer on the occasion of the Indian Mutiny.

Q Oh, you give an example of an extraordinary man.

Q. Was of ordinary abilities also can develop more fully. Do you regard ordinary among my people as deplorable and I consider it necessary to educate them, but at a cost of all expenses to enable the Balyagees to acquire an absolutely adequate one. This is my long-standing opinion.

Have Mr. Gandhi here? I read the statement between Mr. and Mrs. Balyagees. Mr. and Mrs. Balyagees were the original part of Balyagees. It should be read, not only with sympathy, but also as I read it successfully in connection with the deposition of Mr. Balyagees and the British Government.

Q. You are sure to be able to assist in the progress of the movement, though it is not clear that you have started the movement. Is it not?

A. I cannot say that with certainty. I am sure that a majority of Balyagees are opposed to this, and would be full responsible self-government. Our movement is not clear as to the Balyagees, but the aim of this movement, whether such a desire is available today for the English officers.

Q. But with all the rights of self-government, we are able to do so in the meantime.

A. I can not feel on this point as much as you. In England it often happens that movements are started in the name of a thing, though they lose all the confidence of the public. The same thing may happen here too, and therefore I am anxious to state of things in the country which would need Balyagees from India Home Rule.

Q. Would you think that there should be no more meeting after the Balyagees movement?

A. Not only I do not think so, I would be disappointed if there were no more in our country and I am sure that the movement is not clear. But that is not all, but also the steps of violence. It gives a Balyagees to see where violence and Balyagees will follow each other to get I do with the same result.

Q. On your return to Bombay on the 15th April, why did you go to Hyderabad?

A. I went there as there was danger of violence there, and so.

Q. It is said that people there refused to follow you.

A. It would not be all the same to say that the crowd refused to follow me. Those who heard me followed my advice implicitly.

Q. I have a report before me to the effect that you returned to be ill although your steps are quiet.

A. All that I can say is that it is all untrue.

Q. The report further says that you were so very tired that you were very and remained yourself in a house.

A. That is not true. I was the chief in the last. I personally saw the charge of the movement in the crowd. I went to Mr. Gandhi to talk to him on the very day.

#### EXAMINATION BY MR. KHAP

Q. You say that most of the was not at all necessary in Hyderabad?

A. Yes, that is my opinion.

Q. But, Mr. Gandhi, of the military officers and it was necessary, what will you say to that?

A. From the facts in my possession I concluded that they did not warrant such a course.

Q. You say some innocent men were killed.

A. That is my deliberate opinion.

Q. Can you say you have got any positive proof that?

A. I have got proof enough to satisfy me.

Q. Did you write to Mr. Chetfield about that?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did he ask you to send the complements to him?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you then take any steps?

A. I took no steps because I was not satisfied at the very day I wrote to Mr. Chetfield. I consider Mr. Chetfield a noble officer. It was very few officers here I was not satisfied and straightforward. I should be very sorry to say anything that would amount to a criticism of his conduct. I see his military work in the country that I should like you not to pass the point further. I have stated that the military work which the British Government could do during the month of April is not clear to complete it.

But when I have to study the whole situation it is my duty to pass the matter, also with all the liberty I am allowed. And I have done it. I do not want to make it a narrow complaint by saying that the fact that some innocent people were killed.

Mr. Khap, I am sorry, Mr. Gandhi, that your evidence is not clear, I don't want to get you any more question.

#### EXAMINATION BY MR. JIVANLAL DIXIT

Q. A large crowd gathered there on the morning of the 15th of April.

A. Yes.

Q. There was perfect peace and order on that morning.

A. Yes. Not only was there perfect order but the men were very polite to Mr. Chetfield, who was present.

Q. Mr. Chetfield says that you discussed and refused to read the terms of your followers and that some of them were refused to discuss some of the subjects.

A. I can only say Mr. Chetfield has not accurately described to me.

[On account of his illness was reported, and I had to apply to the committee report. And a detailed report of the committee by Mr. Chetfield's report has appeared in the "Bombay Chronicle." Hence we do not propose to give it in our columns.]

#### CORRESPONDENCE

##### SIR GEORGE BARNES LETTERS.

Dolls, 11st Jan. 1921

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letters of the 13th and 14th instant, forwarding a copy of the telegram which you have received from the Honorable the Treasurer, British Indian Association, and also of the letter which you have written to the press on the subject. Mr. Keshavnath Vyas has already received a number of telegrams about the 15th instant. As you see, the telegram raises three separate questions, namely

- (1) The decision of the Treasurer, Provincial Council in the Kingdom, was that the acquisition of land property by these constituted companies is not possible here.
- (2) The decision of the Provincial Government that the presence of American agents in the country and their interest in European commerce, and that the British are therefore apparently

be retained in force under section 10 of the Finance (Local Government) Ordinance I of 1918, so the proposal that he is undesirable within the meaning of paragraph (c) of the contract.

- (3) The demands which are being made by Europeans before the Local Government Commission that their opinions should be given the weight necessary, with special reference apparently to the issue of trading licences.

I do for as the terms of reference are at present set out, all these questions will come within the scope of the Commission's enquiry, and the European Intervention will state the Indian case and press it strongly before the Commission. The first question, however, arose at once and so an article from the question of land property already acquired by Indian companies. As Mr. Arora has said the New Act No. 11 of 1918 did not in this case exclude rights already acquired. Section 1 of the Act merely stated that the provisions of Law No. 2 of 1918 should be construed as from the 1st of May 1918 as if before the coming of land property by companies controlled by Indians. The legality of such acquisition prior to the 1st of May 1918 was left open, and the Commission specially stated in paragraph 13 of their Report, that an action was pending in the Supreme Court of the West Indies in which the validity of such acquisition would be tested. Previous decisions of the Courts, as you are aware, have upheld the validity of such companies, but as the case was open, these decisions have been upset.

I need not assure you that the Government of India are fully alive to the seriousness of the situation with which Indian Companies in the West Indies are now faced. Immediately on receipt of Mr. Arora's telegram Mr. B. Williams the Secretary telegraphed to the Secretary of State and reports had been prepared to the Colonial Office that no further action should be taken in Indian interests should be taken, in any case, until the Commission has reported. We also telegraphed to Mr. Arora assuring him that we were moving in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) G. S. Barnes.

India, the 1st Jan. 1930

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

In your letter of the 19th in respect you ask me to give you some information regarding the difficulties which are arising in East Africa. The information which we have so far received is far from complete, but I will tell you what we know and what we are doing.

I do my utmost to answer you by the President Woodfin at his meeting of the Legislative Council on the 11th September last, I will have here the position there stood. You will remember that a deputation of Indians from East Africa, headed by Mr. Atherton, came to Delhi last March. I was then away on leave, but I understood that Mr. Thomas Holland, who reserved the deputation to my absence was impressed by the international collaboration with which they raised their grievances. Their complaint was forwarded to the Secretary of State with a despatch, in which the Government of India urged that there was no justification in a Crown Colony or Protectorate for assigning to British Indian a status in any way in

lower to that of any white class of the Empire's subjects. We further urged not only that the more glaring abuses like that of Indian in East Africa should be removed, but also that their claims to a share in the government of the country should be sympathetically considered.

I. We have now heard from the Secretary of State that he has pressed these views on the Colonial Office, and that Lord Milner, on his return from Egypt, will discuss the general question of the position of Indians in East Africa with the Governor, Major-General Sir H. Herby, who is now in England.

I. Macauliffe's new situation has arisen from the publication of the report of the East Africa Revenue Commission and the proposed Ordinance for the removal of Undesirables. We have not yet received a copy of the report, and we have no opinion about the proposed Ordinance than what has appeared in the press. On the 11th I received a visit from the Hon'ble Mr. Phelan, one of the Indian members of the East Africa Legislative Council, who is now on visit to this country, and he told me that that he had heard nothing about the Ordinance when he left Nairobi on the 15th December.

I. An Official Agency called on me reply to a question put by Mr. Bennett in the House of Commons on the 21st December last, the Economic Commission's report mentioned in regard to suppressing the export of the Government of East Africa or of the Imperial Government. The proposed Ordinance, if it has been seriously reported, is not obviously directed against Indians, and it is not possible to question the right of any Government to remove 'undesirables' from the country over which it exercises jurisdiction. At the same time, I can assure you that the Government of India are fully alive to the general hardship of such a measure in East Africa. His Excellency the Viceroy has already telegraphed to the Secretary of State asking for full information. He has also urged that the Indian case should be fully represented at the forthcoming discussions between Lord Milner and General Northey in London and that no action detrimental to Indian interests in East Africa should be taken, meanwhile.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) G. S. Barnes.

MR. GANDHI'S LETTER

India, 19th January, 1930.

Dear Sir George Barnes,

I thank you for your letter of the 1st instant regarding the situation in East Africa and for the sympathetic assurance mentioned therein. May I however draw your attention to one sentence in your letter? With reference to the proposed 'Undesirable Ordinance', you say, "It is not possible to question the right of any Government to remove 'undesirables' from the country over which it exercises jurisdiction." Whilst the above statement is perfect as a theoretical proposition, in the East African case, seeing that the legislation is aimed at Indians and that the term 'Undesirable' has no official meaning I venture to think that it is not only open to the Government of India but it is their duty to protest against the proposed measure at once.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) M. K. Gandhi.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 1

ATMARAMA, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17th, 1910

Price One Anna  
Per Ann.

## CONTENTS.

	Page
Notes	1
The two parties	2
<b>Articles</b>	
A. Graham and Fy. Dreyfus	3
The crisis of our educational system.	4
Laloh Walters.	5
<b>A Review.</b>	
"The Seed of Evil."	6
The condition of India.	7
Mr. Mahomed Ali's interview	8

## Notes.

**Will Healy's**—Mr. Lloyd George is one of his recent speakers warned the English people of their responsibility. He said that the world was watching England and that England's failure meant the failure of the western civilisation. Many other Englishmen of eminence are regretting over the fact that England in constructive work coming after the great war has affected England also. The increase in the number of crimes in England is only a proof of the same evil. We in India have to learn much from Mrs. B. K. Wadia's experience. Her four statements of the crimes in England will not be used by Indians in correcting their faults. He went gone further and says:

Send us go on building up a public gaze. We follow, India and course of our country! —

His good will come to the household, the reformer or department by publishing her findings in big type or newspapers to be read by her countrymen. When the domestic get better don't run off and tell your neighbours to keep it in the family. We in India have a great work to do, etc., to show the full solution that we obtained by themselves in our own. This let us always place high hands before them capable of understanding them, but as we are simple rather than less gifted, their countries by every one we do expect to show us our government, and lastly let our friends be proud of their own children that only better us in the eyes of the nations in the east.

It would have been quite fair for him to say against this news, "And always payton." What

may not be so bad as these critics would think. But dropping into a new policy and too narrow to be adopted by nations that pass to teach the world. Besides, it is possible for the West to take its look again from the East!

**Mr. Karschman's passport**—Everybody was looking forward to Mr. Karschman's return before long. If the Royal Prussian minister says political sense at all, Mr. Karschman's is undoubtedly justified in it. We therefore regret to find that Mr. Karschman's passport has been so reported to have been refused at the instance of the Secretary the Governor of Bombay. Mr. Karschman's fault lies in his strength and his English exposure of wrong. His language, we admit, is sometimes harsh, but his is a criticism that tells because it is combined with knowledge. Mr. Karschman's rejection goes down from conviction, it is not a result of trends.

So George Lloyd is going presently to lead a democratic assembly. Surely he is not afraid of a man who has been so publicly successful in enforcing the democratic spirit in us. Nobody who wants to do only what is right and just and does not mind frank and honest criticism of his policy, need fear Mr. Karschman. We trust therefore that the Secretary will reconsider his decision and withdraw the reported embargo on Mr. Karschman's passport and then surely Bombay is welcome one who has embraced himself to it and built by a German service in those who needed them.

**Mr. Gandhi's message**—In the morning held on Bombay on Saturday, 13th January, Mr. Rajat, Secretary to the Khilafat Department, read a telegram from Mr. Gandhi addressed to Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah in which it was stated:

"Department has several messages. It has to appeal not merely to Imperial Government and British opinion but also to our world opinion. Its strength lies in its ability to appeal to reason and justice. It must therefore be moderate in presentation and firm in demand. Gide from a worldly stand-point men heavily against what is Prophet's words in society of two when it has God on its side can have a overwhelming number in its confidence and hope. In my opinion Mr. Jinnah's policy on your side for your state must never originally was but do not mainly just and generally English will have course when through Department Englishmen learn that British honour is at stake in the question so we are taking nothing more than what British Ministers have pledged themselves to give. May God guide Department."

**Indians in E. Africa.**—From the *Times of India*

As regards the British East Africa, the policy of the Government is equally direct and tight, namely, to do as it goes, or there will be. Unfortunately, it does not go far enough. The view, propounded by the Young, that all British subjects of whatever race possess equal status in a Crown Colony or Protectorate, is a sound principle of Constitutional Law. The maintenance of the Government of India that India should be fully represented on the legislative assemblies in London, between Lord Milner and the Government of East Africa is also a step in the right direction. But we would urge the Government not to conduct the negotiations with more representation. The Government should immediately take measures to require their self-constituted agencies of India in East Africa. The representation of India on the assemblies must be treated with first-class knowledge, and must not go to London merely to plead for an abstract principle. We must be prepared to debate the application of that principle in the particular case of East Africa, and in order to do that, we must, to get it ready, know what is a talking stick. But it is not only the Government of India that is opposed of the situation in East Africa, and the Government as well as it is in possession of the facts, should take the first opportunity of issuing a statement to the Indian public. In this case there is no need to wait the coming of any Commission, if the facts do not seem to the Government, the Government must go to work there.

**TWO POTTERS**

The following has been received by Messrs. Bartholomew Choudhury from the Government of India -  
Government of India  
Army Department, Delhi  
Delhi 13th Dec, 1908

Madam,

I am directed to refer to the list published with the Gazette of India dated the 26th July 1908 in which you were mentioned for valuable services rendered in India in connection with the war 1914-1918 and to forward as a gratuity and a mark of appreciation of the Government of India the war badge enclosed.

I am,  
Yours obedient servant,  
(Sd) J. G. K. Bagley  
Major-General  
Secretary to the Government of  
India

To Mrs. Heta Choudhury

She was instrumental in sending many a Drangal pathik in the war. It is sad that it was her pathik, her teaching songs and addresses that appeared in the masses and inspired them to offer their services and co-operation. Hence the badge she has only just had the honour of receiving.

New lines to the effect please

To

The Committee of the Lahore Parikh Club,  
Government House Lahore.

[S-4-11]

My dear friend,

As President of the Lahore Parikh Club I wish to let

you know that the names of Choudhury and Choudhary (including Devi) have been taken off the Government Honour List.

I should like the resignation of the Parikh Club to be considered and the disqualification of Devi among the Choudharys the appropriate act of resigning her membership of said Parikh Club before taking steps to remove her name from the list of our members.

It is obvious that the wife of the late Assistant Secretary cannot belong to the same club as the wife of Choudhary (including Devi).

As Mrs. Bagley is away and has appointed me not to take her place I am taking upon myself to act as secretary and I am writing to Mrs. Bagley in this effect so as not to waste time and if the members English and Indian agree and sign enclosed the resignation our Lahore Parikh Club can be sent to the Choudharys as a step or two.

I am,  
Yours sincerely  
(Sd) J. G. K. Bagley  
Delhi,  
April 22nd 1910

Dear Madam,

I was requested by the Executive, Lahore Parikh Club to ask you to read at your congregation of membership of this Club and to forward to you the enclosed notice.

Yours faithfully  
(Sd) J. G. K. Bagley  
Hon. Sec. Parikh Club.

[The notice sent to Messrs. Choudhary in the draft notice referred to in the following Ed. T. I.]  
Notice from the President of the Executive of the Lahore Parikh Club sent to Choudharys including Devi dated 1st April 1910.

We the English and Indian members of the Committee of the Lahore Parikh Club in recognition of what has happened, consider that your name should no longer appear among its members and withdrawn from the list that you will never return to read even to any of our meetings.

(Sd) M. K. Bagley  
Hon. Sec. Parikh Club.

Copies of member signatures  
Ajaz G. Tappor (President)  
Mehal Khatun  
Mrs. B. J. Bainswari  
Mrs. K. Hattarwar  
Bajram Sahaywar Ah. Khan  
A. N. Mohamed Shah  
Mrs. Wafar  
Mrs. K. Faisalullah  
Mrs. Tappor  
F. W. Tappor  
F. K. Sahaywar  
Mehal Sahaywar  
F. B. Ahmad Khan  
Sahaywar Tappor

Let it be remembered that Khatun (including Devi) Choudhary was simply deported along with other Lahore leaders on mere suspicion. There was nothing proved against her. The trial followed a questionable time later. But the day after her de-

petition but and Mrs. Chaudhri's name were removed from the Government House list. The same day Lady O'Dwyer hastened to accede the letter and press the signatures of the members of the British Indian Club. It is possible to find cultured Indian ladies being so harem-bound as to easily expose themselves to ridicule and scorn. For in making the names they due to themselves Chaudhri they omitted not Mrs. Chaudhri but themselves. Sirisai Sadasiva is a member of the Bengal university, wife of a noted leader of the League and what is more, one of the few highly educated and gifted Indian ladies possessors. It was the Club that was honoured by her being its member. We have no doubt it gave noble prominence to the inclusion of Lady O'Dwyer's 'kissing' daughter-in-law. We hope now it at every lady means to be representing either Lady Packton or the countless thousands would fight this wrong they have done to themselves and to society.

## Young India

Published, Wednesday, 11th February, 1932

### UNITED GUJARA AND PUNJ DEPUTATIONS.

(By M. K. GOSWAMI.)

There are at present two deputations in India from the overseas. The one headed by an Attorney-General of the States, is from French Guiana, and the other by the Bishop of Polynesia is from Fiji. Both these deputations have arrived from their respective colonies for the purpose of obtaining Indian labour. Hitherto both have had unobstructed labour in both the existing indentures have only just been cancelled.

The *Times* in the *Times* when attitude on the status of British Indians living in the different colonies has been generally correct, yet the popular man very slowly when the *Times* say that India would not be expected to consider the convenience of the colonies at her own expense nor could the Government of India permit free Indian exit, when it then says Indians will be wanted to give way of the colonies with a view to bettering their own position. The *Times* further added that a measure of probably non-official nature would be suggested to occur with these deputations and consider the question, and that the Government would be guided by the advice of this committee.

How let us take up the process. The British Guiana's status wants free Indian labour of the same type for sugarculture. The Fiji deputation wants for the plant of unskilled labour. Both are tropical countries that growing agriculture. There is no such white South Africa and the Uganda of East Africa are not held in any such manner. These countries are not for European colonisation, but they

are being developed by European capital assisted by Indian labour. If they cannot get Indian labour whether as servants or as menial workers, they must tap some other source, possibly China.

I had the pleasure of meeting both the deputations, the British Guiana ones this week. From British Guiana there have been no complaints of ill-treatment of its indentured labour. There is no doubt that there are no legal complications in British Guiana. In Fiji too there are probably no glaring complications either. I believe that the Fiji Government and the planters are now willing to treat its Indian labour better and offer better terms.

The question for us, however, is whether, do we want Indian labour to go to these colonies, and, if we do, are the terms such as would make the Indians morally and materially better?

In my opinion we want all the labour we have in India. A well-regulated labour supply would be necessary a substantial living in India. Our industrial require labour India is not over-supplied. The pure agricultural does not need in great of India to run a living. Emigration would solve the problem of Indian poverty. The answer is too deep and widespread to be solved by systems of migration or better law enactment it may be. A few thousand migrants going out every year are useless as effect on the deep and deepening poverty of the vast masses of India. My conviction is that the indentured emigrants in the majority of cases except the best like without doing any considerable amount of work to satisfy or benefit the members of the home or depriving or depriving in particular. Which, therefore, I would not encourage him to leave India unless there was a distinct moral advantage to be gained by emigrating.

We are not a migrating nation in the modern sense of the term. The labourer are not followed by their better class countrymen who whilst they would want to reap a living would make it dependent upon their services of their countrymen. The colonies and the world are beyond. The interests of Indian emigration do not follow the emigrant, Ganga therefore less emigration which has become delayed by an entry and delayed by the inevitable necessity of the system under which has produced such a level, the new emigrant contribute to that emigration. It is not right to impose the world-to emigrants to seek gains, moral value.

Both the deputations have urged that give our duty to send more emigrant labour in order that the deficiency in the home Indian population may be reduced. In other words we should send more workers to these colonies. I totally dissent from this view. I would not be a party to sending a single worker to be exposed to a life of slavery, thereby ready for the end in which both the colonies and the Government of India have been party, in by the superfluous young men, if they are as needed, to come to India, get decently treated and take their

wives with them. Such an uplifting movement can only come from the colonies. And I suggest to both the deputations that if they are so interested about the moral welfare of the Indian natives in these areas they will elect committees in the colonies for the management of young men temporarily returning to India for the purpose of working life-companions. Indeed the members of this great friendly deputation do not say that of both the questions were to satisfy themselves in choosing the most atmosphere amenable, one would be better able to respond to their address.

Moreover, no scheme of free emigration can be really successful until the relations between Englishmen and natives are more amicable in several every-where. The Englishmen in South Africa are no more than in India or in Fiji and British Guiana. In South Africa a stereotyped conception of the law causes domestic expulsion of the Indian. And here is struggling between the necessities and the interests. In British Guiana the interests and commercial accounts. He therefore desires Indian settlement. But he no more considers the Indian to be his equal than the Englishman in South Africa. What is more, the average Indian considered to be not the Englishman's equal. There is, therefore, mutual distrust, despite on the one hand and fear on the other. Until the relations become normal and natural it is not proper to encourage or encourage any free migration to these colonies.

These deputations, I take it, propose to set up a kind of agency or bureau for the collection of the type of emigrants they require. I cannot complain with equanimity the idea of Indians going to Fiji or French Polynesia. With their present equipment, they would not know the difference between free and indentured labour after being in Fiji. In British Guiana the experiment will not know what to do with himself and would drift into the plantation as a labourer. Side by side with this free agency, there must be a corresponding advisory agency on our part to enable the people to make their choice. I have suggested an experimental shipment to Dr. Womersley and the meeting of Mr. C. E. Andrews or some leading Indian with a knowledge of labor conditions in French Guiana and report. This is about as good as is possible to be done at the present moment. And I hope that neither the proposed non-official committee nor the public will countenance anything more.

## THE CRUX OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

### METHOD OF INSTRUCTION.

The Government of India have issued a Resolution giving us for one of the questions which they intend to put on the recommendations of the Sudder Commission Report. We do not propose to enter at present into the consideration whether the measures which the Government propose to take are in accordance with the Commissioners' recommendations. But we desire to emphasize what we consider the most important suggestion of the Commission, viz. the one regarding the method of instruction.

What should be the method of instruction is a century-old question. It has been thrashed out in many Government Despatches and by successive Educational Commissions. A rapid review of the history of this question will help us in understanding it in its proper perspective and to formulate a course for its immediate solution.

The origin of this problem dates back to 1807 when Mr. Charles Grant or his trustee submitted to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, suggested English as the medium of instruction for Indians. This treaty was not by far all it was run in a Blue Book in 1831, and the Company took no notice in regard to it. The movement for an English education instead of Sanskrit or Arabic was purely non-official. The Hindu College opened in 1815 created a basis for English. And there arose a fundamental difference of opinion. The Orientalists' wished to continue education in the classical languages and to get western works translated into the latter, whereas the 'Anglicists' wished to "establish new schemes for giving instruction in English and the vernacular languages, at the places where such institutions were most in demand." Lord William Bentinck's Government settled the controversy by the well known Resolution of 7th March, 1835. The Resolution stated that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone", and that money saved by discontinuing stipends for native learning should be employed in supporting in the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language. The Sudder Report unambiguously takes it "in regard to the vernacular all parties were agreed. They thought that the vernacular continued within the history was essential information necessary for a liberal education. But they did not mean that they undervalued the importance of the vernacular. On the contrary, says Dr. Sudder, "it was admitted on all sides that the instruction of the mass of the people through the medium of their own language was the obvious object to be kept in view, but measures had to be taken, a literature had to be created, and the co-operation of the upper and middle classes of society had to be secured." This aim was further met in embodied in the great Despatch of 1854. The very aim was repeated and pointed forward by the Commissioners of 1862 and 1867. The Commission of 1862 recommended that the vernacular should be used as the medium in the middle schools, they refused from making any definite recommendations in regard to high schools, but recommended that the decision in this respect should depend upon the local circumstances and that the broad scope should be left to the discretion of the schools. The Commission of 1867 confirmed the use of English as a medium at the early age, and the poor teaching both in English and the vernacular

In schools. Reviewing the whole policy of Government upto August 1907, the Sadler Report pronounces that during all these 34 years the policy of Government has been 'unerring' in its decision of carrying western education to its higher forms through the medium of English to the Indian people, and of accompanying the development of the vernacular so as to fit them for every use.

Why not propose to change to-day the name of the 'Anglo-Indic' of the beginning of the last century? But we do not even to that our own Government has not succeeded English was substituted in place of the original tongue, because the original name was too close to those of secondary studies. Translations of western works into Arabic and Persian were not encouraged, because these languages would be necessary vehicles for the Indian people to drink at the abundant fountain of western literature and science. But what do we find today? Do we know much of the masses, the upper and middle classes do we know much of genuine European science? Do we know the progress made in that of the last, as far as to our readers of the recommendations of the Commission of 1882 and 1907? We are really sleeping like the corpse when we criticize these failures. The only serious point and what would have been the result of the report and committee attempts to modify our original policy. A large number of our educated men would have translated the last part of western works into our own vernacular, and to-day more would have ventured to stamp our own names as well to replace English in our educational system. However, our educated men did not have succeeded to remain merely intelligent agents waiting at the docks to import what from the western nations have shipped out. They could have added their own, they could have actively created out of their own intelligence a literature and science which would have been more easily and extensively received in the country. There would have been great a lot actual progress have we made? If any, does it warrant our hospital fathers for we can do anything to shape the future? Will the Government do any help to our work? These are the questions that a profound educationists should. The forward step taken by the Sadler Report indicates our progress slow, very slow though it may be. The Commission of 1882 as well above, recommended vernacular medium for middle and high, the question of high schools to the Local Government's discretion. The Sadler Report recommends vernacular medium for high schools except in the case of English and Mathematics. The Report recommends that English shall be a compulsory instruction for the two years above the vernacular stage. Perhaps the policy is half right or half. But even without attempting to do so, the suggestion in favour of vernacular medium, what we have is a distinctly forward step. We are glad that the superstitious about the necessity of the English medium as a means of proficiency in that language and as a means of preparation of European science among us, is more and more exposed by its absurdity. We shall discuss the other questions in our next.

## INFANT WELFARE — AN AGENT TO THE NATION

No one can say that the mortality resulting from child birth in this country are at all satisfactory. In fact it has been observed from the yearly returns for the last few years that this is the only country in which infant mortality is so terribly high and yet more increasing year after year, without any adequate effort being made either by the Government or by the people themselves to look into the matter and their remedy. Two million children die every year in India and the figure for the year 1918 of children under one year of age, for one year previously about 1,000,000 were near 800 after every thousand of live births. How many more die in the antenatal period of life is not possible to calculate.

In a recent article appearing in the *Times of India* on this subject, still more hard facts is thrown upon the terrible and appalling condition of infant mortality in India and children. The death rate among children under one year in the year 1918, for the city of Bombay alone, is given as 622.84 per thousand; a rate 1,000 live children born alive, 623 die during the first year of their life. What could be more appalling than this? As in the past plight of most of the countries who give to their permanently rich, the sick and aged of life, is not being beyond question. And yet hardly any serious effort has been made in India to check the yearly national loss and wastage. When such consideration is the biggest of almost a. It is not only in India, where at least medical advice, assistance and relief is easily procurable, if necessary arrangements to be made and discharging must be the state of affairs in smaller and less advanced towns and villages where there is no Maternity House, no hospital, no trained assistance, is that help or no relief is very necessary for the mother and the child before and after the usual period.

Now, there is no doubt that this is all due to poverty, ignorance, neglect, language feeding habit of trained assistance, absence of hygienic and sanitary conditions and European Homes. But has anything been done to avert these conditions, to cure the ignorance, and render the necessary advice and assistance, so that both the expectant mother and the new born child could be properly attended and looked after? Surely we could have started in the matter long before this instead of shuffling away from it indolently. We could have organized a little institution the matter in the best interests of the nation and with our practical sympathy, and help just noted that terrible death rate by providing necessary, preliminary assistance of not rendering the women illiterate, which too should not have been beyond our power to do. But now thanks to the efforts of Lady Lloyd, wife of the present Governor of Bombay who seems to be taking as keen an interest in the welfare of children and women as the Eminent is doing for the general advancement of the province, His Excellency with

the assistance of a few European and Indian ladies and gentlemen is organizing a Children's Welfare Scheme on a large scale for the whole city of Bombay and the people are being asked to give their sympathy and interest and financial support to it. Already a Children's Welfare Scheme is being privately conducted on a small scale by a physician and high-calibre lady doctor, Dr. Dombal J. K. Dabhalgi. It is now proposed to evolve the scheme and widen its scope so that the whole city could take advantage of it. Altogether capital of 10 lacs has been estimated to put the scheme into operation and keep it permanently working. It is proposed to establish with it 20 welfare centres of which 10 to remain in charge of a fully trained health visitor. There will be a lady supervisor over the whole establishment, who with the assistance of the health visitors will try to remain in touch with the registered mothers with the view to giving them the necessary advice and assistance, to attend during child birth mothers who do not take advantage of Maternity Homes and persuade mothers to bring their children regularly to the welfare centres for advice and assistance. A register will be opened at each centre containing particulars (including weights) of the children brought there. And each infant that is brought would be carefully weighed and measured on the records of each visit.

The working estimate of the annual cost of the Scheme has been given as under—

Lady Supervisor	—	—	Rs. 1,00,000
Doctors	—	—	— 12,000
Health visitors (each at Rs. 125 per month)	—	—	— 20,000
M.S.	—	—	— 60,000
Rent	—	—	— 12,000
Medicine, etc.	—	—	— 5,000
Contingencies	—	—	— 2,000
			Rs. 1,10,000

The important practical training and instructions to mothers, health visitors, mid-wives and nurses, it is further proposed to hand on. Individuals, having studied in a Maternity Home and a Children's Hospital. Surely this was object which would appeal to all of whatever cast and creed, though at the same time we do our part here learn from the cost-experience of the above Scheme. What we feel is really wanted is not a mere of buildings and facilities, of costly Homes, hospitals, and qualified lady doctors, as of door to door propaganda work on the rules of ordinary hygiene and sanitation and of popular and trained staff or more thoroughly acquainted with the conditions of the localities in which where they are made to work. Indeed our efforts should not be directed to taking precautionary measures only but also in removing the causes altogether as the long run. However, the non-cooperation allowed by many of the

local Welfare Societies such as in London, where as a result of these precaution and necessary efforts the death rate has been brought as low as 20 per thousand, had us to hope that the Bombay Welfare Commission will by its own persistent efforts achieve results of similar nature. If not the same proportion.

Then about Bombay. But what of other parts of the presidency, any of the whole country where the conditions are as gloomy and disturbing and reflect inevitably misery as high if not higher than that of Bombay? Surely some more necessary in the domain both in large and small towns and and cities and groups of villages and if we cannot afford much expensive schemes as in Bombay, we can do something on a much smaller scale. If we cannot build big hospitals we can at least start small Maternity Homes and hospitals, and if even that is not possible, why then we can carry on the educative and maintenance work, advising mothers on matters of general Hygiene and Sanitation, of proper use of themselves and their children during the prenatal and natal period—only if we put our hearts to it.

L. A.

## A REVIEW

### "THE SEED OF BHOJ"

There may be Indian Education for the poor of Sir John Woodcock as a powerful plea for "Home Rule in Education." Sir John submitted a brilliant note to the Calcutta University Commission in which he pleaded for making Indian culture the basis of Indian Education. The evidence which that note provided has led him to enlarge his views in the present camp. He says—

"The Seed of Bhoj in the Indian forehead, which has produced the caste and colour of the Indian people of our time amongst whom some are repeating their Dharma as a whole, others are recasting only what they deem to be accept according with a view to receive essential principles and others again are adhering with a firm and a certain fanatic devotion to every thing which they have received from their forefathers." Sir John prefers the middle path which he says "to have, as in many other cases, the best. For it is the path of Evolution, which the first is an attempt at revolution with the chance of present success, and the last is an endeavour to cry out for all future time what it itself is a product of ages of change" His descriptive statements—"The Seed of Bhoj would be first dematerialized of all which impedes its development and then produced by an education suitable both as to the environment and subject matter. The dematerialization of which I speak, refers not only to foreign importations but also to the deepening production of the indigenous line and." In short the end or wants the principle of Swadharma—what is a law of one's own knowledge to

applied to Indian Education. The only contribution which India can make to the general lesson, good or bad, which springs from her own Standard Board and not from that of any other. The change, therefore, of education should be accordingly placed on the hands of the right type of Indian man who has knowledge of a) commerce for his livelihood and well being, b) trained with direction to teach and the work of other men and women. The facts of science may be taught by English teachers, as we do very largely in our schools, the question of composition, its teaching Indian religion, philosophy, literature and art.

The author then proceeds to deal with the question what should be taught. Of course he is for supplementing the Indian culture with the English culture. Faced by opposition and opposition is becoming increasingly difficult. The more the Indian people know of the rest of the world and its thoughts the better for them, provided that what is taken in can be assimilated. That is adopted without prejudice to the individuality of the Indian organism, he says. The point before you is not whether English language and culture should be taught, but what for. The Indian culture should be original. This has been the aim in the past. It should be given its due rank. The time has 'come' speaking, in other places, as the Sanskrit speaks. Indian culture also should be taught to Indians by Indians. Indian culture should take a place with English studies. This can be by incorporating Indian culture also must be taught. No Indian culture must be a concrete base. The superstructure, which is more of the Western culture. It makes a world of difference whether you give the national culture the first position or make it stand that position with a rival. A knowledge of the English language and culture are valuable as tools. But they need not form the main part of Indian Education. Western people also need a knowledge of the Eastern culture. In fact, western literature and philosophy have been enriched of late by the study of Eastern literature by the results of this work. Letting language, therefore, in Europe started their education with a study of that noble language Indian culture is an original. It is a study by itself and when it borrows anything from the western culture, it must do so on its Indian and strength, not out of a sense of its own impotency or debility. We believe the vernacular will ever remain. Whatever knowledge is presented to the young student through the vernacular may only be presented as recorded in the case in its present condition. Or you may change the form of the knowledge or transfer the subject to some its vernacular for conveying it to its original form.

We cannot quarrel with Mr. John for not being the man which would have been more consistent with his own note submitted to the Indian Commission. He has saved the honour of the graduates of the Indian people by showing to them the import-

ance of their own culture and pointing to them respect for their past and an intelligent hope for the future. Before taking leave of this delightful business we would like to give the following thoughtful remarks of the author:—

The old Indian idea that the King is the father of his people was a beautiful one, and has created amongst us to-day in the nation that the Government and its officers are 'Ma-Bap'. But the trend of political evolution is very far from that. The people and the State tend to become one and in due course, with a very slight towards political advancement, the Indian people will become more and more their own 'Ma' and their own 'Bap'. The 'Ma' of Government which they are will be eventually discovered to be, as in fact it now is, their own self. Therefore, if they would esteem their country well, they must themselves work to that end. Something can be done for them.

They will gain power (Shakti) to uphold their own and will receive all their desires if they are, their country in the belief that comes (Bhava) of Bhag Shakti is working (Karma) of the Mahatmas, Mahatmas who, though appearing as one of her forms as Shri Sri Shakti is manifestly a Devi of the Hindus but their name for the one Mother of the world.

#### CONDITION OF LABOUR

Mr. Gandhi writes in the *New York Times* of the 6th instant:—

Two points are open before India today, either to imitate the western principle of "might is right" or to uphold the eastern principle that truth alone conquers. But truth alone is not enough; that the strong and the weak have alike a right to secure justice. The cause is to begin with the labour class. Should the Indians obtain an increase in their wages by violence, even if that is possible? They cannot resort to violence. The violence however or lightness may be their choice. To use violence for attaining justice may seem an easy path, but it proves to be thereby in the long run. Those who live by sword die also by sword. The necessary class that by showing. Look at Europe. No one seems to be happy there, but, no one is contented. The labourer does not trust the capitalist and the capitalist has no faith in the labourer. Both have a sort of a quarrel and struggle but even this leads to ruin. They fight in the very bitter end. All content is not progress. We have got no reason to believe that the people of Europe are progressing. The improvement of wealth does not mean the possession of any moral or spiritual qualities. King Duryodhan was a master of worldly wealth, but with all that he was a prey to an unceasing war with Yudhishtira. To try the world alone. Violence and violence, violence Duryodhan's name is remembered only one day, but the world goes on as usual then.

What shall we do then? The labourer is a Hindu and a Hindu man. I can not be a position to live all the time. But this much I could see that they could fight in a better way. The real answer may be wholly in the wrong in the struggle between capital and labour it may be generally and that more so.

ten than at the expenditure on the wrong line. But when labour comes fully to realise its strength, I have no one to blame more ignorant than myself. The mill-owners will have to work at the rates dictated by labour if the latter could command intelligence of the masses. It is clear, however, that labour will prove able to that intelligence. If it does, labour will cease to be labour and become rank the masses. The capitalists do not fight on the strength of money alone. They do possess intelligence and tact.

The question before us is this: When the labourers, realising what they are, develop a certain consciousness what should be their action? It would be suicidal if the labourers only open their mouths and bray like ass-children. By so doing they will do harm to themselves in the country. If on the other hand they take their stand on just parties and sides in those parties in which it is only they that always succeed but they will reform their manners, develop industries and both matter and man will be in a position of one and the same family. A satisfactory solution of the problems of labour must include both things—

(1) The best use of labour and at least the working with a heart of labour.

(2) They must get paid for their work according to

(A) Provisions should be made for an adequate supply of milk, clothing and necessary education for their children.

(B) There should be no day after-days for the workers.

(C) They should be in a position to save enough to maintain themselves during their old age.

None of these conditions is intended to do, for the sake both the parties are responsible. The masses are not only for the service they get. What incomes of the labourer does not secure them. All their endeavours are generally confined to obtaining meagre wages and to secure payment. The labourer on the other hand tries to do upon all levels whereby he can get maximum pay with minimum work. The result is that although the labourer gets an enormous share in the importance of the work turned out, the relations between the two parties are not purified and the labourer does not make proper use of the income of the pay.

A third party has sprung up between these two parties. It has become the labourer's friend. There is need for such a party. Only in the interest to which this party has the strongest friendship for the labourer are to be found there.

A man has come out who attempts will be made to get labour on a more or more ways than one. The reaction towards concentration at the hands of those that would take part in politics. What will they demand? There are interests on the matter of labour and the cause of labour stands in great need of friends. It can not proceed without a lead. What sort of one give this lead will decide the condition of labour.

Workers, supporters of such and kind are wonder but intelligent people, but it is not difficult to advise them. Workers ought to acquire themselves with every Indian Union, and on a moment shall they strike work without the consent of those Unions. Workers should not be misled without previous consultation with the mill-owners. If the mill-owners refuse to acknowledge the principle of *Swadeshi* should be accepted and even the *Swadeshi* are opposed, then *Swadeshi* must be accepted by both the parties side, whether they like it or not.

Reading, if you are interested in understanding the condition of labour, if you want to influence the masses and revolution, you will see how the above view that there is only one road and before you, so, in stream the workers by working between the two parties hand in hand. And to secure this end there is no path like *Swadeshi*. Mass movements in wages should not satisfy you, you must also watch by what means they get it and how they spend it.

#### Mr. MARQUESS ALL INTERVIEWED

We give below the most important part of the interview between His Majesty's Ambassador and the "New Times" Correspondent—

"Our business," declared the British leader, "is to request the Government to send the public of the Allied and Associated Powers of the nature of the religious obligations which bind the Nations of India as well as the Government of the rest of the world with regard to the spiritual of the Khilafat, the Holy Places of Islam and the entire region known to Arabian geographers as the 'Island of Arabia' including as it does, Syria and Palestine as well as Mesopotamia and other provinces of Arabia, including the Hijaz, Yemen and Nepal."

"On other words," I said, "Government will not have any Muslim created in any shape or form in Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia?"

"No," he said, "I assure them they will have it in the Hijaz."

"I have your assurance on matters of perfection. But will you be bound in view of the necessity for territory geographically and that under the European Powers?"

"But we have already agreed upon so and we must discharge it. We are going to explain all this to Europe and America, and after satisfying everybody concerned not to agree on such extreme proposals, we shall be compelled, if necessary, to declare that the non-occupation of such desolate regions of our responsibilities as the matter of our Faith would be most serious. And this time—at least, the question will not be one in which I mean of Indian Muslims are concerned, but of scores of Indians and another 20 scores of Muslims abroad. Speaking purely from a national point of view, I think that there is any copies of God's earth suitable in possession—on a geographical level, as a store of vast mineral wealth which any European power could profit by, by obtaining it at the tremendous price of an open declaration of war against half of humanity. We may be weak today, but the wealth of time has every surplus for the very poor opposition who can think only in terms of material and hence will forget that to the Lord of all ages, materialism was but fleeting nonsense."

"Suppose, Sir, you attack India, what then?"

"Do not be so easy to distract, pray. The very nature of our mission prohibits the possibility of failure. We know the difficulties in the way of proclaiming the truth as well as Europe in a job of its kind at this present and time. But if we can get the ear of the masses, our work is done. If they do not heed what we say that will not be our failure but theirs, and speaking for myself, at least, I think that my own adventure is secured when I have carried this message to Europe. And part of my message to them is that we have talked to no less than 20 scores of people in this country, that it would not be our work but our compulsion to see that this declaration is not belied by any failure on their part."



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

17618

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

For Sale }  
Vol. II, No. 7 }  
JERUSALEM, PALMESTIN, FOREIGN AT 200, 200 }  
Price One Anna }  
Per Copy.

CONTENTS		Page
Index	" "	1
Articles		
Jallianwala Bagh	" "	2
Reserve in South Africa	" "	4
The Tariff-question	" "	4
Notes		
India in E. Africa	" "	6
Corruptive Practices	" "	7
Emigration to British Guiana	" "	7

## Notes.

### Mr Gandhi and the colonization scheme—

In his letter to the Leader "Mr. Bhagya Bhagya" writes,

It appears from an article in the Chronicle that Mahatma Gandhi has agreed to try the scheme. Unless we guard that every possible limitation should be put to British Guiana and also on number or a pair the residents of these protest families should be investigated by one or two sets chosen by the popular leaders of India. With my respect to Mahatma Gandhi, I must say that he is committing a great mistake. I wonder how he has been persuaded to try the scheme in face of the protest of the British Guiana East Indian Association. Can he desire to speak with greater authority on the colonization scheme than the Association of British Guiana? Will he call it a colonization scheme which is really a "cheap labour supply" scheme, according to the language of the British Guiana? When the British Guiana East Indian Association with its special knowledge of the circumstances in the colony, recently expressed its objection to the scheme and considered it "unworkable and detrimental to the existing East Indian", surely, Mahatma Gandhi ought to pause for a while and think three before he gives his approval to the scheme.

So there seems to exist some misunderstanding as regards to Mr. Gandhi's having rendered his definite support to the free emigration scheme proposed by the British Guiana and Fiji Deputations and that is now being discussed in India between the so-called Committee supported by the Imperial Legislative Council, and the two Deputations. The issue of the above article, to our mind, lies in the hands of Mr. Bhagya Bhagya's remarks in the Imperial Legislative Council, which he made while

making the amendment for the appointment of the three-membered Committee. Our friend seems to have dwelt on the support of Mr. Gandhi and quoted with approval Mr. Gandhi's opinion that he would not oppose any scheme of free emigration which would secure a real guarantee of equal rights of Indians in regard to political, educational, legal, commercial and industrial matters. However, we hope, Mr. Gandhi has sufficiently shown his position and we present his views on the whole aspect of the question in his article on "The British Guiana and Fiji Deputations" appearing in our last issue. He has made it clear to us that while he would not and cannot oppose any scheme of colonization that is based on equality, fairness and justice, his sympathies with what would be opposed on its own merits, does not mean and should not be taken as such, that he will not support or as a matter of fact approve of the scheme or even the very idea of Indians going abroad. He goes to the very root of the question of Indian colonization, and forth he says as clearly as he can and suggests the course on the part of the following parties—

Do we want Indian Labour to go abroad? If we do, are the terms such as would make the Indians socially and morally better?

After a detailed and critical analysis of various views of Labour in the field of industrial development, the question of social equality in every part of the British Empire, the unhealthy influence of the debased arrangement in these colonies perpetuated by the differential system generally in vogue via the indentured system, and a number of other important and necessary factors, Mr. Gandhi arrives at the remarkable conclusion that "which he would not interfere with any agreement voluntarily going anywhere, he would not encourage him to leave India unless there were distinct moral advantage to be gained by emigrating—such as a close and actual examination of the existing conditions, there is none.

**Indians in E. Africa**—The "E. A. Chronicle" writes: "It was decided by the recent Congress of Indians, held in Nairobi, to send to London a delegation of prominent members of the East African Indian Community to bring to the notice of the authorities the grievances and experiences of the Indians in this country.

The delegation has been selected and it now on its way, having named Bhagya when Mr. S. A. A. has now joined Messrs. A. N. Chatterjee and S. D. Thakore who had already gone to India.

Children spend most of their time in attending any series of personal exercises which will help to propagate the relations of, and to breed racial feeling and hatreds between, the European and the Indian in this country. But, happily, the so-called medical report, themselves as officers—only they do not always mean under public notice—that we cannot help pointing out to those who are sincerely or unconsciously responsible for them, the real effects that their rash and unbecoming conduct creates upon the public mind and the growth of hatreds between the European and the Indian. The latest incident of this kind is the trouble offered to the President of the Madras Conference, Sir Srinivasa Ayyar by one Captain Childers of the Burma Police, while the former was sleeping in a first class compartment of the train, on his way to Madras. Captain Childers is reported to have walked into the compartment, woke him up and told him to unceremoniously vacate it. We shall describe the misadventure incident in Sir Srinivasa's own words.

I asked him why, and he said that, chiefly wanted to travel. I told him that they might get into the next compartment. He said it was occupied by a gentleman and went out grumbling. The guard or station master then came up to me, and asked me if I would vacate the compartment. I asked him why they could not go into the next compartment. I told him that they might do the other gentleman to come into my compartment, and that it would be inconvenient for him to come and with my luggage was. After a few minutes, the European Officer ordered my compartment with the wife, and said "I mean a damned brute, it is disgraceful, I have never heard such a thing in my life, a fellow to sleep in my compartment." "You have no business to talk to me in this way" said I, and he said "shut up." He said I was a fellow that they were on the opposite berth which was open vacant. When I got up at seven o'clock he said, "I want to be satisfied if you will." I did not open further, and then he asked me, "do you understand English?" I said "yes." The train shortly ran, there was the European gentleman the Superintendent Engineer in his compartment, and he talked to the next compartment myself. Captain Childers did not venture to do anything further to ask him to get out of my compartment. He thought that as I was an Indian I should be asked to get out and go to the next compartment. It would be also considered that Mr. Childers was not travelling alone but in the company of his husband, that as it was 4 o'clock there was no question of their going to sleep and that the wife of the gentleman occupying the next berth was available for them.

Those who know Sir Srinivasa as we do, can testify to his calmness and self-possession under such a scene of the man. And we are sure, no man Indian or European had blame for the wrong in the case of the slightest denunciation or word of censure. On the other hand, the conduct of Captain Childers was, to say the least, most offensive, rude and unbecoming. We are glad Sir Srinivasa Ayyar kept his own dignity and showed the better Indian element in him by not returning in the same kind. We are here reminded of the Captain-General's conduct when he, the latter though under great provocation, exhibited the best side of the Indian character—the *Satya* spirit—without being in the least violent or vindictive.

We have no desire to dwell on the personal aspect of these incidents. They may be forgotten. But the latter so successful impression they have behind has a permanent effect on the racial relations and inter-comes between the European and the Indian. We believe that much of the trouble in India is due to the highly unbecoming conduct of Europeans of the world of Captain Childers. And it is a serious and dangerous matter, especially in view of the relationship between the two elements in India. In some respects and broadly, the above incident is the most unfortunate and regrettable. We however, hope good sense will prevail with Captain Childers and he will make suitable amends to remove the unfortunate impression.

**The Late Vikrama Rao Jang.**—We read with great sorrow the account of the death of Vikrama Rao, Vikrama Rao, Esq. of Pune. He was recognized as a prominent leader of the general religious organization of Maharashtra of modern times, viz. the order of the Varanasi. Gifted with a splendid physique, he was when young to be a wonder of his own age and could equal many well-known wrestlers among his countrymen. The view of Vikrama Rao's life had been religious and he had passed over the work of the Brahmins as well as the work of his own. He was considered himself as a powerful exponent of the Hindu school of Vedantism, and counts of people gathered to hear his expounding of the Vedas and the songs of the Vedas. He had a deep sense of spiritual complexity in life, love of truth and independence of character were the keynote of his nature in the whole life to that he was to reform the Varanasi. He had a deep sense of duty and ideal feeling, which in the form of organization that highest principles are often reduced to. He never put on the dress of the Brahmins with the people in any of them. Some had year he succeeded to be an officer in the Pune Government. The school which he founded at Akhori for the Varanasi has been his greatest contribution to society and will we hope with our Pune contemporary, serve as a worthy memorial to this great Hindu reformer.

**The Indians of the Indians.**—We take the following from the 'Catholic Herald of India':

We have several times discussed the claims of the Catholic Church under Indian laws, whether in its form, and come to the conclusion that whenever the Church has become Indian and made into the hands of the Indian people, as in the north of India, and some parts of the north, she has failed in nothing to her. On this particular question we had much conversation with Mr. Peral, Bishop of Mysore. He declared to find an advantage on the subject, as long as the association remained identical with the Indian people, growing Indians of the Indian, wherever their work has to be done.

More weighty still are the words of Mr. Williams the Bishop, which the reader will find in another column. It would be hard to state more emphatically any serious warning, which is much needed more of our readers, that it is time that the Church in India should probably cease to be a sort of ecclesiastical monopoly of the Church in Rome and should be allowed at least to stand on her own legs.

We have ever held that a society of Catholics in our country cannot stand in the way of national unity.

**A cry from Pithal.**—Pithal is a much better town than Orissa. The Hon. Mr. B. Banerjee, an honorary United Provinces Commissioner and President, United Provinces Association, Pithal, has circulated a printed letter in which he says:—"Orissa has been placed under four administrations, viz., British, Madras, Bengal and United Provinces; they are in a quantity everywhere. An economic growth is impossible in these areas. For the last fifteen years they have been struggling for administrative union. Death and not agitation are their aim, their repeated prayers have brought no satisfaction and Advancement of India does not provide a part of India. The new Indian nation cannot be built upon the ruins of an ancient one."

We need not avoid the language used by the Hon. B. Banerjee. The complaint is correct and raises the large question of political union or a linguistic basis. I am, I am sure, not possibly so far from the actual advance which it is to do if it might be to hear the same for no sound reason, and we trust that the Orissa Government will be convinced by the public with eyes able to see and to listen.

## Young India.

Published, Wednesday 7th February 1926

### JALIANWALA BAGH.

[By H. K. LALITA.]

There was an unfortunate hitch about the purchase of the Bagh for the nation. Thanks to the efforts of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Shriji Prasad Das, Shri Shridharanand and the kind ladies it has now become the property of the nation subject to the full payment of the purchase price within three months from the 1st instant. The purchase price is Rs. 5,00,000. And the amount must be raised within the prescribed period.

It is, therefore, necessary to secure the propriety of making this purchase in behalf of the nation, especially as it has been questioned even in enlightened quarters. With the Congress Movement before us the attitude is not to be wondered at. But with all respect to objections, I cannot help saying that if the Bagh had not been acquired, it would have been a national disgrace. Can we afford to forget those five hundred or more men who were killed although they had done nothing wrong either morally or legally? If they had died knowingly and willingly, if willingly they recognised they had staked their ground and faced the shots from the fifty rifles they would have gone down to history as martyrs, heroes and patriots. But even as it was, the largely because one of the chief national imperfections. Nations are born out of trouble and suffering. We should indeed all take to be considered a nation, if we failed to treasure the memory of those who in our battle for political freedom sought martyrdom for the freedom of others, less than in a war otherwise called. We now, therefore, protect our independence by means which they were valiantly sacrificed. We say that if we will to accept the wrong. The wrong will not be our fault. But shall we not—we are asked to—decide to perpetrate the memory and to stand in the vanishing members of the nation, of the dead that we see always in their coffins, by

erecting a national monument and by telling the world thereby that in the death of those men each one of us has lost dear children? If national honour does not mean at least this much thing, it has no meaning for me. I hold it to be our duty to tell the present generation yet unborn that in our march towards true freedom we must be prepared for repetitions of the wrongs such as the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. We must provide against them, we must not seek them, but we must be ready to face them if they come again. I would not have us flinch from the battle of national life. The report issued by the Amritsar Congress was that the officials of the Punjab did not denigrate the nation but that the nation needed them as a matter of course. Some of the most stupid mistakes and the mistakes suffered for them. We must in future try to avoid the mistakes but in spite of our best effort, we may find in every-day life some to study. We must, therefore, be ready for the repetition of the sufferings of the public by telling the country now that they and theirs shall not be forgotten but that the memory of the innocent dead shall be regarded as a sacred trust and that the surviving relatives shall have the right to look to the nation for maintenance to one of need. This is the primary meaning of the national and has not the blood of the Jallianwala Bagh with that of the Hindu? Has not the blood of the Sikh world with that of the Bengali and the Ganapati? The national should be a national matter of no least and sustained effort to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity.

But the objection's objection still remains unanswered. Will not the memorial also perpetuate bitterness and death? It will depend upon the success. And if I know thee, I know that that was not their intention at all. I know that such was not the intention of the vast assembly. I do not wish to convey that bitter note was not there. It was there not in any way expressed. But the idea of the memorial had nothing of bitterness in it. The people want to, they want to encourage to forget the deed and his witness. What General Dyer did we may all do if we feel his responsibility and opportunity. To us it is better and it must be held to be equally known to forgive if we thought being selfish would like us, that to be forgiven, thus punished and rewarded of our mistakes. For does that mean that we may not ask the General Dyer's dismissal. A nation cannot be kept in a position from which it can do harm to its neighbours. But just as we do not bear ill-will towards a nation, so too may we not bear ill-will even towards General Dyer. I would therefore advise from the national all else of bitterness and death but to let it as a sacred memory and regard the Bagh as a place of pilgrimage to be visited by all representatives of them need no more. I would advise Englishmen to appreciate our feeling in the matter and them by contributing to the memorial in the spirit of the Royal Commission to make some sense with us in our endeavour to repair the wrongs, to make the same freedom that they enjoy under the same constitution and to make Hindu-Muslim unity without which there can be no true progress for India.

## SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The South Africa Commission has at last been appointed and the personnel announced. It is not an Imperial Commission, it is not a strong Commission. The terms of reference are not bad. They include both the rights of property and the rights of trade. The reference covers the whole of the Union. Our countrymen have tried to have the whole position overhauled by the Commission. The members who are leavers on the Commission would hardly have done justice to such an imperial question. In the circumstances, therefore, we welcome the restricted reference. We do not think that time has been well for establishing the full status. The relations between the two communities—the European and the Indian—are too strained to permit of a dispassionate view being taken of the question. There is a specialisation of issues. Much as many of us would like to deliberate the many great difficulties that Hindu prejudice inflicts upon the so-called depressed classes, most of us are prepared to do more than dispute the fact and plead with the prejudiced to put themselves of their prejudice. So it is with the European writer and the simple-minded but prejudiced Hindu. Recognition of this position is necessary to make us patient so far as the ultimate goal is concerned. Political equality will come only after a tough and prolonged fight and these perhaps not until we have cleared the atmosphere in India itself. But there can be no patience about rights which no prejudice can be permitted to take away. They must be defended against all odds. That power to protect life and property must be inherent in a constitution that will itself be based or upheld. The interested European reader may not see the Indian writer of the right to hold property or to trade, subject to his observance of the general laws of association. No commission can take that right away with impunity. Our strength, therefore, lies in the inherent and absolute justice of our case. But even a strong case may be lost by a weak advocate. Happily the Government of India, represented by the Viceroy and Sir George Sargent is firm on the question. Let us hope that they will so remain to the end and protect the two great Sections as laid upon the preservation of the rights of property and trade remaining intact. Not even a decision of a court of justice can be pleaded as a bar to the preservation of that right. If the law is held deficient, it must be remedied. We hope that this simple case will be kept steadily before the country and all would be well.

The *Times* of India is needfully based upon Mr. Andrews' "Worst instance since 1858, every right unsharpened," as a worthy witness, but it is peculiarly clear to those who know Mr. Andrews too by his message toward the country upon being expelled by my side when he has not gone there to secure the political status for the Indian neither can he give there to secure unsharpened, unsharpened from India. But as a Christian and an Englishman he cannot tolerate any attack on rights of property and trade. And he says that even those rights are in danger. Our countrymen have no other rights.

## THE TURKISH QUESTION.

The Mahomedan leaders have less, as they ought to be, patience but they pushing forward the justice of their cause. The doubts of justice, expediency and sentiment are all on their favour. Some from the other party, however, evade the essence of the principle of self-determination and enter into the labyrinth of the old records of Turkey. These arguments also have not been left unanswerd. Mr. Anwar Ali whose knowledge of history cannot be questioned even by the opposite party, as he letter to the *London Times*, writes "The Ottoman State is the result of six years' old good service in Western Europe. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Turkey took advantage of the help of France when they were being overthrown by the Hapsburgs. In 1801 Turkey opened Egypt to the passage of British troops to crush the great Indian Mutiny. In the conflict of the East India Company with Tipu Sultan, Turkey aided his efforts to make it a religious war... The result of an action in pure faith."

Just the same time about the old records of Turkey passed, in the opinion of the Constantinian Party, another like case is their favour. They state that "Constantinople is the head of the Turkic has been a constant apple of discord" to European nations." To this the Mahomedan leader writes "Was not this discord due to the rivalry of ambitious European Powers to win that rich province herself of the apple?" Mr. Anwar Ali ventures to predict that "the settlement proposed will not put an end to the discord, for the moment it would only shift the danger-point from Europe to the East. Again, his 'international control' answered nature of law, being, said? I might refer to Tangier as an illustration." Mr. Edward G. Browne takes up the same argument and puts it to the Constantinian Party. "Apart from the instance of Tangier, did the Anglo-French deal cordial to Egypt work so harmoniously that we should wish to try the experiment of a triple control in Constantinople?"

As distinguished from all these and other weak arguments of the Constantinian a new and equally strong line of argument is put forward in a recent letter to the *Times* which appeared over the signatures of several eminent men. These letters correspond to approach the Mahomedan sentiment in regard to the Istanbul question. They observe "It is of vital importance that we should do nothing which would offend the religious sentiment of so large a proportion of the members of our common world and of the French Empire." But we see the sting of their statement when we come to read their "strong reasons of justifying the internationalisation of Constantinople. They hope to reconcile the Mahomedans by pointing out that the city as the headquarters of the League of Nations would play a higher role than has ever been played by that ancient city or any other. From being the seat of the Sultan, it would become the world's Temple of Peace." They also venture to state that the interna-

beneficence of the slave-trade would be an end for all within the influence of its future enactment. In their anxiety to find out a hole for the yet unborn League of Nations, there was here legislation altogether the principle of expediency. It is its object, important and however uncertain to expect to remove the Kingdom to the colonies, especially in view of their present condition.

One of these suggestions for the establishment of Constantinople as that there must be a place to our headquarters of the League of Nations, which were altogether to some but is the property of all. They take as a precedent America's choosing Columbia as such a common place. Such a comparison with the American state of politics as it stood after the War of Independence is as quite inappropriate. And furthermore, with Mr. James M. A. why should not the Christian Powers choose Jerusalem? As to the proposed city of the removal of the Turkish capital for the League of Nations we need not go any where else for a parallel. Next to the League of Nations, our Empire is the greatest non-hereditary of nations. Here we make the headquarters of the Empire viz, the city of London a common place to the same as what Constantinople is proposed to be made? What has not become possible in smaller nations should not be attempted to be so readily attempted in the largest nations? Such an attempt would be not only wrong but unjust, when it is to be made at the cost of a distinct nationality.

All the world opposes to the just demands of our Modern brethren unless it is asked for them what a huge God. Such is our view.

### Indians in E. Africa.

#### The Unfortunate Remoral Bill.

Mr. Ashurst's Secretary, R. L. Adams, Indian the sentence given the full text of the bill entitled, 'An Ordinance to provide for the removal of unfortunates to India—'

1. This Ordinance may be cited as "The Removal of Unfortunates Ordinance, 1850."

Any person within the jurisdiction not being a native of the Territories who from intemperance, officially removed is deemed by the Governor-in-Council to be an unfortunates may be ordered by the Governor in Council, issued from the provisions before a date to be prescribed in such a rule.

5. Any person not becoming a native given under the preceding section shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding £100 or to imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding 6 months, or to both, by the Court Department of appeals and reviewing all appeals therefrom.

(From the E. A. Chronicle.)

#### MR. BELL FOR THE REMOVAL OF UNFORTUNATES.

The following letter has been addressed to the Governor of E. Africa by Mr. Bell on behalf of the Association—

I have the honor to inform you that at the Committee meeting of my Association held yesterday, after full and due discussion of the Bill for the removal of unfortunates, the following resolution was carried unanimously—

"The Indian Association, Natal, doth respectfully but

strongly protest against the Bill for the Removal of Unfortunates, because the Bill as drafted makes it the duty of British courts of Equity and Justice, given the Governor in Council arbitrary power without allowing an opportunity of defence to the victims of the Bill and places the liberty of the individual subject of His Majesty the King at the mercy of Executive Officers. The Indian Association, therefore, requests the Government to abandon those proposals in the following words—other grounds—

(a) That the Bill does not define the word "Unfortunates."

(b) That the Bill gives arbitrary powers to the Governor in Council without affording opportunity of defence to the victims of the Bill.

(c) That in special cases it made out for the introduction of the Bill and in the ordinary course of the Association there is hardly any necessity for its introduction.

(d) That the Bill as drafted specially in violation of any adequate statement, and in violation of the representation of Indian witnesses to the Executive Council, will seriously curtail the liberties of Indian subjects of His Majesty the King.

(e) That in view of the existing law of compulsion it is unnecessary to have fresh legislation in such as the Bill provides.

(f) That the Bill lays the way open to the creation of criminal offences which may be within the accepted Penal Code.

I would like to make it clear that my Association is not against the principle contained in the Bill.

### THE CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS.

#### THE FUGITIVE A FUGITIVE WITHIN THE EMPIRE.

We give below a summary of Mr. Andrew's comments on the Convention Resolutions passed by the Convention of Foreign Associations in B. E. A.

It is clear, when comparing resolutions that December 1848 and January 1849, were the two months in which the Indian question reached a very critical stage in East Africa. The Executive Committee was at that time bringing its resolutions forward to an end and it was already looking forward to forming the new set laws of the report. The Committee had just been consulted with the Central powers, and the greatest excitement had been caused in Europe, made by the Southern States's proposal that the conquered territory of German East Africa should be made into a special reserve for Indian colonization. I was in Berlin at the time that these suggestions were made, and I can bear witness that the leaders of Indian public opinion either opposed it altogether, or else threatened it.

During the months that followed the Revolution, new boundaries were being marked out to the map of the world every day with bewildering rapidity. It seemed not impossible, in December 1848, that the House of Commons might decide at once, under the auspices of the Great Powers at Vienna—the fate of the conquered German territory, without any resistance.

Thus, among other matters, appears to me to account for the very great activity of the European Association in British East Africa on the Indian question in 1849 after the termination of the War. It was a time of intense excitement, a fearful period of storm and danger and

substance, the very word has its own suggestive statement. The documents, which I shall bring forward in this chapter and in that which follows, have all the signs of an informed and mental work, imagination and trust, in pulsed accordance. I was indulging in the Economic Commission Report itself, when it is when the Indian question, the more aptly said being that, at least, in the positive impression left on me as I have studied them, coming fresh from the outside. And I would add, quite frankly, that I have felt the very atmosphere of the presentation, when I have been young both among Indians and European alike, to be abundant and the outlook on life to be directed. I have felt that this long experience has been necessary before speaking the Commission's conditions, because I am now by more and more to believe that they do not represent the final opinion of my own fellow countrymen, but in that the Indian opinion of a period of experiment is gradually altering the way.

It is important to note that five of the Economic Commissioners took a leading part in the Commission of Enquiry held at Madras in January 1928 about which this chapter is written. They are, respectively, both to the Economic Commission report on March 31, 1928, and also in the draft resolution, circulated on Dec 21 1928, on behalf of the committee. Thus they were actively participating in the Indian Commission dealing with the Indian question at the same time—the one aimed at character and the other on official. What follows may be taken as representing a very high percentage of European opinion in East Africa.

#### THE CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS.

The Commission wishes to point out to the Government that during the discussion of the problem in East Africa as also those affecting the native people of that country they had the assistance of our Members, our hon. Member Cuthbert and those being from the Minority Conference, which was sitting at Nairobi at the same time as the Commission.

That whereas our members have assumed responsibility for the future of the indigenous East African people and of the continent they preside.

And whereas our national ideals of enlightenment and progress are exemplified in our Christian nations such as well as also in that they in make use of the best and most advanced methods, a readily available for the needs of enlightening Africa.

And whereas the maintenance of that society depends entirely on the progress and peace of character of the Whites.

And whereas various Indians have entered the country as workers, clerks and artisans.

And whereas these people follow in all things a new fashion which is Eastern and in many respects superior to ours.

And whereas these racial strata being of a more frequently into contact with the Africans and their subjects has to estimate personal relations, sympathetic in the minds of the West.

And whereas the African has shown that he possesses latent qualities which under Western guidance will progress of material development, and especially for finding various needs of industry, more particularly those which require the use of mechanical appliances.

And whereas Indian cooperation depends on all measures to education and opportunities of advancement.

And whereas the Indian community in this country are anxious for white welfare and by the means wish to give credit over the decisions of the majority.

And whereas the Imperial Conference at a meeting held on July 26, 1928, considered the matter of coloured subjects between India and other component parts of the Empire, and passed their resolution, of which the principal is as follows:—

"It is an inherent function of the Government of the several dominions of the British Empire to watch and guide India that each should enjoy complete control over the management of its own population by means of institutions or organisations free from any other consideration."

And thereby recorded in the final judgment of the British Government that the principle of self-determination shall govern development and the composition of population.—

And, the Commission of Enquiry, representing the white community of the country pray His Excellency the Governor to approach the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies so that the functions then primarily pronounced to be inherent in the Government of the British community may be exercised by declaring both that the right of self-determination rests with the Europeans and to treat the African people and should with the Secretary of State to rule that this position should not be prejudiced by giving any system of franchise to Africans, nor by allowing them to acquire land except in limited circumstances, nor by the employment of Africans in Government work and that steps should be taken to start to attract African cooperation in order that the employment of European Government in East Africa may start to be under African in their hands in policy.

And further to beg His Excellency the Governor to make known to the Imperial Conference through the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, our earnest petition that to the Imperial Secretary, formerly called German East Africa the same policy towards the African be applied, for the sake of the peace of the territory and of the Imperial territory and of the same type, even in the matter of white having been served of several self economic relations, numerous self having been recognized by the late colonial Secretary. We are anxious, first of the representation of the territory in Germany, of its maintenance more and more and more certain to stand on our hands than the interest in the hands of a native of the African people whose desire to be settling into our hands and which programme would be to get themselves. We intend that to be of India or other agencies at the expense of the States of Africa would be a policy neither wise nor desirable.

In view of the fact that many more and more the white future of the East and Central Africa, which we of white to the Government of East Africa pray His Excellency the Governor to make immediate application to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, for the appointment of a Representative, chosen by the British Dominions of that country, to the Imperial Conference Delegation to the Imperial Conference.

It was proposed, presented, and agreed, that this Commission very strongly urge that it be empowered the right to representation to the Imperial Conference.

And, on the report of this being recorded, that Lord Dalmeida should be empowered by Government to the post,

(To be continued.)

**EMIGRATION TO BRITISH GUIANA.**

Drawn upon our article.

We take the following from a letter which appeared in the *Leader* of the 11th instant (The correspondent is "Mr. Haggerty Haggerty" who has our readers well acquainted), gives a close study to the question of Indian emigration) :-

I am, indeed, much obliged to Mr. J. A. Leitch, secretary of the British Guiana Immigration, for the courteous reply that he has given to my letter published in the *Leader* of Jan 1. You should, Mr. Leitch's reply contains some valuable info. & also, interestingly pointing to the fact that the English Guiana Government is ready to pay by instalments which will give all the necessary guarantees to the Indian Government, a "Redemption of Rights" Ordinance, if necessary, will be passed and that the Indian Government will deal directly with the Colonial Government, were necessary subsequently. Mr. Leitch has promised to do all he can for the future advancement of Indians in British Guiana and we ought to be thankful to him for his promise.

Reading the good intentions of Mr. Leitch, I would certainly request him to stand out the whole question as the same objectives raised in my previous letter have not been answered satisfactorily.

Mr. Leitch says "The treatment of Indians in British Guiana has in the past been satisfactory." But there are facts and figures which are quite against this statement. I write in my last letter that in British Guiana the percentage of prosecution of satisfactory population was 71 while it was 14 in Fiji and 17 in Jamaica. In 1905-1911 the percentage in British Guiana varied the figure 74. This was perhaps the highest percentage of prosecution of Indian colonies ever recorded in any colony. I have already written about the terrible effect of the Marriage Ordinance of British Guiana which declared the children of Indians as illegitimate. Out of hundreds of marriages during a period of ten years only 16 were recognised as legal. And finally I remind the *Leader* of the East India Company that of our readers who want to know something about it should read the article "General situation of affairs in British Guiana by the *Times*" in the *Indian Review* of June 1915. Mr. Leitch can read it without a sense of great pain and lamentation. Never amount if it dated largely which resulted in the death of 14 Indian labourers and the maiming of more than thirty.

Some Messrs. McNeill and Chammack, who were at that time in British Guiana, had to write to their *East India* "The acts of the authorities (in British Guiana) were an unhappy series of blunders and misdeeds." And what was the result of their "blunders and misdeeds"? - Being sent to his death from bullet wound of his head, another man to his death from bullet wound of military head wounds, three men to his death from bullet wound at the abdomen, three more men to his death from bullet wound of head and legs, five men to his death from bullet wound of abdomen, twelve men to his death from bullet wound of his head, shoulders, legs men to his death from bullet wound of his head, shoulders (hands) men to his death from bullet wound of the abdomen.

I request readers who would carry any longer. There are *East India* reports of Messrs. McNeill and Chammack

(Vol. page 144.) In it, indeed, a satisfactory record for a colony which is trying to get labourers from India against those of our readers who are inclined to favour the consumption of emigration to British Guiana should first read the account of this massacre of Indian emigrants in that colony.

Mr. Leitch says "We do not desire cheap and servile labour." Chammack does not order into our columns at all. May I ask Mr. Leitch a few questions?

Is it not a fact that the British Guiana Department was advised by the Secretary of State to recruit labour for its plantations from the neighbouring islands of West India? Is it not possible to get labourers from those islands? Is it not a fact that British Guiana was having the colony and that Cuba, by paying higher wages than were offered in British Guiana, is getting labour from the United States, a fact that the local black labourers in British Guiana are nearly 50, 75 and a labourer in Cuba gets more than Rs 5?

If there are 140 boats, then to ask labourers to go 14,000 miles away to accept only Rs. 3 per day is surely in those "cheap labour" days?

A member of the British Guiana Immigration writes to the *Times* of London of Jan 20 "Cape Verde, both large and small, produced most and richer soil than anywhere." The British Guiana Imperial Colonization scheme tells us that in British Guiana the settlement of Indians of every class and trade is to be encouraged. After reading these statements are any doubt that the scheme is going to be a full emancipation scheme and that such a scheme would also get an opportunity of working these colonies in that colony. But it will be a mistake to think as Mr. Chammack of Tippecanoe, Trinidad says, that a letter to the Governor of British Guiana expressing love of his Guianians was prepared to give any labourers in coloured people labour. Here is the reply which the Government has received from the Governor.

"Governor, St. John's,  
"British Guiana,  
"17th Nov. 1915"

"Dear Sir,—The reply to your letter dated Sept. 4 I am, indeed, very glad to be forwarding this letter to inform you that it is not our policy to send Indian to emigrate to British Guiana unless it is prepared to be treated as free. It is in this direction that opportunity chiefly lies for the emigrant."

(Ed.) *Thapsale*

Obviously the scheme is a labour scheme, poor and simple. The British Guiana Department wants Indians of only one class, i.e., the uneducated. Through the Department has definitely treated the words "wages" and they have a and the words "agreements or contracts" in place, but I don't think it will make any difference to the uneducated Indian emigrants of his going to be paid only half of what an African labourer can get or can share of a Cuban labourer's wages.

I hope Mr. Leitch will not deny it that the East India Association of Guiana is the best authority to decide whether the scheme is a "cheap labour scheme" or a "settlement scheme." I quote here the views of the Association and the resolution passed by its meeting of the 10th September 1915:-

"...The said Indian delegates on their arrival in the port together assembled had arranged a scheme of the introduction of Indian labourers into this colony and for the purpose the accompanying their object was without the knowledge, consent, and approval of the British Guiana East India Association or the purpose of the East India Association would a proposal coming out their view an incomprehensible one of a high and profitable line arrived in this colony and for the improvement of the British Guiana East India Association.

The terms of the said pamphlet is re-arranged and we disapprove of the results and some letters we set on the same tend to establish a better scheme, under a different name.

It is revealed that the Association in a special General meeting considered the matter and with the consent of the J. A. spirit an amendment was introduced and records its action disapproved of the labor scheme set out in the said pamphlet as unworkable and detrimental to the interests of India.

It is interesting that Mr. Lushington is the president of the Association. This committee makes no further report. I have got a copy of the pamphlet named 'British Guiana Imperial Colonization Scheme' compiled by Messrs. Wierden and Leitch. It sets out the programme of the East India Association. As according to the resolution of the Association, these two gentlemen have acted as 'members' and 'guidance' scheme in the name of the Association without any knowledge, consent or approval.

Generally, there is a strong charge against the Indian members of the British Guiana Legislature, and I hope they will kindly explain how the matter stand. Whether they do so or not is another matter. But the scheme which the British Guiana Legislature has got forward, is not approved by a representative body of the Indians resident in the colony. The representative Association have not only disapproved the scheme, but it has even gone to the length of forwarding its president the following resolutions and manifestoes.

It is interesting with this the following table from the special report of the *Leader* published in its issue of Jan. 14 is significant.

'The Indian Overseas Association has honorably informed that— the Imperial Government will give the Indian representative in the present act of legislation of the Guiana Free East India Association against the colonization scheme prepared by the British Guiana delegates now in India purporting to speak with the authority of that Association, and Government authorities to give equal consideration to similar representations of other Indians.'

Mr. Lushington writes: 'The percentage of Indians, outside or beyond among Indians is not higher than that of the rest of population.'

But Dr. Hans Fortigan Sturges writes to the *Star* from George Town, British Guiana. "Let me give you the names of 1,000,000, 500,000 and 200,000 of the free."

Europeans—50 per cent Indians, 1 per cent Chinese.

Europeans—50 per cent Indians, 10 per cent Chinese and 10 per cent Portuguese.

Europeans—50 per cent, Indians, 10 per cent Chinese and 10 per cent others.

Now Mr. Sturges and Mr. Leitch both are our countrymen. The question is where is Indians? Mr. Lushington writes: "About 50 per cent of the Indians in British Guiana, who, had they not emigrated, would have had a 'hand-to-mouth' existence in India, as we see large landowners and prosperous merchants."

But British Guiana Indian writes in the *Indian Opinion* of that colony: "The generosity of the people throughout British Guiana live a hand-to-mouth existence, while thousands are to be found in the towns and villages as pedlars, vegetable and sugar, and to mention as many more in the hospitals, the Almshouse and the Indian Asylum. The same question comes again, when shall we believe?"

The British Guiana Legislature has been giving a very glowing account of the existence of Indians in the colony. They write in their scheme that Indians are resident in the colony are to be found in all walks of life, e. g. municipal Legislature Assembly, school positions, insurance-of-life, education, ministers of religion, civil servants, clericals, druggists, police hospital dispensary, etc., etc. But the writer whom I have quoted above says that the number of these professional gentlemen is only about half a dozen.

What will the laborer have?

Hardly a month ago I received a copy of the British Guiana Imperial Colonization Scheme. In the scheme I read:

Out of every 100 British Guiana—"The Indian element should be able from the maximum rate of wages to live comfortably and save 2000/-100-shill of his earnings." So it means a saving of 20 per cent.

In his letter of the 21st January Mr. Lushington writes to the *Leader*: "The laborer receiving the maximum wage will be able to live comfortably of his earnings." It means 20 per cent saving.

A member of the British Guiana Legislature writes in the *Free Press* of Guiana of the 21st January. The cost of living in British Guiana is only 27 per cent. That of the average earnings? The average comes to 12 percent.

Now I am also like to understand what the actual saving will be, 30 per cent, 20 per cent, or 10 per cent?

May I request the British Guiana Legislature to explain this scheme in terms in the percentage of savings during one month? The very important—I should say the most important—matter. The Legislature must take note of the fact that we are not going to send our 1,000,000 miles away for a mere of postage. Will the Legislature please work out the savings, after long process of book-keeping in British Guiana.

Mr. Lushington says: "There is no law that racial opinion will arise." But we must take a long view of the matter. Suppose Indian competition is removed. After 10 or 15 years when the Indian emigrants build their lands and houses properties there is every probability that racial hatred will spring up. How are we going to provide against the trade jealousy of the Europeans?

Mr. Foltz says in an article about the British Guiana Colonization Scheme: "While at present there is no directly-marked anti-Indian feeling in British Guiana, a stronger sentiment seems to grow out that it would not be difficult to work it up. One does not want to see the unnecessary introduction of racial differences where they have not heretofore existed." Who can say Mr. Foltz is wrong here?

I learn from an article of one of the British Guiana Legislators that if the scheme is approved "the existing 'barriers' will be established to hasten the population of the United Provinces, Bihar and Madras." But an article in that *Indian Opinion* quite differently and he says: "It is proposed to make use of such information for some of the most important will be deposited into 2 feet of books, and I can imagine simple farmers below ground in their houses by our old blood, the laborer or he obtain the money and after a few years, he will be able to buy by way of education they would be distributed 10,000 miles away."



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi.)

New Series  
Vol. II No. 1

AMSTERDAM, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20th, 1910

Price One Anna  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS

Notes	1
<hr/>	
Reviews	
Books—Mahatma Daily	2
The City Indians	3
Home-rule and Home-Indians	4
<hr/>	
The Ideal of Education	5
My Ambition's Lesson	6
Interview with Mr. Gandhi	8
Letters to K. Alfred	9
Text and References	11

## Notes.

**Welcome Lalaj:** We cannot see your copy, yet more painful than the uncoloured appearance of my name from his motherland. What could have been the thoughts of Lalaj Lajpuri when he was released a prisoner in India, the land of his birth and the land he has been working with the whole of his being, and that too in the name of the Dehqan of India? The bitterness of this situation must have made his homecoming doubly joyful to him. We cannot but that his return has been equally joyful to his countrymen not only in the Punjab but throughout the length and breadth of India. The country is passing through a critical stage and the people naturally long for a guide and leader from their learned leaders. We hope the country will greatly benefit by the rich experience of a long stay in foreign lands which Lalaj brings with him.

**The Old of Indian Culture—**It is a happy country that the leaders of Indian thought are directing their efforts towards determining what system of education would best help the development of the national brain. Philosophers, historians, scientists, sociologists, exponents of industry and politics are all working towards a proper solution of this all-important question. But it is given to the poet to look into the future and draw a prophetic picture for the direction of the rest. The poet's aim is to see things which others may not agree at once by close materialistic vision concerning. Dr. Tagore has given the best thought and energy to the solution of the educational problem. His thoughts have become national respect and careful consideration at the hands

of every earnest worker. His thoughts on National Education he has put together in a beautiful pamphlet under the title of *The Centre of Indian Culture*. He has dealt with the problem in all its phases in his usual poetic style which every reader or metaphoric man can read with the ease of an accessible argument and the joy of an accessible subject. We wish our readers will welcome the delight and pleasure which this pamphlet will yield to them. The only way open to me to tempt our readers to go to the original is to refer to him a few sentences from those portions which are being read along with together with a summary which are read and we will feel elsewhere.

**The question of rail surveillance—**Not long ago the appellate bench of the Allahabad High Court gave its decision in a case in which an Indian had been arrested under section 101 of the Railway Act for having willfully caused a third class-occupant to be reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians and refusing to leave it when asked to do so. The substance of the appeal was that he was entitled to be allowed to remain in the compartment as the Railway Act did not require the railway to reserve a compartment for a particular class of passengers. Their lordships however upheld the conviction on the ground that it was merely a case of providing for the general convenience of the travelling public and that such a reservation was therefore legitimate and did not require special provisions. They however observed that if any section of the country found anything objectionable in the rule, he remedy lay through the authority of the Government-General-in-Council and he had certainly not been left to mark out the remedy himself by a deliberate breach of the rule.

Now with regard to the first observation of their Lordships, while we do not dispute their ruling as far as the particular Act is concerned, we do dispute the plea advanced by their Lordships that it is merely a case of providing for the general convenience of the travelling public otherwise no racial preference or objection is involved. Apparently their Lordships seem to be totally unacquainted with the condition of the 3rd class Indian passenger who like his British European or Anglo-Indian third class passenger pays the same fare and is therefore privileged to enjoy the same right, comfort and convenience in the train, but who was not so treated up and packed like a parcel and not really human beings, or at least

every railway where there is the ground for belief that the Railway Company by providing the special reservation for non-sterile passengers has at heart and in all actions to provide for the accommodation and convenience of their passengers generally? Even if the phrase 'providing for the general convenience of the travelling public' was interpreted the strict way as it was done in a case of similar nature on the Bombay High Court viz., that the case of the first class travelling public, the orthodox Hindu, does not fix certain habits of the European and the Anglo-Indians such as smoking and so on, it cannot be a sufficient reason for and does not justify the exclusive reservation. For when in India knowledge and knowledge will come and except the compartments provided there is no objection. It follows that to have an such simple and objective against the European's habits etc. An instance of this nature can be cited of the Kachchwar Railway where compartments are reserved for non-sterile but if any other member of the travelling public desires to share the accommodations, he can do so, provided the number does not exceed the prescribed limit.

We do not however judge our European or Anglo-Indian brother the necessary modest and unobtrusive but a human being, as entitled to that as it is, the accommodations provided by reservation for the European and Anglo-Indians is a sort of protection both as to their number and necessary convenience. This does not mean that because we are looked up like gods and heroes in a hall we must then also to share our fate. But what we must not that regard should be paid and provisions made, at least for some degree of convenience of the Indian passenger as well otherwise the feeling of racial prejudice and oppression, even to those who are not very like to disregard it.

Then as regards these Landlord's vested interests on the right of an individual to work steadily in a branch of a rule, our views are already well-known. A deliberate breach of a rule which is believed to have no legal basis has a moral sanction in and an offence. Of course we always say that this is a remedy to be applied when it is absolutely necessary to get a wrong righted and when all other methods of lesser efficacy such as petitioning and appealing have failed, in the particular instance however, we are of opinion that instead of going to the Governor-General to get the particular rule of reserving compartments for European and Anglo-Indians amended, it would be far more valuable, and to our mind effective, if we directed our united energies in getting the root cause of such complaints permanently removed by pressing on the Railway Company the need of providing greater accommodations and convenience for the large mass of first class passengers, than exists at present.

To the Inventors of the improved spinning wheel—We may state in reply to opinions that several competitors are corresponding with Mr. Gandhi or communicating with the program they have made in their attempts to manufacture a good machine doing less than the work of the common machine or otherwise. The time for sending the machine is expired on the 23rd March next. Mr. Gandhi will be the judge and he will be helped by experts. The object of the prize is Rs. 5,000.

## Young India

Annals, February, 25th February 1910

### RESHU MAHOMEDAN TRUST

(By M. S. Gadgil)

Mr. Gadgil asks in an age called upon to re-construct, inquire whether if I was aware on my profession of Hindu Mahomedan Trust, I would not and drink with a Mahomedan and give my daughter in marriage to a Mahomedan. The question has been asked again by some friends in another form. Is it necessary for Hindu Mahomedan Trust that there should be intermarriage and intermarriage? The questioner says that if the two are necessary, and surely we never take place between some of themselves would never consider themselves to be intermarriage, as it has to intermarriage.

I am one of those who do not consider such to be a harmful institution in its wide sense was a wholesome custom and promotes national well being. In my opinion the idea that intermarriage or intermarriage is necessary for national growth, is a superstition borrowed from the West. Being a young man as well as the other ordinary members of the. And if we had had not, work to us here, work of setting a Hindu and Mahomedan, we would have performed the operations of making to provide some more problems than the ordinary members of life is to provide. Indeed the highest culture in Hinduism regards as being in that light and there are some made of Hinduism being who will not eat their food in the presence of anybody I can recall the names of several national men and women who ate their food in others' presence but who never had any ill-effects upon anybody and who lived in the broadest sense with all.

Intermarriage is a still more delicate question if incidental matters are to be the broadest feeling without ever thinking of marrying each other. I am no no difficulty in my daughter regarding every Mahomedan brother and was even I hold strong views on religion and on marriage. The greater the content of our hearts with regard to one another whether about eating or marrying, the better we become. Even a religious view point, I should despair of one's life being amicable relations with the world if I had to compare the right or the propriety of my young one offering to marry to my daughter or to regard it as necessary for me to do with anybody and everybody. I think that I am living on terms of friendship with the whole world, I have never quarrelled with a single Mahomedan or Christian, but for years I have taken nothing but food in Mahomedan or Christian households. I would not certainly desire to eat spiced food from the same plate with my son or to drink water out of a cup which he has touched and which has not been washed, but the refusal or the subversion of ourselves from eating by me has never affected the least sympathy with the Mahomedan or the Christian friends of my own.

But intermarriage and intermarriage have never been a bar to domestic, quarrels and wars. The Pan-Asian and the Kansara line of one another's blood without suspicion although they interbred and intermarried. The difference between the English and the German has not yet died out.

The fact is that intermarriage and intermarriage are not necessary factors in friendship and unity though they are often auxiliary thereof. High instances on either the one or the other are mostly because and not today a bar to Hindu-Muslimian Unity. If we make ourselves believe that Hindu and Muslim-ness is not unless they interbreed or intermarry, we would be creating an artificial barrier between us which it might be almost impossible to remove. And it would seriously interfere with the growing unity between Hindu and Muslimian of for example Muslimian youth to consider it useful to court Hindu girls. The Hindu parents will not, even if they respected any such thing freely about Muslimian to their homes as they have begun to do now. In my opinion it is necessary for Hindu and Muslimian young men to disregard this limitation.

I hold it to be entirely impossible for Hindu and Muslimian to intermarry and yet remain in fact each other's religion. And the true beauty of Hindu Muslimian Unity lies in each remaining true to his own religion and yet being true to each other. For, we are thinking of Hindu and Muslimian as of the most civilized type being able to regard one another as natural friends instead of regarding one another as natural enemies as they have done hitherto.

What then does the Hindu Muslimian Unity consist in and how can it be best promoted? The answer is simple. It consists in our having a common purpose, a common goal and common interests. It is best promoted by co-operating to reach the common goal, by sharing one another's interests and by mutual toleration. A common goal we have. We wish this great country of ours to be greater and self-governing. We have enough interests to share. And why wrong that the Muslimian are deeply touched on the question of Khilafat and their own as just, nothing can have power of for winning Muslimian friendship for the Hindu who gives his whole-hearted support to the Muslimian cause. No account of dividing out of the same cup or dividing out of the same bowl we find the two as this help in the Khilafat question.

Industrial toleration is necessary for all times and for all races. We cannot live in peace if the Hindu will not tolerate the Muslimian form of worship of God and his prophets and customs, or if the Muslimian will be intolerant of Hindu idolatry or cow worship. It is not necessary for Muslimian that I must approve of what I tolerate. I naturally dislike drinking, smoking and working, but I tolerate all these in Hindu's, Muslimian and Christian even as I expect them to tolerate my abstemiousness from all these although they may dislike it. All the quarrels between the Hindu and the Muslimian have arisen from each wanting to force the other to his own.

### THE ONLY SOLUTION.

The working of the Rajyas, all have agreed, requires a co-operation between Government and the people. But the preparation for this Rajyas needs a greater co-operation among the people themselves. Before the Rajyas come into actual operation, what have to be made under no fewer than seventeen sections of the Bill. The whole burden of this preparation appears to have been put by the Joint Committee on the Viceroy and his colleagues, but there is no doubt that the Government of India will share this responsibility with the people. Several committees will have to be appointed. Among the questions before these committees, the question of representation in the various provinces is expected to be the most important. Inasmuch as rural as compared with urban representation is the normal procedure for representation of the urban wage-earning class, additional representation of the depressed classes requires of a proportion of seats for the non-Brahmins of Madras and the Mohammedans of Bombay, conditions of the franchise for women whom it is adopted by local legislatures, revision of landholder's representation and revision of European representation in Ben-gal—the list of the various aspects indicates the scope that the controversy may take. We may find co-operation between provinces, states, communities and castes.

One of these controversies is already raised in Madras. The non-Brahmins have refused to be satisfied with the various proposals of percentages for them. They are not here dealing with any particular of these proposals. We only wish to suggest one solution of the question of representation in general. The representation of Muslimian in the Dyas. Unwisely in another question of the same sort before us. These and the like questions are sure to arise in connection of the self-governance coming in the various provinces and communities of the Indian. To shape the self-governance properly in the interests of the nation is a great responsibility on our leaders from more enlightened castes and provinces. This responsibility lies in creating in the newly constituting parts of the country, a free spirit of co-operation and to create such a genuine co-operation, besides coming from the more enlightened sections have ever to return credit for others. The liberal statesmanship which underlay the able policy enjoys for all the nations that it demands at the initial stage. Any other policy will multiply the intricacies of the problem.

We do not feel any difficulty in making a proper response to our request from the statesmanship which claim to be more enlightened than others, and their leaders. For, the liberal spirit like the trust-for-distant policy is shown here and there by some of our leaders. The other day in the British Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Narasimha Iyer gave a magnificent reply when he was told that a franchise rule would be the result of compulsory education. He said that if the franchise was taken the land, he would shed, not tears of blood, but tears of joy. It is the spirit alone that will solve many of the local questions of today. Would to God that the selection of such a spirit spread far and wide.

### HOME-BUILD AND HOME-DEFENCE.

But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be commensured, the right of her people to direct her affairs and defend her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns and burden which India may in preliminary stages be allowed to take upon her shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment—*Royal Proclamation.*

These memorable words were uttered by His Majesty the King Emperor in his Royal Proclamation to the people of this country. These words beclouded the Royal Assent to the Government of India Act which in the words of the Proclamation gives 'an opportunity for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase' in the control and in total administration of our country. The Indian Act gives an opportunity in the direction of the civil government of the country. There yet remains to be given a similar if not equal opportunity in the sphere of military administration which, it is hardly necessary to emphasize, exists for the defence of our country from foreign aggression—a duty defined in the Royal Proclamation as one of common imperial interest and pride. At the same time it forms a provision for the internal defence of the country which is again a part and parcel of the 'Imperial interest referred to above and where in His Majesty has intended to be an ever-growing opportunity. The question now arises, are we Indians going to be given this opportunity and if so, in what form?

The Pioneer which is supposed to know and speak the Government mind belaboured with some knowledge and accurate info. as that the Government of India is contemplating an Act which is to replace the Indian Defence Act on its expiry. The Pioneer further tells us that the Government's intention is that the Bill is to apply only to the European British subjects in India, who are to receive pay and allowances for their civil and military service. We are then left to understand that no provision is to be made and no opportunity to be given to Indians to take their rightful share in the internal defence of their country. This leads to speculation and wrong-gone apprehensions. All that we can feel from it is the extreme carelessness and oversight of the Government to equip and protect its European British subjects with formidable weapons against all emergencies. We have however nothing to say against this. But we do want to say that any measure which refuses the least opportunity to the Indian subject of the Majesty in the discharge of the burden of defence of his country whether from foreign aggression or from internal disturbances, and

places upon the European and European alone the entire responsibility of the defence, is calculated to hurt and humiliate in the utmost our national pride and capabilities and undermine the very root and the basis and spirit of the Proclamation. For, has not His Majesty recognizing the inherent right of his Indian subject to direct his country's affairs and defend her interests, expressly stated that the defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common imperial interest and pride, that the control of her domestic concerns was a burden which India may in preliminary stages be allowed to take upon her shoulders and that opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and responsibility to increase in the control and in the fulfilment of this obligation? And we ask, what the internal defence of the country a part of her domestic concerns? And if opportunity is not forthcoming for the Indian people in the near future to fulfil this obligation, it will go far to destroy the spirit of which the Government of India has an embodiment. It will show the expressed wishes of His Majesty and defeat the very object and the basis and spirit of the Royal Proclamation, and the burden and responsibility of so doing will be on the shoulders of those on whose heads the Majesty's wishes have been entrusted for their faithful and accurate execution.

While in this particular instance for the supposed organs and concerns of which the Pioneer's statement is responsible, we are naturally drawn to the work and proceedings of the Army Committee now sitting at Delhi. The Committee has collected and continues to collect and affixes a mass of evidence on matters pertaining to the Army in India and its reorganization. The whole business of the Committee is being conducted in camera and we do not have the substance or the nature of the evidence and the problems the Committee proposes to deal with and report upon. While we are already disappointed at a discharging the Englishman somehow believes that it is pretty certain that the report will not be made public. We recognize that owing to matters of strategic value may be necessary but bearing in mind the unshakable importance of the question and the urgent need of immediate reform both to reorganize the efficiency and organization of the army, we would insist that the report when submitted should be made public and the country given an opportunity to know the nature of the recommendations of the Committee. As we said that we are a number of important things that the committee has to report upon. One of these things doubt will be the question of throwing upon the King's commission to India without moral restrictions and limitations and on equal terms and status with the European British subjects of His Majesty. Whatever may be the nature of the evidence submitted before the committee we are confident that the committee while considering this question will not only bear in mind the views of the Indian as shown by his opinion

did death and horror services rendered on the war and on the battlefield but also his inherent right expressly guaranteed by His Majesty in the Royal Proclamation on that of defending his country as a duty of common imperial interest and pride. We repeatedly and emphatically draw to the attention of the Government these words, for if the Government decides to us the right to it, it is verily follows that we must demand equality and common status and treatment in the discharge of the duties which are laid to us of common interest and pride. We are also alive to the disabilities, financial advantages and disadvantages that the Government propose upon us and we propose to deal with them in some other occasion.

L. A.

### THE IDEAL OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.

On each side of the duty laid, to both slight the one lamp of mind, as the other in the illumination of the world. India has proved that it has its own mind which has deeply thought and felt and tried to solve according to the light the problem of existence. The need of India has to be considered and made as common of itself and this only can be accepted education from its teachers in a right spirit, judge it by its own standard and make use of it by its own creative power.

The next point is that, as education, the most important factor must be the bringing atmosphere of creative activity. This should be brought together and full scope given to them for their work of intellectual exploration, and the teaching should be like the mother water of the spring of culture, spontaneous and inevitable.

The last point is that education should be as full touch with our complete life, economic, intellectual, political, social and spiritual.

### MOONEY ON MONKEY-BRAND

The modern Indian Education system has grown as Indian to us as our own physical body, unconsciously growing into us and must be the belief that it can never be changed. And yet there looks, on some depth of our civilisation, a force which does not let us sleep in comfort. We say that the only thing wrong in our education is that it is not really alive in content, that the head is uncreative, only the hand has to be in our own hands to give it form and shape. This it shall be merely external freedom to learn foreign construction. It is no use knowing our foreign mathematics. Let us learn the true wisdom of being absorbed with the idea that we must have some national wonder days of an education of foreign make, simply because we imagine that we have no legs of our own to stand upon.

We imagine that generalisation has in a solution of the best parts of Oxbridge, Oxford and a host of the Universities of Germany, pushed together as an ideal perfection. We forget that the European Universities are living organic parts of the life of Europe, where each stands on its own feet. The European University is not before our eyes full-grown. That is why we cannot think of it. The variety except in a fully developed condition. An image being serving for results and an independent existence. Its solution have led a step towards just such an occasional desire for a National University full-fledged from its very birth. But those would be like hand-knit garments which get almost regard children in comfort. Even our European school-master seems to have forgotten that his University has grown with the growth of his nation. It was the religious needs who were the source of his educational philosophy in the first instance and most of the subjects of our time were past. I quite understand that

and not directly to our (I am) of, are both needed in men, but whose there is a shortage of food, a paucity of or regard to education also becomes necessary. To make the imperfections of our Education as expensive that Education should become sufficient of which most would be like squandering oil on a lamp or buying soap-balls. I do not wish to glorify poverty. It is simplicity in all things, given that the advantages of luxury. It is simple without becoming poor in the position which each must take according to his temper.

### PERMANENT SCHOOL-BOYS

What does it mean the Indian system of education that is troubling our minds? The fact is, it was really a limited passage when we first entered our English school, and we have not even yet been able to get out of it, we have permanently become school-boys. We have got the same kind of education as if we were in the trap—of themselves to be an eternally circulating.

That education is like which allows judges the mind to be a living, thing and therefore stimulates it to give out more in quality and quantity than what is imparted from the outside. Let us judge our education by that standard. We have been repeating great words, learning great truths, looking at great examples, but in reality we have simply become clerks, doing calculations, physics or chemistry. Though the physical sciences are progressing so very fast and colleges and boards, all the scientific experiments of them has not resulted in any new theory or point that has yielded us in the manner of mankind. And who shall make good the real thing that is lost, when students wear leather sandals? That I cannot say. It is due to my inherent defect in our national power. In the past our mind was in living connection with its surroundings, we made our own instruments and apparatuses, we used to discover principles and build hypotheses and apply them to life. Now, this originality is not lacking among our people, only it is smothered down under the dead pressure of a mechanical method and the influence of a contemplative character.

### INTELLECTUAL ANEMIA.

All organs begin like a flame, a long way beyond themselves. They have their smaller and a larger body. When we see a foreign country, we see only its smaller body. Its larger body is in their Parliament, in the numerous activities of their economic life. But the modern European culture, whose birth and strength lie in its ideal material, seems to us, equally dead, because this is our disease. We not only borrow a foreign culture, but also a foreign standard of judgment, we become victims as we collect and look intellectual savings.

The last needs to see the dynamic character of living truth. Thus while the English mind has passed through different words and standards, we have merely copied behind them, missing the mobilisation of life.

### BOGDAN WHO CANNOT SPEAK.

Communication of life can only be through living agency. These methods do live, in the two country, is the foundation of the European University except the human teacher. We find our teacher to be "unintelligible" even to the Indian professor.

Could we see in a position to prove that the world has used of us, that we are not merely happy-go of the world-culture-begotten who cannot enjoy to live meaning and hope but in creating others' lives. And thus we are ignorant, we are not by ignorance, we are not by failure, sometimes by moral nerve and above other conventional methods of solving life. Only in him who has a given, otherwise both the gift is smothered and its use is never it.

[ To be concluded. ]

### MR ANDERSON'S LETTER. THIS SUBJECT MUST NEVER HAPPEN AGAIN.

In his letter addressed to Mr Walsley H Dean from Manchester, Mr Anderson writes as follows—

The objection to December was very much worse than that to British East Africa. There is something in the British, much more respect is paid to the Indians, and they play a very important part indeed in country. Some of them are very capable and talented. What is chiefly wanted is a complete overthrow of their education. There is a lot of money spent, but a good deal of it is expended in a wasteful and unproductive way only a few boys in each settlement of a good number of miles, whom I suppose you will do much to put their educational matters right. There is nothing more important to Walsley at the present moment. We had quite wonderful meetings. There was one great mass meeting in the lecture hall at which some 1,000 in 1,000 mind, have been present on all. They have never had such a meeting in December since the visit of Mr. Gifford and Mr. Gifford in 1872. They were all so delighted about it and afterwards.

There were two meetings at the Agri. Socy. Meeting at which I talked about my love for the Governor of Kenya, Harford. They began with great delight as I spoke about the White Land. There were present at the Agri. Socy. Meeting all the leading Manchester and all the leading Yorkshire States. The Harford-Morley Daily here in December is now a fortnight as in 1872.

In German East Africa changes have taken place. The efforts of the war are still general, as every plantation owner of the Indians are as a rule phlegm. There is a great difficulty about something very nearly to India in all. Every thing is held up. The lives have been a considerable of late owing to the war against the South African war, which seems to spread like a disease all over the world in Africa. It has not yet affected Uganda or Zanzibar with events, but otherwise in German East Africa, and the East African are severely plagues-affected. There have been deaths in the British German East Africa some 100,000, a number of South Africans in British Africa and it is those who do all the manual and operative plagues work.

I have had a very long time called upon now in health and sleep has been so much in consequence of all and the East African man-kill is very long. I am hoping that I may be able to return a little in March but I have late doubts that will be, when I come get in South Africa. Of course I am very anxious to have been quite professional that I came up when I did. The time on East Africa could not have been more so and I did not, never a day has not. Already a great change of it is inevitable and I hope that it will be continued after my departure. The whole European Community was going away in the South African and there was no strong moral unity against them. The Indians were now going by default. The rights of East African Indians were never happen again.

You recollect number of all that was being brought forward was that of moral depravity and vice which, it was said, was characteristic for Africans. A greater charity was never offered and it chiefly affected the German Community which showed nearly 50. Forward of the population. I was able to give but only that the change was false, but also that the very opposite was true. The Indian Community in a whole has the clearest and purest record of any community in Europe included. It is now established upon the fact, that the association was good character. I do not think it will be ever brought forward again.

### AN INTERVIEW WITH MR SANDHI

THE ABOVE SUBJECT WAS NOT MENTIONED, THIS WEEK

OF THE

(From the Indian States, London.)

And talk with Mr Sandhi, I succeeded in the simplicity of his words. He wore some white cloth, with a head white cap was loosely head-covering. As he sat on the floor facing me, I asked myself, how was such little man, with his thin feet and large protruding nose, and yet a large eye in the great double about whom I have heard so much. All doubts were at once, when he began to talk. It was a long talk with all the methods that Mr Sandhi employs in bringing about the desired end, but I do want to know his personal testimony of the work himself. Mr Sandhi was a good man. He was a doctor, in my short interview I had the man heart-to-heart fellowship with him as I have had none of before with some of India's states. I feel, therefore, that this man had been in the "Narrow" of Christian strength and had learned from the "great Christ."

"Mr Sandhi, what was your life's work in India during the all round development of the East, and particularly of India?" Mr Sandhi answered the question as directly "I have seen you on the state of education. The fundamental fact that is given and applicable. From my observation of the West, and particularly of your own country I have learned two important facts. First, education, second, energy. I am fully convinced that my people cannot progress spiritually, until they clean up. Your people are wonderfully energetic. You have energy, it has been every other day, continued. If Indian people would have the same amount of energy, rightly directed, they would receive a great blessing."

"Mr Sandhi, will you kindly tell me how Christians by our best help have in view of the spirit of materialism that is abroad?" He replied, "What we need, most of all is sympathy. When I was down in Africa, I found that Christians. I had to do some serious work in order to reach the poor. During my work, I had to do the deep. None of the people of colour was able to work by people only search the surface. If I could do my duty by means of sympathy, they would find a stream of life that runs pure of sin."

"And will you kindly tell me, Mr Sandhi, what kind of position has education in your life?" Of course, I was prepared to have had some something about the Prince and several other in some books in which Christian people would be interested, but I was not prepared to have from the lips of this man the names of three English books that I had never before read through. He finally mentioned that he was not much interested in reading, but rather a careful observer of the very best. The order in which he spoke of the books was as follows: "The Bible, the Bible, the Bible, speaking of the Bible, he said: "There have been many times when I did not know which way to turn. For I have gone to the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, and have drawn strength from its message."

I was anxious to know how our Western Christian Association composed of the heart of the educated man in the city, could further the city's affairs. In reply to the question, he gave me the following "message." He said, "I employ does not do all its meaning. If the message would get out and find a helping hand to clean up the city, literally and morally, they would be doing a great work."

Next

S. W. Oakes.

[We are the slaves to the S. S. System—Ed. L. L.]

## INDIANS IN E. AFRICA. CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS.

By Mr. ANDREW'S VICE.

THE INDIAN. A JOURNAL WHICH THE EDITOR:

(Discontinued from our last issue.)

There are certain points in connection with these Kafir's Conventions that stand out which are worthy of special notice.

First of all, it will at once be recognized by any sensible reader that the Federation of Indians as it is called, which was passed over recently by the Convention, bears a marked resemblance to the geographic dealing with the same in the Government's Economic Commission Report. Indeed, in some prominent passages, the phrases used are identical.

There may be accounted for by the fact, already mentioned, that all the non-official members who served on the Economic Commission were serving at one and the same time on the executive committee of the Convention of Association. When we examine further the two parallel documents we find that in a dozen or more instances a very similar sense or is to be observed to exist. Indeed, we can hardly do for a document freely reached by the Imperial Conference at London about contemporary events.

### THEIR ATTITUDE.

Interpreting as well as I can the resolutions passed at the convention mentioned, the Indian community, I paraphrase them as follows:—"The Indians are creatures,—that is the gist of the whole matter. Certain people called Indians have retained this identity. The thing that men has an identity of character with them. Their habits and mode of life are engrained, they think and act automatically. These characters are now standing before us in the nature and nature of products of the Indian, the whole community. The Indians must therefore be made to leave the country as quickly as possible. For the very presence of the natives tend to hinder the development of the race. When every source of trade and legal and business and Government revenue within the jurisdiction is closed up after and more rapidly, and when all further communication into the provinces, of ever increasing numbers, is cut off, the whole province of business will be in a condition that very few well-meaning men could be persuaded to visit. It is desirable that the Indian community should be persuaded to leave Indian countries. As long as they are, their habits are to be dealt with. When the Indian by their political methods has been subjected as long as to leave the country, then the ruling White men can build up the race and advance America, committed to it as it is bound by the Empire of the Government, and finally, nature by means of its own Christianity and its own Christian Western ideas of religiousness and progress. To carry out the whole matter, Indians must on any one thing be eliminated with the British Commonwealth or associated with the Government or that 'White' Whigget they are related to Africa only by rule with the British. They are alone."

The document and various resolutions of the whole community possessing will demonstrate and representative persons must not be persuaded by giving any system of discipline to the Agents. If the Indian community on the British Empire could, when leaving the shores of India for Africa, but no more, something that they, they only, and without any external arrangement, it has become a people within the Empire.

## THE NEW INDIA.

The British has been welcomed as a self-governing nation of the British Commonwealth within the League of Nations, side by side with America and New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. The new era which all this represents has been proclaimed by His Majesty the King and the King's speech we will remember it with many a year to come.

It is strange indeed that at such a time as this when history is being made and the British Commonwealth through out the world is starting up to a new mode of progress, the members of the British Convention should be so out of touch with the spirit of the times that they should endeavor to limit the horizons of that world Commonwealth in which we live to the limitations of a single race.

When I read of my fellow countrymen in a consideration of the Convention papers with regard to the new world and the new work of the British Commonwealth, which was adopted as a means of direct and unobstructed contact without artificial barriers of thought.

### A REACH OF UNBROKEN TRUTHFULNESS.

Before closing this chapter, I am obliged to refer to one more anomaly here made by the British Convention which is even more grossly wrong in its conception than that which I have already pointed out.

It does not seem to me that anything else has differentiated the British Commonwealth abroad from all the other great dominions of the past or the future, the pledge, brotherly good and understanding, of complete religious freedom. Only with such an understanding could we conceive something many nations of Mohammedans, Buddhists, Hindus and followers of other gods (the understanding of them professed, the word of the message himself) have been kept together with the same loyalty as a common allegiance.

The whole purpose of the British Convention of Association is to bring a gathering of the progressive Governments which would directly favor the spread of religion and would produce others. That is to say to give dominion to a group of religions standing on the part of the Government.

That is the only meaning I can deduce from the character of the Federation which the idea of character I will quote again as full at this point:—

"Whereas our mutual ideas of righteousness and progress are unshaken in our Christian Western civilization and it is our duty to make sure that the best religious theories are readily available for the good of all existing Africa. —"

As if character from [Indian] people follow as all the same a common law which is better and as many religions are present in our era.

And whereas their moral states bring them more frequently into contact with the African and that relationship is to be a permanent and as arrangements to be made of the West. —"

The Federation on Indian ground is demanded that an arrangement of those very things the Indian nations should be excluded from that Africa and the provisions should be made a state government for the Christian Western civilization.

### A PARALLEL CASE.

In order to show how bad the character has been let us take a parallel case. As a pure and simple evidence of character the most obvious step to take, when upon the Indian had been closed out of the way, would be to require the Arabs out of the unobstructed path of Christi-

among the Africans, on exactly the same grounds as the Indians. The fact that he had been an ambassador into the British provinces almost certainly only a little longer than the fact that he should surely not stand in the way of such a logical application.

#### A RECONSIDERATION

Now that the Government of East Africa Provinces will give the Imperial Government itself, have repudiated the findings of the Brundage Commission on the Indian question and by so doing annihilated the position taken by the Committee of Ambassadors, I have a great hope that the portion of the plan I have made for a more abolition of the whole question will be acknowledged and that no committee will be called immediately to this situation to see whether Indians and Europeans which may ultimately be transformed into a united and permanent peace.

#### RIGHT AND REPRESSION

(The Standard Canadian.)

The Indian National Congress, meeting at a place of another meeting, has passed the resolution unopposedly condemning the Amritsar massacre and the military rule imposed there on the people. The condemnation of the act was moved by Mr. Gandhi, the leader of the passive resistance movement. Both parties, in fact, went and at the time, but it was for the Indians to present evidence with equity. There is no doubt that the violence in Amritsar demonstrates our punishment, and justified the use of the most stringent measures of preventive. Members were examined and no legislation was in fully broken as to have been left for dead. The Indian people do well to show themselves of all completely with such methods. It is for to require ourselves of compliance with the methods of resolution which they come into play. The National Congress, while condemning the acts, also demands the removal of General Dyer, who ordered the firing upon the crowd, and of Mr. Michael O'Dwyer, who is alleged to have suggested his approval. Of the removal of Mr. Michael O'Dwyer, we have not previous information. He has made his position clear in his recent letter to the Standard Y 1; but General Dyer's they had been told, with the frankness of a man who is quite sure of himself, by himself. There is no doubt to admit. The violence of the crowd is before us. He has told us exactly what he did and why he did it. What we have to consider is how we are dealing our case in the eyes of the Indian people who are now in the possession of full story, and of the civilized world, where our confidence in letting the story run nothing in the wrong. The Indian National Congress makes the way in which demand that he should be removed from his command. It will be for the Government and ultimately for the country to consider whether this step will suffice to show our sense.

We need not at this stage expect the execution of us in which the same himself demands as a terrible thing. It is demanded as some quarters on the punishment of these actions of the previous day which the Congress has condemned. But national and world punishment falls on the guilty, and there is no suggestion of any kind of evidence that a single one of those who heard who were killed or the 1,200 or so left wounded and maimed on the ground, by General Dyer had had not in part as the consequence of any outrage. The offences of these people

was that they had assembled in defiance of an order rarely promulgated, of doubtful authority, known perhaps to some, unknown possibly to others, to march together. The circumstances were grave and menacing dangers. Had General Dyer given a single word of warning and a single minute for dispersal, he would have been punished in regarding refusal as disobedience, in assuming leadership, and in case of resistance as being in the mob. Had he, without giving warning, fired once only, he would as we now have been guilty to him, but the name of Amritsar would not have gone down in history as a name of horror and reproach to British rule. But he made himself. He was not ever against a deliberate name of human beings really struggling for some or some and let the wounded to get what care they might, because there was no time to take casualties and 'it was not his job to go and not the wounded.' A mild commentator asked with apologies whether this was not a form of 'brilliantness.' It is certainly very much like what we have been maintaining in German Empire years. The British as that was to come. It troubled itself with no questions about guilt or innocence, right or wrong. The sentence of Dyer was not to see terror unconditionally, in one operation, without regard to any question of guilt or innocence. By this the world was justly horrified, and as the long run the thing has been tried in France. For how shall we stand upon the question if we fall in complete condemnation of the firing at Amritsar?

Of the findings with which the great mass of people have removed the case there is no doubt whatever. With anything about it General Dyer's own admission they would have refused to believe it. Having done otherwise believe them, there is no doubt of the general sense of honor and shame with which they regard the affair. But there is a special limitation on compelling a man who acted harshly as a category—a limitation which might be more widely felt if General Dyer had taken a different tone in his defence. That however is worked upon by the Government among us, who see in the whole proceeding the bold act of the strong man which might befitting to the last. We cannot be considered those who allow that conception of responsibility to rule their national feeling. This we may conceivably be vindicated by common sense and Government and shared over in British history. But if it is accompanied with that sense and respectable answer which comes to us the end of a man man repudiated by the other judgment of his country, then it will go down through Indian conscience as long as the conscience of India and England live. It will go through the world, unless we will the willing consent of all our nations, or the violation of the real base of British Imperial rule. It will strengthen the hands of every enemy and weaken every friend whom we possess. Slowly and inexorably, it will make us Indians and worse as demanding the punishment of these German officers whose offences are generally that for the safety of the nation or the army they are sent to death without evidence of guilt or innocence. The complete absence of evidence or evidence responsibility which must not be held and revenge themselves not as the end does or the rule but as a part of the same sent or sent or sent, or whatever it may be, has come back to the world through the channels of war necessity, and to meet his end and destroyed if we are to have unity, to any making of peace in the future.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi.)

17615

New Series Vol. II. No. 9	ANNUAL REPORT, 1934-35	Price Only 2 Annas Five Cents
<b>CONTENTS</b>		
Notes	—	1
<b>Articles</b>		
The American Approach	—	2
Reciprocity in India	—	7
<b>Reviews</b>		
The Customs Tariff in India	—	4
The Excise Schedule	—	5
Correspondence	—	8

## Notes.

**The Imperial Council Proceedings.**—One of the most important resolutions in the Council was the one moved by the Hon. Sir George Barnes, of appointing a committee to examine the trade arrangements to be entered into by the Government of India as to whether it is advisable to apply to the Indian customs tariff a system of preferences in favour of the goods of Empire-countries. On this the Hon. Sir George Barnes spoke moving this resolution and that the principle of Imperial Preference was adopted in the tariff of the United Kingdom. This has made us Sir George's opinion, Imperial Preference a question of practical policy for India. He observed that the adverse action of Lord Curzon's Government was based in some measure on the danger of reprisals by foreign countries. He suggested that the danger was not today a real one or an excess as it seemed to Lord Curzon's Government. Besides, he added, the position is further changed by the adoption of a policy of preferences in other parts of the Empire. He pointed out how the position has changed ever since the date when the Singapore Convention made his speech Imperial Preference in 1912. Our sugar would now be entitled to a preference if we had any to export but unfortunately India was an importer of sugar and not an exporter. With regard to cotton goods, he said, "there was then an export duty of 25 percent and a corresponding import duty of 15 percent." The export duty today has," he told the Council, "been raised since then to 75 percent while the corresponding import duty is now 10 percent."

He further explained that he referred to this matter because in the view of the Government of India, it should be made a condition of the acceptance of the principle of Imperial Preference by India that the same duty in cotton goods

should be totally removed. He concluded by saying that the resolution was not one of Imperial Preference but only for the appointment of a committee.

The Hon. Mr. Cresswell thought the scope of the resolution should be enlarged so as to embrace the best methods of administering the future fiscal policy of India.

The resolution was then put to vote and carried as amended.

We think with the Hon. Sir Charles Woods that the country need be satisfied fully. And we hope that in such a matter the counsel of our leading men in commerce and industry will ultimately prevail.

Another question just like to that of Imperial Preference and of equal importance, was that of local policy. The Hon. Mr. Prid mored for the appointment of a committee to investigate the question of the fiscal policy to be adopted hereafter by the Government of India as the result of the recommendations of Lord Selborne's Committee and discuss and suggest such tariff arrangements as seem to it best suited to the needs of India as an integral part of the Empire. The Hon. Sir George Barnes in behalf of the Government stated that the Committee appointed the previous day (with regard to Imperial Preference) would consider all commercial matters and deal with the questions suggested by Mr. Cresswell. The resolution was rejected by a vote of 46 against 21. This resolution was supported by us to watch the proceedings and the discussion of the Imperial-Preference-Committee more minutely and effectively.

The full discussion of the Royal Bazaar was another subject discussed in the Council. The Hon. Mr. Prid mored that the Bazaar be placed to give full effect to the wishes and spirit of the Royal Proclamation in regard to allowing to political officers. He mentioned Mr. Bannerman's case was still hanging in the balance. Mr. Prid mored in supporting the resolution referred to the case of Sir John Macdonald who, he said, had pointed to the Government. The Hon. Mr. Macdonald on behalf of the Government, and the articles of officers released under the several Ordinances and Acts were 1115. Besides, our total war gross to persons employed in the Foreign distribution Relief Society was proclaimed, 10 percent retained by the Royal Law

1907) is 194 by the Martial Law Commission in the Punjab. It is released as recommended by Justice Sir Edmond and Mr Justice Chitty. Mr Macmillan further said that before receiving the Edward VII. case had released about 225. The total number of persons convicted in the disturbances was 1,712 of whom 712 had served their sentences up to the 1st of January. Taking India as a whole the total number of persons that benefited by the amnesty were 723. He advised the Council that the Government were quite willing to examine the papers of any individual name and give their best consideration if they were brought before them.

We are identical in the plan, member for the information he has provided to the public. But we respectfully urge that the Government should themselves examine their papers into the remaining cases of arrests. The public expects Government to take a more responsible view in the matter. Only they can help them a better view.

**Representative legislation.**—The various local governments are undoubtedly moving in the right direction by removing some of the taxes imposed by them in the Muzoosari plan in their provinces. Our own Government has issued a grant note last week directing consolidation and reform of taxes levied upon them in the case of 54 provinces and 2 newspapers out of a total number of 60 provinces and 2 newspapers. We wish it had been found possible to reform all the matters including those which had been hitherto. We would hardly say that nothing can strike the imagination of our people and the press so much as a readiness on the part of the Government to take the people and the press in their confidence in the fullest spirit of co-operation and trust. The success "Trust begets trust" is not without its meaning. And then we are sure not only will public opinion, influence and support disappear but weakness and evasive attitude on the Government and its policy will also be very rare.

But then we are never contented of half-hearted measures. All representative legislation that is had both in its theory and actual practice is also well-known and harmful in its effect upon the national life of the country. We would rather with regard to the repeal of the Press Act and the Forest Production, it will be quite in the interest of things to proceed with the repeal of repressive legislation, one by one. Nothing will reduce the low name of the Government more than this. The Press Act should be repealed without any delay or tarrying. It is urgent and modifying in the way in that way. The Government are continually advised with, and power large power to deal with offending editors through its writs and all-unknown members of the Press Code. The Forest Act which is a dire blot on the good name of the people and the Government in the next elements point of legislation to be dealt with. Has it not cost

colleagues dearly to hold the parcel? Will the Government have a lesson from their past experience and not hesitate? Is it too late to amend? Then, why adopt that stiff and unbecoming attitude towards the numerous opinions of the country against a measure which must be defended by any possible or ethical means, such has, justified by expediency or necessity. The King has called upon his officials to enforce all traces of past legislation. How else can that be achieved except by stopping them?

**Who is really responsible.**—Our London Correspondent writes—

In your issue of January 7, you referred to the appointment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the Indian Army Commission, and said, "It would have been at least prudent not to have suddenly appointed public opinion. Returning was him back to India, Mr. Montagu's resignation failed him when he selected Sir Michael for his Military Commission."

With the statements expressed in the last sentence all friends of India and of common decency will agree, but I have the best reason for knowing that the blame lies on responsibility whatever in the matter. I am informed upon excellent authority that Sir Michael's appointment was made without his knowledge by the Army Council. I hope that you will make this clear.

## Young India.

Announced, February, 2nd March, 1907

### THE AMBITIOUS APPEALS

(By H. K. Goshal)

In these appeals have been discussed in spite of the advocacy of the best counsel that were obtainable. The Privy Council has confirmed lawless procedure. I would prefer that the judgment does not come upon us quite as a surprise, though the remarks of the judges in Sir Sivas was developing his argument on behalf of the appellants, led me to expect a favourable verdict. My opinion based upon a study of political cases is that the judgments of the highest Tribunal are not unaffected by public political considerations. The constitutional provisions before to passers a purely judicial word must break down at critical moments. The Privy Council must be free from the shackles of all human institutions whatever good enough only for normal conditions. The consequences of a decision favourable to the people would have exposed the Indian Government to undesirable discredit from which it would have been difficult to free itself for a generation.

Its political significance can be gauged from the fact that as soon as the news was received at Lahore all the preparations that were made to accord a fitting welcome to Lord Dalglish were immediately cancelled and the Capital of the Punjab was expected to be as deep mourning. Deepar dandak, therefore, was taken to the Government by means of the judgment, because rightly or wrongly the popular opinion will be that there is no justice under the British constitution when large political or racial considerations are involved.

There is only one way to avoid the catastrophe. The houses and especially the Indian mind quickly responds to generosity. I hope that without the necessity of an epidemic or pestilence the Punjab Government or the Central Government will voluntarily cancel the death sentences and if at all possible, unconditionally set the appellants free.

This is required by two considerations each equally important. The first, is that of restoring public confidence which I have already mentioned. The second is fulfilment of the Royal Proclamation in the letter. That great political document orders the release of all the political offenders who may not by their actions pose a danger to society. No one can possibly suggest that the twenty-one appellants will, if they are set free, in any shape or form constitute a danger to society. They never led committed any crime before. Most of them were regarded as respectable and widely known. They were not known to belong to any revolutionary society. If they committed any crime at all, they were committed only under the impulse of the moment and under what to them was grave provocation. However, the public believe that the reports of the commission by the Martial Law Tribunals were unsupported by any good evidence. I, therefore, hope that the Government, which have so far been doing well in discharging political offenders even when they were caught in the act, will not hesitate to release these appellants and thus save the honour of the whole of India. It was not of generosity done in the hour of triumph which is the most effective. And in the popular opinion the demand of the appeal has been regarded as a triumph for the Government.

I would respectfully plead with the Punjab Government not to lose heart. We must calmly prepare ourselves for the worst. If the unconquerable spirit of the men concerned have been guilty of murders or attempts to murder, why should they escape punishment? If they have not committed these crimes as we believe most of them have not, why should we accept the word of all who are trying to cast a stephalinght? Why should we fear the manhood of we would not? No nation have ever risen without sacrifice and sacrifice can only be spoken of in connection with success, and not with crime.

**IMMIGRATION TO PUNJ.**

We publish elsewhere a letter received by Mr Gandhi from the Lord Bishop of Pohnpei in reply to the article written by Mr Gandhi on Indian immigration. We gladly accept his leadership that we could live with broad toleration and kind manners. But we fear that there is a difference between us of view-point. With us the moral is the chief determining factor. We, therefore, do not challenge the proposition that the immigrants to Puj have lost their moral prospects, though we draw his leadership's attention to the following striking figures quoted in one of our October issues by Mr Emmanuel from Annual Emigration Report—

Year	No of emigrants who returned.	No of those who brought no savings.
1914	2051	2274 (or 61.8 percent)
1915	2601	2118 (or 71.2 percent)
1916	1228	1423 (or 85 percent)
1917	277	1261 (or 78.0 percent)

The leading quote Mr Andrews' testimony in favour of a free immigration scheme. It is well known that Mr. Andrews changed his views afterwards and on further reflection abandoned his scheme entirely. But what Mr. Gandhi has stated is easily qualified by anything that Mr. Andrews has written. Mr. Gandhi's chief point is that Indian immigration would be a moral disaster with the effects of slavery and social degradation. We would welcome good out to his leadership that the question lying at the bottom of the matter may or whether immigration to Puj under free and better conditions should be stimulated. There something inherent in prevent an Indian from accepting any free agent in any part of the world which could remove him. It is clear to us that for the time being at any rate it would be most inadvisable to stimulate such free immigration to Puj. The reports of the returns depicting the appointment of special constables and shooting may or may not have been necessary. But the fact that there was a big strike and killing—big enough to require being to suppress it, shows that there is discontent. The latter stuff may have been incited by agitation as has been reported by the Governor or it may be due to just causes. The Commission appointed by the Governor must throw light on the question. The moral however of the story is obvious. Our motto should be "stay as you are, suffered unto the day as and there".

A non-official committee will forthwith proceed to Puj in order to investigate the conditions there and report upon the scheme presented by the Representatives headed by the Lord Bishop. We think that what is more urgent at the present moment is the representation from here on the Commission appointed to inquire into the rioting. The report should bring to light many facts which will materially aid us in forming conclusions on the proposed scheme.

## THE CENTRE OF INDIAN CULTURE THE IDEAL OF EDUCATION

(Continued from the last issue)

### HANDSOME CARICATING THE SCOFFERS-TOP

For the public recognition of learning a foreign language cannot be a true medium. The education which we receive from our Universities, takes us for granted that it is for advancing a higher career, and that not only the mental capital and the knowledge but also the whole language must today be imported from across the sea. We get as my experience gave, a considerable proportion of people are naturally deficient in the power of learning languages. In like the Education of our ancient Rigs, who, not knowing which book ought to be wanted, had to empty away the whole mountain bag, those bags unable to use the language intelligently have to carry in their heads the whole of the book by rote. What a terrible waste of energy expended to cut off all higher educational facilities from the thousands of people who have no gift for acquiring a foreign tongue, but who possess the intellect and the aim to learn!

"But what about the best-looker?" one will say. You there are wrong. But we cannot very well expect a man to go on working, if the same are refused education.

### CONCENTRATION OF INTELLECTUAL POWER.

In the natural course of things the water comes first and then comes the fish—i.e. the progress of the human race which draws the students round them, if there were to be none, and not merely to be treated, like a suitable commodity with the stamp of their nation—i.e. let us therefore have no more to be waste all energies in trifles, but to concentrate them on the main things to be done, and so to produce the best, and give that those who have successfully passed through the discipline of cultivating their minds who are ready to pursue and therefore to export, new things to come together and take up their seats of wisdom sitting, doing exactly their own work of explanation and discovery in the region of knowledge. In this way will be concentrated the power which shall be adequate for the spontaneous growth of a community, those which survive, as all the work of life. It shall be the centre of the modern life of the intellectual world.

### UNITY IN VARIETY

The language about an intellectual unity in India or, I am told, difficult to the verge of impossibility owing to the fact that India has so many different languages. But all these realisations have been built upon the foundation of differences. We cannot broadly merge the same root and bud of the diversity of the languages and of the same time have a kind a foreign language like foreign will say can be good for that education which is really and permanently necessary for the maintenance of life. India is not like any one of the great empires of Europe, but like Europe herself branching out into different people speaking different languages. And yet Europe has a common civilization with its intellectual unity which is not based on any uniformity of language. In the earlier stage of culture the work of Europe had Latin for her long age of learning. It was like her intellectual life-time when all her parts of self-expression were chiselled into one piece. When the great European languages found their intellectual language, then only the habitations of culture became possible in the West, unlike numerous of others in Europe because it really expressed and is verbally united.

There was a time when in India the only one language of culture or learning, but, for linguistic reasons of the numerous of thoughts she, such have all her intellectual unity as the perfect power through which her different people may manifest their differences of

growth in the full. This can never be done through the language which is foreign containing its own peculiar connotations which are sure to hamper one freedom of thought and creation. The use of English curiously tends to turn our mind for its course of inspiration towards the West with which we can never be in other touch of life and therefore, our education will surely remain static or produce stagnation. English being our most language is not like an artificial barrier gradually being away our mother tongue from our life of culture into the recognition of language use. It over less the great necessity of a keen English learning medium for setting an relationship with the growing power in matters of the modern world. In fact, our culture have made their distance along the themselves but necessarily prepares for the people they have come to govern. For, not only have we to pay the cost of our Unintentional world travel, but also with our own language and with our own true culture upon which depends the salvation of our Motherland for all time to come.

### VISIONS OF INDIAN CULTURE.

We must therefore think of the use of our Indian learning as an course of and spirit apart from the existing University—so called schools and colleges. It may certainly make great and good, but it should be broad and wide and not narrow and close down to the end. My suggestion is that we should give rise somewhere a national force which will attract and group together from different parts of our land and different ages all our own national of learning and that create a complete and moving web of Indian culture.

### THE BOOKS COVERED

Possibly of the want of opportunity to our course of study we take it for granted that India had no culture. This when we hear from George Frazier some bits of pieces of India's culture, we are certain ourselves no longer and read the sky with the cheer that all other nations are surely human, but even so often. We should remember that my spiritual culture, which is wholly disconnected from the material, is not lost at all. However, as we are to create a course of Indian culture, we must start with the belief that India has a culture, and we should be worthy of being reported to it. It can be easily proved that our culture has its experiments and its discoveries. But language culture also has its experiments. Its politics, its sciences are full of them. But when the eye becomes truly watchful because they move and change.

There were times when we in India worked at the problem of life; we truly made experiments. The only time we worked in this manner is spread nearly be more they are different from those of Europe. But they must move—move to the front—best of life.

### THE EXTENSION OF THE AGE

For too long have we kept our culture contained in the condition of our subjective thought. Individuality makes respect makes for individuality as much as makes our mind. Thus it becomes the Medium of our energy with foreign culture growing through them our perfect freedom of movement and growth and our happiness, freedom the education like Europe. It will not do to keep our culture as merely classified with those of gold. Now because the age for co-operation and co-operation. Advancement of knowledge through comparative study and growth in intellectual co-operation into the beyond of the young age. We must have our own standards as a synthesis of all the cultures we have.

I have no distrust of any culture because of its foreign character. On the contrary, I believe that the stock of such things is necessary for the vitality of our intellectual nation. What I object to is the artificial strangeness by which this foreign character tends to smother all the spirit of our national mind and thus hinders the growth of our national life and the growth of our thought-power by a too exclusive of traits.

#### THE GANGES OF OUR CULTURE

The main river of Indian culture has followed its four streams--The Vedic, the Puranic, the Buddhist, and the Jain. It had its course on the banks of the Indian continent. But a river belonging to a country is not fed by narrow waters alone. In our case, our civilisation, our political act, our literature, the Mohammedan have made their permanent and powerful contributions. They came later when they saw signs of decay and decay and their wonderful religious democracy. The foreign current has infinitely mingled with our life.

And there has descended upon us the latest flood of western culture. We must make a careful sifting through which the best may flow if we shall be saved from our fatal delusion. But in the culture of India, learning we must provide for the co-ordinated spirit of all these different influences--the Vedic, the Puranic, the Buddhist, the Jain, the Islamic, the Bible and the Christian. And only by this work does the Kampana--for only there shall we be able to assimilate the best. It is needless to add that along with these languages in which has stored our ancient wisdom we must make room for our great vernaculars and our folk-lore in order truly to know the psychology of our people and the direction towards which our civilised content of life is moving. There are some who are unshakably certain, who believe that the past is the best, that they refuse to believe that the way that is steadily forward can be led from the rear. But we cannot yet imagine that we are one of those advanced peoples of the world.

#### THE JOY OF LIFE

We have almost completely spent the material life of man having a contented, allowing a while to grow dull. But poverty, misery and the few who are striving the highest means of material self-expression whereas the complete personality of a people finds its expression. But there are our own which take the material of spirit, because are the spontaneous overflow of our deeper nature of our spiritual abundance of wealth. It is not by the education of a gross-human. It is not by having that joy of life is only the outer side of the strength of life. The Indian can almost say that that the heaven and things are more. In various directions of a tree, but he will know in his soul, that if there are oppression, the number that follows them. It is the wilderness of a man's heart which separates him. In the proposed course of our culture, man and we must have their permanent seats of honour and not merely a shelter and of resignation.

#### THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

If my mind of the course of Indian culture has any truth, it may be, and therefore must be, centred in all men. The one practical question which has to be solved is if this development should be made whereby such a situation can be made by independence not only of political independence of the work, but of the social organisation of their own uncorrupted funds. The wealth and luxury which are now used for all kept out of us gradually and inevitably supply our life and we must be made to understand and to share, bringing about stagnation of soul.

We see this hand with two opposing problems--the first is that our poverty of our material life. There come to the conclusion that for the protection of our material life the economic side of our cultural movement is necessary. Our material poverty, however, can only be removed by the combination of our material resources through the co-ordination of our power.

#### VIRVIA-SHAKALATI

A divine justice cannot be evaded. What must be the religion leading that is to be given in the course of Indian culture or Indian-Islamic Religion are to be found in every country and in every age owing to the necessity of human nature. There will always be unity, who, by wisdom and compassion, political action or belonging to a particular sect. In spite of religious faith and conscience, I am not inclined to think that there can be a right meeting place where all sects may gather together and begin differences. Our leaders should spend a single year with respect wherever all the world was actually carried to take us out in unity and good-fellowship. And it is to be seen that the conclusion was forth for all time in some way "Gharana, Jnan, Advaita."

#### KHILAFAT MANIFESTO

The following manifesto has been issued by the Khilafat Conference at the concluding session of the first All-India Khilafat Conference at Bombay

**Members India's claim**

The claim on behalf of the Mohammedans in India in connection with the Turkish peace terms may be divided into two sections, one regarding the Khilafat, and the second regarding what is called Jami'at-ul-umrah and the Holy places of Islam.

The claim regarding the Khilafat consists in having the Turkish Empire as it was at the time of its outbreak of the War except that although the elements of Turkish empire are not admitted, the one Turkish institution may if they so desire, be guaranteed autonomous Government within the Ottoman Empire consistently with the dignity of a sovereign State.

The second section of the claim consists in the recognition of the Jami'at-ul-umrah at Mecca as defined by Muslim religious authority and the custody of the holy places of Islam Mecca, as then defined or bounded by the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, the English Channel and the Tyne.

The Holy Places include the three sacred Mosques namely Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem and the Holy Mosques namely Masjid, Kadhah, Damascus, Kazan and Baghdad. It is only that claim is contained in the fact that it is distinguished from it in that the custody of the Holy Places has ever since the establishment of Islam been under the Khilafat and under the authority of the Imam which has descended from time to time but has never without any other source whatsoever. This claim does not include persons Arab self-government because those who have understood the necessity behind it. The claim are not to be made by Shari'at Mosques and by Arab Fiscal Government in fact with their recognition of them, the spiritual sovereignty of the Khilafat.

#### Argument

The claim is primarily based upon the religious requirements and the contents of the Mohammedan of over the world and is supported so far as the

Khalaf, the Maras and Bahawal-wah are mentioned, by testimony from the Queen, the tradition of the People and for the rest by other religious authority. It is further supported, regarding the Holy Places, by the deliberate Declaration of the Government as also the Governments of Persia and Russia, of second November 1924, which says, "In view of the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey, which to the regret of Great Britain has been brought about by the self-willed, unprovoked and deliberate action of the Ottoman Government, His Majesty the Viceroy is authorized by His Majesty's Government to make the following public announcement in regard to the Holy Places of Arabia including the Holy Shrines of Meccah and the part of Jeddah, in view that there may be no misunderstanding on the part of the His Majesty's most loyal Muslim subjects as to the attitude of His Majesty's Government in this war in which no question of religious character is involved. These Holy Places and Jeddah will be immune from attack or military operations by the British and military forces so long as there is no interference with pilgrims from India to the Holy Places and Shrines in question.

At the request of His Majesty's Government, the Governments of France and China have given their similar assurance. The great regard paid to this Declaration in the atmosphere of His Majesty's most loyal Muslim subjects is especially noteworthy. On the 10th January 1934 Mr Lloyd George declaring to speak in the name of the whole Empire made the following remarkable pronouncement: "We are not fighting to deprive Turkey of Constantinople or of such cities and lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which were predominantly Turkish." President Wilson's 14th point in his message to the Congress dated 16th January 1918 is in equally emphatic terms viz. that the Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be organized in some sovereignty but the other nationalities now under Turkish rule should be secured security of life and autonomous development.

These resolutions of the Mohammedan claim by their breach will not only be a violation of the deep-set religious feelings of the Mohammedans but will also be a flagrant violation of the solemn relevant declarations and pledges made or given by responsible statesmen representing allied and associated powers and given at a time when they were deemed of valuing the supports of the Mohammedan people and military.

#### Consequences.

It is necessary to state the likely consequences of a wrong decision in the part of the Imperial Government or the Allied and Associated powers. The claim is supported by practically the whole of the Hindu population of India. It has caused division in Indian or Muslim states. The population of British India is approximately 300 millions, Hindu 200 millions, Muslim 100 millions, (in India) 80 millions, (in outside India) between the Empire, 20 millions.

The policy of the British Government has been definitely stated to be that of making India an equal partner. Reassurances have been made to India in a sense of dignity. In these circumstances, the British Empire as the successor of free independence can only hold together if the just and fair demands of each constituent part of the Empire in regard to

justice which are of concern to a large section of the people are adequately satisfied. It is therefore urged that the British Government should not merely to give the Mohammedans or rather the Indian, claim before the Supreme Council but to make it their own. If however for any reason, whether they fail to do so and the Supreme Council also fails to perform the elementary duty of giving effect to the declaration that brought about the Armistice, it is better to support justice in India and the Khalafat Conference will lead to its duty if it hesitated to write His Majesty's Ministers that in addition to the 700,000 acres of Hindu estates in India, supported by 200,000 of Hindu and others will be incompatible with an experience of Hindu loyalty. It may be that it is not possible for the Conference to keep the records. It may be added that even if the members of the Conference attempted seriously to justify the Mohammedan claim, it is better to expect that they would succeed in building the record that would be made on the basis of Mohammedan India by the demand of justice and breach of pledges as a matter of vital importance to their community.

#### INDIAN FREE INDORATION.

The Lord Bishop of Poona writes to Mr. Gandhi as follows:—

I have read with much interest the article you sent me on the subject of Free Indoration in the *Deliverer*. I sincerely regret your conclusions. May I beg you to read a short reply, and to point out the errors for the most humanity of correction which I heartily undertake you.

You ask two questions. The first is, "Do we want Indian labour to go to the Colonies?" and your answer is in the negative. You say perhaps quite truly that the poor unskilled ones will need to go out of India to earn a living, but only two sentences later you state the "deep and degrading poverty of the vast masses of India." A few thousand hands going away every year to Fiji or to British Guiana may not solve the poverty question of India, but it may be the means of their freedom (so far as they are free) and more healthy lives. I am sure and am convinced by all I hear, and see, and read in Indian newspapers (papers which may I suppose be) in India, that India, with a little aid and a wealth just of love (the Indians in Fiji are, as a whole, "happy off by having prospered" and I feel certain that, were you yourself to pay or arrange a visit in Fiji, you would meet in the same conditions,—at least did Mr. Andrews.

On the general question of Indian emigration I am sure you will admit there are very large numbers in India who hold a different view to yourself. Very many since I moved here have told me, for instance of the really good effects that have been produced on those Indians who are especially glad of the War, by their travels and world-wide impressions. But I cannot put the words of that "valour" in a letter very than one which Lord Mr. Andrews has expressed it. He has written—

"It is well to consider whether, under some favourable conditions, the migration of a small proportion of the agricultural classes may not be good in the whole.

"What India appears to need at the present time is the right of enterprise and initiative. This will not come until the miserable stagnating life of the villages is broken and only educated Indians go abroad. If in any of the factories and industries may be found by passing them from parts of India to another, and that that form of an "artificial monopoly" will give all that is needed, there is no satisfiable basis in the Government. But an satisfiable something is added by enterprise on the one, by initiative on the other hand, by creating savings banks, by opening up of local year difficulties in language, commerce, which have been obtained by passing them through to England, or from the Punjab to Madras.

It appears to be true of Indian history, as well as of English history, that the period of machine advance, which Indian days commenced the same and left the mark of Indian enterprise on distant lands, was a golden age. The product of that golden age and great art. There is something as wholesome as the breath of fresh air, for drawing away ourselves from these men and making human life fresh and vigorous.

Finally the intelligence of the peoples has been one of the most fruitful causes of the progress of the nations.

II

With reference to March and your second question, I will cordially admit that very much has been done by the system of "retained" revenues for the last five. The wrong sort of one was often complained of in the past, especially of course, and the wrong sort of revenue I have been told was commonly made the system then of land. But the Indian revenue system, as distinguished with a new one system, is by no means so practical of adjustment because there have been such under a particular system. It is not within the scope of present politics to make such proposals that the rule of the land system may be for more amended, and that with the health and wealth that you wish. This system a simple, better model life be possible here.

Why I for a moment refer to the past? My own opinion is based both by Andrews and the Oxford Economic Society. But not only that the majority of the writers who were recruited for the preparatory work of the problem, since Home Andrews and Feiler stated in 1893, "We instinctively get an impression that the number of provisions contained in it have been large, perhaps all given of detail, or abundance. It also appeared to me that the number was increasing rather than diminishing. It is, that might be said, not a great deal." Now under the new scheme of Free Enterprise it will be impossible to restrict a single revenue. Only revenue secured in India will be allowed to go, and gain with these holders and holders. We will not have any "single system" to be imposed in a bit of shape." The newly-written in relation to that your new budget committee to provide the same plan and whatever else that they have tried in India—let us have boldly and low poverty-alleviation conditions.

You say the laboratory are not followed by their leader in an enterprise. There is nothing to prevent it. You say the religious and moral to be increased and the revenues of Indian Government do not follow them I can honestly see but cannot why followed in, unless the previous mentioned done is. Certainly there is no "industrial" or "population" to encourage which prevents any Indian from the free and fullest advantages of his religious, moral and educational in P. And may I please question which I have been often anxious to put to some use? I myself as a Christian Minister meet you have my thoughts to strengthen these religious in my own people who have also as for their "barment" to "be shared." It is not possible that one of these excellent Indian Societies (of which you are an influential a leader) which have been formed to good and to do for your people could not find your good Indian men who are willing to go out in the spirit of self-sacrifice to live in the right way and guard from taking those Indian who have shared in better than "publicly" "young church!"

With reference to the present population of India in P. I, let me remind you of the Andrews' words, all of which I have just quoted. He says, "There is an estimate, at the present time, that as doing more to expand the whole system of India in P. than than any other for India. There are more in India to do as long as they remain." He says "more" again and again to "the new life" of hospital, more which have to spring up in the new Indian institutions for every last step in the new life of India. He goes on to say that "the history of 1910 in India." He goes on to state that "what a money is plentiful in P. for the first time." "What are powerful companies, power in the Colony which may be expected to act rapidly and wholeheartedly if ever they get the present bill"—in a reference to the Indian system which is "dead," "retained." There are many a person who under the old system and so are in India a "new" one P. for them in a few years. But you think that you under the new system will resemble those "people" of "progression." Have you generally on this in relation for the Indian P. I, there are some things are with hope for the future. And we are happy for the new development thereby. For it is the present of India in the Indian population in that Colony to represent them, as I have with some reservation with them represented you in your Indian National paper, so a people exist, especially in a manner of a necessity.

My, I must point out that you state that young men should come to India and work under the Government here and only fully be moved out in connection with our scheme of Free Enterprise to give a head. For it will be extremely applicable that, without it, a direct series of regular changes will run between India and P. I. Since the establishment of the new system and with it the necessary financial basis, the pace of Indian construction will be increased to the benefit of every Indian, and only will India and P. I. be brought together, but you young men, who desire to, are also the right of free representation, such be based in the Government a life-comparison, and return with her, if in future, to ultimately free with in P. I.

In conclusion, I must tell you that there is one man more in your words which have, and while I feel sorry you will never, as fully of confidence, in an extremely appropriate. The sentence I refer to is—"Of both systems were in every themselves in showing the moral sense, please stand firm, one would be better able to cope with the new system." Speaking for the movement P. I, I am certain that it is because we are convinced that the "Free Congress" we put forward will stand for itself to "show the moral atmosphere toward us," that we put forward our scheme. Both India and P. I. have made mistakes in the past. We believe our proposed system not only would show mistakes but also help to repair the work that have occurred elsewhere. I tell you honestly, whether you will believe it or not, that there are in the Colony of P. I. the large number of the same, and I believe you, who are struggling to improve the Government and change the course of the Indian people, that in practice engaged in India. Of some of these recent the future of the new "Indian work." My Education and Social Service and by Moral Teaching that most important device is to "show the moral atmosphere toward the Colony." Andrews and the assistance of Mr. Gandhi and of every other good man.

THE AMRITSAR ADVANCE MILL STRIKE.  
A COMMENT

The *Times* of India in its issue of the 16th February has an account of the Amritsar Advance Mill strike as given by the Amritsar correspondent. Mr. E. C. Barker writes to the *Times* contradicting certain statements of the correspondent. As the *Times* has not chosen to publish Mr. Barker's letter, the name has been sent to me for publication. We must thank both the correspondent and Mr. Barker's letter.—

The operations of the spinning department of the Ahmedabad Advance Mill, of which Shree. Tara Das and Co. are Agents, who have been on strike returned to work yesterday after an absence of eleven days. The first pay cheque on the 14th of January of 1935 (10) was made available to the spinning department and the 21 to each working operative. In spite of this the workers made a fresh demand for another increase the ground that the operations of the other mills had resumed work and, in some cases, given bonuses. This demand was not accepted by the Manager on the ground that the man was not an insider. The working department worked but a couple of days and had to be shut down ultimately. The next strike was to demand that the strikers should be allowed for the entire month to be responsible. The men, last year, did not return to work and demanded fresh demands, viz., an increase in wages sufficient to bring the total to the level of the rate in the neighbouring mills. The Man at that stage reported the matter to the Millowners' Association and Mr. Panchabhai N. Vaid was of the Association, and Mr. Shree. the Assistant Manager, held a conference with Agents Das. The whole matter was explained to him and Mr. Shankar D. was urged on behalf of the firm that the demand for an increase in wages was unreasonable as the total earnings of the workers already exceeded the wages paid to the neighbouring mills. The Man had his eyes fixed just been giving their workers the benefit of cheap grain which was sold to them at a maximum rate of 1/2 lb. on a measure of the current market rate. This position was maintained with a view to preventing the earnings of work people going up gradually and which was a payment in kind instead of in cash. As the matter was Mr. Shree said that the workers had been told that if they did not return to work cheap grain the firm would be discontinued and wages paid to them would be the regular amount would be paid.

Agents Das and Mr. Shankar mentioned that the workers could not be considered an integral part of the mill but should be treated in the light of "outside work." They also said that if the mill wanted to abide by all the rules of the Ahmedabad Mill owners' Association and to pay their work people wages according to scale in that system, they would do their level best to persuade the workers to return to work.

Mr. Shree stated that the mill had been a member of the Association for years past and that the firm had already agreed to concede the demand for wages being made usual in firms of the high house. There was therefore, a valid case for the increased earnings of the men from work. He also stated that the original demand of the work people has not been adopted either by their friends, the men would be asked to return to work and stop further loss to the firm who had always treated their workers with complete fairness, and even previously, notwithstanding, some correspondence passed between Mr. Panchabhai N. Vaid and Mr. Agents Das and Mr. Shankar on the other. The Secretary of the Association put the whole case of great length before them. The process and that that the firm on the very first day had consented to pay the new wages equal to their neighbours and that the demand of their employees for an extra bonus having been considered unreasonable they had insisted on ground of difficulties, and he suggested that friends of Labour to bring up their demand to persuade the workers to return to work.

After four or five days passed and nothing happened till Mr. Anandlal Desai, the President of the Association took up the matter. As a result of the intervention and the persuasion of Mr. Desai the strikers came to an end on Monday the same terms as were offered to the work people on the very first day.

The mill has suffered a loss of amount of half a lakh of rupees and the workers themselves have lost nearly Rs. 1,00,000 or more.—(The Times of India.)

(To the Editor, the Times of India.)

FOR—In the issue of your paper dated 17th February I had your correspondence under the heading of "Ahmedabad News" referring to the recent strike of the operatives of the Ahmedabad Advance Mill. As these strikers are in wages as to have a strong impression about the matter, you will permit me to lay before the public some facts as they occurred.

Your correspondence is not correct when it concludes by saying that "The strikers seem to be and are strictly the same persons who were offered in the beginning on the very first day." When the men struck work they are Agents Das and myself, along us to intervene on their behalf. We however, individuals don't want a possibility of anything on the matter as the Agents of the mill were following in order that some in their relations with their Labour and were not likely to be influenced by our representations. Accordingly, however, Mr. the Secretary of the Association and Mr. Shree, the Secretary of the Advance Mill came and consulted us about the situation. The opinion of the men on the matter and showed that at that stage it was not possible for us to do anything more than accepting the demands of the men, and providing a sum to meet the cost of their demands might appear to be unreasonable, provided the Agents of the firm were prepared to maintain those that were reasonable. On that basis we saw the workers when they came the next day and on inquiry found that they wanted (1) that their wages should be made equal to those prevailing in the neighbouring mills. (2) That they should be given a 20% bonus on the amount of 12 paise by the mill was higher but a compensation for the low wages which the mill was paying to them. (3) That the mill should agree to general to abide by the Resolution of the Ahmedabad Mill owners' Association and pay them accordingly. Ultimately we provided assistance in form of the demand No. 1 as we thought it unreasonable for them to demand double bonus even though they were working to lower wages. On the workers giving our suggestions we communicated the matter to Mr. Vaid expressing our opinion that on the mill granting these demands the men would be willing to go to work. That was about the 14th. Your correspondent is incorrect when he says that Mr. Shree was prepared to accept them from the first. Had he been so willing the men would not have been put to the agony of occupying so much time in the strike.

We received a reply, I believe, the next day from Mr. Vaid in which he suggested the system adopted by the Ahmedabad Mill as paying their wages and how that system was more beneficial than any other.

I told the men to consider the terms presented by Mr. Vaid's letter. These however did not prove acceptable to the men and we therefore again represented to Mr. Vaid that the only way to end the matter was to accept the demands 1 & 2. So far as the bonus the mill did not communicate any reply to these representations.

After Mr. Anandlal Desai went to Ahmedabad, he took up the matter and on or about the 18th, the Mill was at the step to accept the following terms—

(1) The mill to give wages on the scale of those paid by the neighbouring mills. (2) The mill to give their wages according to their wages from the same payment. (3) The mill to abide by the constitution of the Ahmedabad Association.

These terms are in essence of the terms which were proposed by us and which were accepted unreservedly by the mill and so Mr. Anandlal Desai's view is that the mill had actually accepted them, the men willingly returned to work.

From the above statements you will find that it is not correct to say that there was no difference between the demands presented by us on behalf of the workers and those which Mr. Shree was then willing to accept. You will further find that if the workers did not return to work on or about the 14th instance it was solely due to the firm's failure to communicate to us their acceptance of these demands.

S. G. Desai,



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17618

First Street  
Vol. II, No. 17

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY EIGHTH, 1902

Third Day Letter  
Five Cents

## CONTENTS

Tales	..	..	1
Accounts	..	..	
The Bill of April and the 15th.	..	..	3
Library of the Press	..	..	4
The Questions of Government	..	..	4
Contributions	..	..	
The True Patriot	..	..	4
Was it Luckless or Careful Friendship against Mr. Chittenden Mr. Deane	..	..	4

## Notes.

**The Budget.**—The most interesting feature of the last week's proceedings in the Imperial Legislature consisted in the Budget.

It will be interesting to notice that this is the last budget based on the traditional account of the Provincial and Central Governments as such, for the budget before the referred Legislature Assembly is to be a purely Imperial budget. This is from the budget made at a glance.

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1911-12.

Estimated Revenue	Rs. 122,00,00,000
Estimated Expenditure	Rs. 121,40,00,000
Surplus	Rs. 1,00,00,000
Actual Revenue	Rs. 122,00,00,000
Military Expenditure	Rs. 62,22,00,000
Actual Deficit	Rs. 72,00,00,000

1900-01 Rs. 10,00,000

Revenue	Rs. 118,75,00,000
Expenditure	Rs. 117,75,00,000
Military Expenditure	Rs. 60,00,00,000
Surplus	Rs. 1,00,00,000

The financial statement for the current year shows that instead of the estimated surplus of 1 crore there is an actual deficit of Rs. 12 crores. The reason for this is not far to seek. It is the military demand making the blood of the country. The Afghan War and the Russian operations which have been a year months in the, amount to 24 and a half million pounds, over the ordinary military expenditure was to 1 and one hundred million pounds in excess of the estimated amount. We are not speaking with exaggeration when we say that the traditional financial policy of the Government of India has been to starve the essential needs of the country such as education, sanitation, agriculture and industries for the sake of maintaining a virtual balance of military expenditure and large allocations in Railways. The budget of the new Finance minister amounts to a fairly close approximation of this traditional policy. There is the

estimated expenditure of Rs. 65 crores—nearly one-half of our total revenue—budgeted for the military expenditure.

One wonders what it is to be done with the huge amount of 20 years which is expected to be a year of profound peace and tranquility. The expenditures on railways will also be bound to be much more in excess of that on agriculture and other equally of not more important jobs.

On the Revenue side there has been no fresh taxation; the Income Tax has been increased, but a year ago the rate companies is introduced at the rate of one cent. In the report upon the total revenue of each company's assets of Rs. 20,000. This is calculated to yield more revenue and charge a more uniform tax of annual burden than in the past years. There is also no increase in the income tax as to reduce the past tax-payers. A large increase in the revenue is anticipated from sales from the change which is bound not to exceed Rs. 20,70,00,000.

Mr. Dalrymple's financial statement and Budget speech under our glowing attention. He has indicated how long staying in the wilderness around the looking up of Indian money in England. Mr. Dalrymple's statement shows that the new financial policy with credit distribution which has put the country out in a small loss, both in its finances and general progress.

There is however one striking feature of the budget. The Finance minister has made the estimated military deficit which has to be provided for by provincial revenues. This is reduced to less than half and the net provincial surplus will also increase pretty high. He even suggests a hope to do without provincial contributions in the next future. This really proves that the Finance minister is stopping of provincial contributions to quite small and practical and can be managed with little with necessary care and arrangement of our resources.

**The Premier's Policy.**—There was always a line but long in our minds that the Premier's famous pledge regarding Turkey was being retained. Unfortunately, no attempt was made to try to secure the agreement. On the contrary such desirable and necessary attempts were being made and that also from very responsible quarters. Moreover, in relation and through the pledge itself may the very honor and good name of the British Empire is to reduce it to the next, to more than and inferior. Of course there are members the Premier's own statements on the subject and there have been some attempts and

1902-03

But in his last speech on the *Eastern Telegraph*, Mr. Lloyd George recalled the terms of his pledge and stated that "it was not as other in Turkey lands, probably still hostile pledges made to Russian people at home and India as regards to our war aims." "The declaration," he added, "was specific, unqualified and deliberate."

This has certainly brought to great relief. But then we have not been able to believe the latter part of the Premier's speech where, while talking the nature of other terms, he remarks among other things that "the Turks must be deprived of the power of ruining the development of the Balkan lands unless we can think of some way of the guarantee of the Balkanization." In only all this is inconsistent with his unexpressed declaration of adhering to his pledge and a pleading for the honour of the Empire and the British Government in whose name it was given. A decision of this kind will surely neutralize the force of the agreement and consequently will be doubly aimed. We however hope that the Premier will recognize the permanent necessity of adhering to the letter and spirit of his pledge as the only way to his duty in the speaking of *Constitutionality*.

**The Rowlett Act again**—In reply to the Hon. Mr. Pethick who inquired "Do the Government propose to take any further steps to repeal the Rowlett Act?" Sir William Harcourt said "The answer is in the negative." That reply means two things, that the Government do not propose to take immediate steps to repeal the Rowlett Act or that they do not propose to repeal it at all. If it is the former, it means little. If it is the latter, they do not propose to repeal it at all. In an answer which will be challenged in the House. For there can be no gains in the land so long as a divisible table piece of legislation is permitted to flourish, one clause took. It should be no matter of profit for a Government to persist in opening a universal popular demand. And we do not doubt that in these days of such party seeking the cooperation of the other, the Government know that the Rowlett Act must be repealed—*and immediately*—if it is true, but if not, *at least* *John Wilson*.

**Restoration of Europe**—The Allies have begun to see the futility of attempting to crush Bolshevism in Russia by force of arms. The latest speech of Mr. Lloyd George on Turkey is an outstanding admission of the failure of the Allies' military operations in Russia against Bolshevism, in which over half a million sterling have been wasted by the British Government alone. It is however significant that the speech heralds a definite change of attitude in the Allied policy towards Russia. No longer content to see some time back that Mr. Lloyd George had declared to give military assistance to Poland against Russia and had further hinted to it to make peace with Soviet Russia or Bolshevism had done. In his speech that we refer to, he expressly admitted that the only way to restore Europe was by getting Russian resources into circulation, that Russia must therefore be restored and that armed resistance having failed, "the alternative solution was to make peace with the Bolshevists and restore Russia to safety not by force but by trade."

What a magnanimity of Russian resources and acceptance of trade Bolshevism is possible without bringing a state of inequality and good-will between the Russian Government and the Governments of the other countries of Europe, which would mean a political recognition of the Russian State by the Allied Governments, an question yet to be answered. But the one thing on which more and dependable mind of the whole world seems to be leaning since the restoring Russia and thereby Europe stand, is to stop the present intervention policy—and let Russia carry her own future herself. It, however, the popular Russian protest that came into power at the fall of the Czarism) that when no greater indignity to Russian affairs exists today, is as a result of the American people declares emphatically that the way to save Russia is to leave her alone.

"Greece selected," he says, "has been done by intervention. The support given to Greece and Bulgaria has been wholly misdirected to the prejudice of the Allies on the basis of the great bulk of the Russian people. It has created a feeling of bitterness among the best elements of the Russian people."

"They do not understand the nature of such help, and believe Europe to be competing in favour of reaction. It is directly opposed to the regime which Bolshevism and Greece represent, because it is a tyranny, as violent and oppressive as that of the previous Russian dynasties."

"That is why I say 'Hands off Russia.'"

Mr. Lloyd George himself has admitted this in the speech we have referred to before—"The volunteers coming," he says, "during the occupation of large tracts in South Russia unacceptably managed to benefit the population. The Bolshevists when they advanced upon, profited by past operations and needed doing otherwise to the same extent." This is as the leader has pointed out a regulated situation against was now found and a material unexpended contribution to the much hated Bolshevism.

The pain and sorrow of the whole thing however is, that whatever may be the actual success of that doctrine, it is to the disadvantage of India has appreciably put it, only two ideas, a social system and this any other idea can be successfully fought only in the sphere of ideas." In another place the same journal has remarked,

"India has repeatedly said that the economic state of the Bolshevists cannot possibly create a world which is largely equalized. Either the world as it is will destroy Bolshevism or Bolshevism will destroy the world. There from the last was found in some. The present is as good as any other. It is merely threatening Bolshevism, and is actually perpetrating its disintegration, to return to give it moral battle."

**Wanted an Editor for E. A. Chronicle**.—Mr. Gadhia has succeeded lately from the Managers of the East African Chronicle. It is his idea from which we take the following—

We are contacted by the Board of management with you and would the favour of your assistance in the matter of appointing an Editor for the 'East African Chronicle'.

The paper is issued weekly, in both English and Gujarati, later on, this being to publish the paper daily, when probably an all English edition will be formed. The "Chronicle" is an organ of the Indian Community, with the policy of the paper, which is controlled by the Board, as to further the progress of the Indian Cause, and to endeavor to obtain for Indians the rights to full and complete equality of the Law. The paper gives prominence to Indian views, and contains matters of general interest affecting the country.

A list show furnished is required for the position of Editor, capable of running and editing a daily, and with broad views and liberal ideas.

The Directors wish you to interview applicants, and when you have made your selection, to table as full particulars, period of agreement, salary required and your recommendations. If an Editor has not been engaged locally in the meantime, the Board will then write to you, authorizing you to engage the applicant.

The Company is prepared to enter into an agreement for 2 or 3 years, the salary to be offered for each year is left to your discretion, the fare from Bombay to Surat will be paid by the Company, and if the period of agreement is duly completed, the return fare to the place will also be paid—whether first or second class is left to you to arrange—

We will be glad to receive the names of candidates who may wish to offer themselves for the services required. It is evident that only learned men of ability and character are likely to be accepted. In private letters received from Mr. Andrews the same description has been emphasized.

## Young India.

Published, Wednesday, 29th March, 1900

### THE 6TH OF APRIL AND THE 15TH

(By K. K. Gaudik)

It is impossible for us to forget the 6th of April which vitiated the whole of India and the 15th of April which by the spilling of innocent blood has made the Punjab a place of pilgrimage for the whole of India. The 6th of April saw the advent of Satyagrah. One may dissent from the well-considered part of it that no one man should form the essential doctrine of truth and love or non-violence. With Satya combined with Ahimsa, you can bring the world to your feet. Satyagrah in its essence is nothing but the introduction of truth and justice in the political & the national life. And whether you take the Satyagrah pledge or not, there can be no doubt that the spirit of Satyagrah has pervaded the masses. Any way that every expression of thousands of the People's will throughout my town in the Punjab.

The 6th of April again saw the inauguration of a debate plea of Hindu Mahatma and Swadeshi.

It was the 15th of April which broke the spirit underlying the Swadeshi Act and made it a dead letter. The 15th of April saw not merely the terrible tragedy but as that tragedy Hindu Mahatma blood flowed freely as a mingled stream and worked the impact.

How to commemorate or celebrate these two great national events? I venture to suggest that those who will, should during the 15th April work to fast (except four hours abstain from food) and give up and that all over India at 7 P. M. public meetings should be held praying for the repeal of the Swadeshi Act and expressing the national belief that there will be no peace in the land till that Act is repealed. That the fast is a dead letter is not enough. Either it is a diagram or it is not. If it is, the Act must be repealed. The repeal before the release will be a token of good will on the part of the Government.

The minds of the work beginning from the 6th should be directed to some work connected with the tragedy of the 15th. I therefore venture further to suggest that the work should be devoted to the collecting of funds for the Jallianwala Bagh memorial, it being remembered that the aim is to establish a memorial of copper. Each village or town should do its own plan of collection, spreading against non-cooperation and fast. The collection should be finished by the evening of the 15th April.

Thus the 15th. That day of days should be devoted to fasting and prayer. It should be free from all work in nature. We want to cherish the memory of the national dead. We do not want to remember the weakness of the dead. The return will not be weakness to ourselves not by preparing to arrange. On that day I would also have the masses to remember the mass victims and feel pointed by them. We close the week by meetings throughout India to pass resolutions urging the Government, both Imperial and Indian to take effective steps to render a reparation of the tragedy responsible.

I would further urge that during the week each one does his or her best to live or live over persons to restore more fully than ever the principles of Satyagrah. Hindu Mahatma and Swadeshi. In order to emphasize the Swadeshi unity I would suggest joint meetings of Hindus and Mohammedans on Friday the 15th April at 7 P. M. saying that the Khilafat question be decided in accordance with the just Hindu conscience.

Thus the national week should be a week of purification, self-examination, striving, earnest discipline and expression of cherished national convictions. There should be no trace of bitterness, no weakness of language but absolute firmness and strength.

Should there not also be a fast on the 6th, and the 15th. My answer is emphatic no. This week is a Satyagrah week for those who believe in truth and non-violence. The fast of the 6th was a Satyagrah fast in the sense that it was a protest to Satyagrah. The fast of the 15th

April last though it was spontaneous was not altogether free from undue pressure during the course of the day in the way of asking people not to use sarcasms etc. I would therefore not advise haste at all for this work of discipline and peace. However haste must not be made cheap. It must be only for rare occasions.

I respectfully trust that all parties and all classes will see their way to take their full share in the advancement of the national work and make it an event for the true and definite progress of national awakening.

### LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

THE SAY OF MR. HORMUZD

The meeting of the Press Association presided by Sir Harepo-Chandraswartha on Monday was significant for the resolutions passed thereat and the laudable speech he made on the Press Act. Sir Harepo had an affinity in showing that the Press Act denigrates if the Press was to become a power for good & free vindication of popular grievances in the Press was essential for a progressive realisation of the people's hopes. He was able to cite the authority of Sir Lawrence Jackson in support of his condemnation of the Act. Mr Gandhi compared the action of the Government in passing it, the Press Act to that of the weather prophet breaking loose herons and wild swans to gauge the state of the weather. He stated that the Press about the Press Act would perform the function of the C. I. D. were it not for the fact that highly organised and unpopular departments. Only a free speech would give the Government an accurate description of the public feeling as a *prima* question without the interference of the C. I. D. He hoped therefore that the Government would see this way to repeal the Press Act and that would a better and purer example before the world of Sir Pritwicke of Wales. Sir Harepo's appeal to the Editors for greater restraint and moderation was in nearly forgotten with his appeal to the Government for the repeal of the Press Act. We don't not that his appeal will elicit a warm "Amen" in our Press since it is unlikely to be obtained if, nothing to warrant the existence of the Press Act, were that notice in the newspapers and upon random language and language in description, & their attention to facts and a better choice of adjectives cannot but all to the dignity and the power of the Press.

The second resolution asked the Government to recall the Press Act, the third appealed to the Government of Bombay to withdraw the embargo upon Mr Hormuzd's passport. It is remarkable that the Press Act can be repealed and the one man who has done more than any other editor of modern times in India to assert editorial independence by the fact of which should be kept out of India. It is the spirit of independence of criticism which keeps Mr Hormuzd out of India without a trial and keeps the Press

Act on the Statute Book. One may not agree with Mr Hormuzd's strong language (not apart from his general aversion to journalism, free speech and the cause of public spirit) there is a great principle behind this demand for the removal of the restrictions on his re-entry into India. Reimburse on the liberty of a public man without trial is an admirable thing and we trust that His Excellency the Governor who has in every way shown himself to be a constitutional and sympathetic ruler will not fail to recognise the desirability of removing the ban on Mr. Hormuzd's return to India.

### THE QUESTION OF QUESTIONS.

Mr. Gandhi writes to the Press as follows—

The Khilafat question has now become a question of questions. It has become an imperial question of the last magnitude.

The great Prophet of England and the Mahomedans have combined here brought the question to its face. The Prophet threw down the challenge. The Mahomedans have taken it up.

I trust that the British will realise that though a later question or whether the British and every thing else.

If the Mahomedans were kept apart from the Mahomed scriptures, one might hesitate to support it mainly as a national authority. But when a just cause is supported by scriptures, it becomes irresistible.

Briefly put the case is that the Turks should retain European Turkey subject to full guarantee by the guarantee of non-Mahomed cases under the Turkish Empire and that the British should control the Holy Places of Islam and should have autonomy over Jerusalem and Arabia as defined by the Muslim Sharia subject to self-governing rights being given to the Arabs if they so desire. This was what was promised by Mr. Lloyd George and this was what Lord Balfour had contemplated. The Mahomedan wills would not have sought to deprive Turkey of her possessions. To deprive the Khilafat of the sovereignty of Arabia is to reduce the Khilafat to a nothing.

To reduce Turkey subject to necessary guarantees what was here before was a Christian solution. To wrest any of her possessions from her by the sake of passing her as a gas powder solution, The Allies or England in the line of triumph must be completely just. To reduce the Turks to impotence would be not only unjust. It would be a breach of solemn declarations and promises. It is to be wished that the Viceroy will use his courage to both his hands and place himself at the head of the Khilafat against as Lord Balfour did at the time of the South African "passive resistance" struggle and that his his predecessors give a clear and complete direction to an agitation which under imperial or badly leadership may lead to disastrous consequences.

But the situation runs not a little as Hindus and Mohammedans then with the Viceroy and still more with the Muslim leaders than with the Hindus or the Viceroy.

There are signs already of impatience in the part of Muslim leaders and taxpayers may say they be reduced by violence and the latter must necessarily lead to violence. And I wish I could persuade every one to see that violence is unwise.

Supposing the Muslim demands are not granted by the Government or say England? I see nothing but hope in Mr. Montagu's brave defence of the Muslim position and Mr. Lloyd George's interpretation of his own declaration. True, the latter is falling but he has never felt pain under it. But we must suppose the worst and expect sad news for the best. How to save is the question.

What we may not do is clear enough.

(1) There should be no violence in thought, speech or deed.

(2) There should be no boycott of British goods, by way of coercion or punishment. My only opinion is a firm of violence. Violence even if it were desirable is a totally impracticable.

(3) There should be no riot till the situation is altered.

(4) There should be no making up of other questions with the Khalifa e.g. the Egyptian question. Let us see what must be done.

(5) The cessation of hostilities on the 11th instant and acceptance of the minimum demands by means of some such constitution was necessary first step possible than the Hindu is absolutely necessary and the employees are not asked to leave their work, so long they were permanent from these employees. I would strongly urge that the withdrawal should be left unattended. The further process is that there should be no violence accompanying the Hindu. I have been often told that the C. I. D. were being prepared violence. I do not believe in it as a general charge but even if it be true, our discipline should make it impossible. Our success depends only on our ability to control, guide and discipline the masses.

Now a word as to what may be done if the demands are not granted. The Government refuse to yield, open or least. This must be ruled out of only because it is impracticable. It would but persuade every one that it is always best, we should go all lengths and work quiet. The power that an individual is a nation demanding violence goes to a power that is impracticable. But my argument today against violence is based upon pure experience, it is the able faculty.

Non-cooperation is therefore the only remedy left open to us. It is the characteristic as it is the modification when it is absolutely has been all made in. It becomes a duty when in operation means legislation or legislation means a duty to carry out the religious sentiment. England cannot accept a

work voluntarily by us to an equal suspension of rights which to Mohammedans matter of life and death. We may therefore begin at the top or at the bottom. Those who see nothing of honor or confinement ought to give them up. Those who belong to the usual services under Government should do likewise. Non-cooperation does not apply to service under private individuals. I cannot approve of the threat of violence against those who do not adopt the remedy of non-cooperation. It is only a voluntary withdrawal which is effective. For voluntary withdrawal is a test of popular feeling and dissatisfaction. Advice to the soldiers to refuse to serve is premature. It is the last, not the first step. We should be careful to take that step when the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Premier have no. Moreover every step in withdrawing cooperation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation. We must proceed slowly so as to ensure retention of self control under the harshest laws.

Many look upon the Lahore resolutions with the deepest awe. They seem to us a preparation for violence. I do not look upon them in that light, though I do not approve of the tone of some of them. I have already mentioned those whose subject matter I wholly dislike.

Can Hindus accept all the resolutions? Yes the question addressed by some. I can only speak for myself. I will cooperate wholeheartedly with the Muslim friends in the presentation of their just demands so long as they act with sufficient restraint and so long as I feel sure that they do not wish to resort to any momentaneous violence. I should wish to cooperate and advise every Hindu and for that matter every one who wishes to cooperate the amount there was violence actually done, should it be continued. I would therefore urge upon all speakers the exercise of the greatest restraint under the greatest provocation. There is a tendency of victory if violence is combined with protest. The cause is doomed if anger, hatred, ill will, meekness and finally violence are to reign supreme. I shall read them with my life upon it I should stand alone. My goal is kinship with the world and I see violence the greatest loss with the greatest opportunity to win.

#### NOTICE.

All communications regarding subscriptions, unpaid etc should be addressed to the Manager, Young India, Chhatra Ghat, Peshawar, Amritsar.  
(See note of subscription.)

(payments strictly confidential.)

Annual in India (with postage) Four Rupees.  
Dubiele India " " Eight Shillings.  
Single Copy (postage extra) One anna.

All mail manuscripts and printed matter to be inserted in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Subscriptions, Amritsar.

### THE TRUE PATRIOT

We gladly subscribe for the following verses by a noble young Frenchman—

The Emperor, Fatherland and Patriot have been much debated and, by often, misapprehended in recent times. Very many of us take for Patriots, and some are well-meaning as such, their fellow-citizens, but alas! how few genuine patriots are to be found in any country: what is a patriot? He is one who loves his country with the passion of a woman and the tenderness of a woman who therefore unceasingly strives to better his country in every way. He just knows he loves his native land, he will not shift his eyes to the faults of his countrymen, any rather he will be all the more strict to them. Standing aside was as a wish-bearer and turning his eyes to the national conscience of the state he will carefully note and honestly point out any symptoms of disease in the body corporate, e. g. extravagance, luxury, oppression, political or social, the too obvious desire to get rich quickly, and above all, hypocrisy in every shape and form. He should thoroughly search out the moral, social and religious condition of the people and bring these to them, in the clearest and simplest language, their true condition in the sight of the Holy God. He may, he should not hesitate to denounce openly and honestly any and all who are debased, condemning his fellow-countrymen whether high or low, that though they may escape the punishment of men, yet that as God is a righteous God, He will seriously visit them with the wrath of Heaven if they do not repent of and cease from their iniquities. The fire of the patriot's indignation should be a holy one, as the flame of truth consuming all falsehood, of right attacking wrong and of love blazing against all selfishness. But while condemning and denouncing, he should by no means omit the no less important duty of giving comfort or encouragement with a true faith in the goodness and love of the All-Father, and with a rooted belief in the existence of the Spark Divine even in the lowest of men he should unflinchingly hold out the prospect of a God as light yet to come and, by precept and example, endeavor to lead his fellow-countrymen out of the wilderness of misery and discontent and into the Promised Land of Peace and happiness and righteousness. Even when all around is the darkness of suffering and discontent, the true patriot should be full of hope and should inspire the same feeling in his fellows. And holding aloft the torch of everlasting life he should spread each day in the conscience that it is his duty to do his utmost to make his own village or town more happy and the whole world better. For the vision of the true patriot is not bound by any limits of land or valley, river or sea, it reaches out to and extends over every country in which dwell the children of men. His prayer is that of the old Hebrew patriot who prayed—

"God be merciful unto us and these us,

And cause us here to show upon us,

"That thy way may be known upon earth,

"Thy strong health among all nations."

### WAS IT CONTEMPT OF COURT? PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR. GANDESI and MR. MANABHO H. DESAI

This case was heard by the Hon. Mr. Justice Har- ton, Hayward and Kagg on the 2nd inst. The Editor Mr. Gandesi and the Publisher Mr. Desai of Young India were in their seats why they should not be committed for contempt having published with comments in the issue of the 26th August 1918 of their paper, a letter addressed by Mr. Kennedy, District Judge of Ahmedabad, to the Registrar of the High Court complaining of the conduct of certain Satyagrahi lawyers of Ahmedabad.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Harcourt, Advocate-General with Messrs. Holmberg and Pankaj appeared for the applicant, Mr. Gandesi and Mr. Desai appeared in person.

The Advocate-General, in opening the case, said that the proceedings were in contempt against Mr. Gandesi and Mr. Desai, about whose being Editor and Publisher respectively there was no dispute. It appeared that Mr. Kennedy in April last holding that certain lawyers in Ahmedabad had signed the Satyagrahi pledge, asked them to explain why their names should not be expunged for their having signed the pledge, and as he did not receive their explanation satisfactory he addressed a letter to the Registrar of the High Court on the 21st April, 1918. In consequence two notices were issued by the High Court to the lawyers concerned a copy of Mr. Kennedy's letter was given by the Registrar to Mr. Desai, pleader for one of the lawyers, who handed the same to Mr. Kishor J. Shrivast, one of the Satyagrahi lawyers, who in turn handed it to Mr. Gandesi on the 26th of August this letter was published in his paper under the heading "Of Desecration in Ahmedabad" along with an article headed "Shocking Civil Resisters", commenting on the letter.

(The Advocate-General at this stage read the letter and the article.) It appeared from the article, said he, that by "Of Desecration" was meant a violation of peace. The article said that the District Judge was prejudging the issue. His conduct was described as not only unbecomingly, but something worse, unpardonable. He was said to be harassing the firm of Holmbergs. There were shortly the charges made against Mr. Kennedy. These proceedings took place at the High Court. After the proceedings the Registrar addressed a letter to Mr. Gandesi requesting him to attend the Chief Justice's Chamber to give an explanation as regards the publication of the letter. Mr. Gandesi replied by telegram explaining his inability to attend on the appointed date as he was going to the Punjab, and requesting of written explanation would be sufficient. The Registrar replied saying that the Chief Justice did not wish to interfere with Mr. Gandesi's appointment and that a written explanation would do. On the 12th October Mr. Gandesi sent a written explanation in which he stated that the letter was received by him. In the

ordinary course and that he published it as he believed it was of great public importance and that he thought that he was doing a public service in communicating it. He, therefore, claimed that in publishing and communicating on the letter, he was within the rights of a journalist. In reply to this the Registrar wrote saying that the Chief Justice was not satisfied with the explanation, but that it would be considered sufficient if an apology in the following terms were published in the next issue of *Young India* :

(Form of apology.)

"Whereas on the 24th April 1907 (as published in *Young India*) a press letter written by Mr. Kennedy, District Judge of Allahabad, to the Registrar of the High Court of Justice at Bombay and whereas on the same date we also published certain comments on the said letter and whereas it has been pointed out to us that pending certain proceedings in the said High Court in connection with the said letter we were not justified in publishing the said letter or in commenting thereon. Now we do hereby express our regret and apology to the Hon'ble the Chief Justice and Judges of the said High Court for the publication of the said letter and the comments thereon.

The *Advocate-General* said that he submitted with some confidence that it was an apology which the opponents should have published. A milder form of apology, he thought it was difficult to conceive. Mr. Gandhi, however, did not publish the apology and took Kennedy's opinion and addressed a letter to the Registrar expressing his inability to apologise. Before the receipt of this letter action was ordered by the High Court on the 11th of December to be issued for contempt in which the proceedings were based. The text of Mr. Gandhi's letter dated 15th December 1907, is as follows:—

"With reference to your letter regarding the publication of the letter of the District Judge of Allahabad to the Registrar of the Nagpur High Court, I beg to state that I have consulted legal friends and given much consideration to the apology which, under the heading 'The Chief Justice', has I replied to state that I had myself written to publish the suggested apology. The document in question contains my presentation in the ordinary course and being of great public importance I decided to publish and transmit upon it. In doing so I proceeded in my humble opinion a conscientious duty at a time when there was great tension and when only the January was allowed by the regular position I could hardly say that I had to do anything whatever to prejudice the cause that these feelings had to decide.

I am anxious to assure Mr. Loddick, the Chief Justice that at the time I decided to publish the document in question, I had fully in mind the lawyer of jurisdiction to do the best that I was a member of the Bombay Bar and as such expected to be sworn of the conditions thereof. But thinking of my action in the light of what has happened I am unable to say that in similar circumstances I would act differently from what I did when I decided to publish the document, upon Mr. Kennedy's letter. Much therefore as I would have liked to act upon Mr. Loddick's suggestion, I feel that I could not conscientiously either say apology for my action. Should the explanation be not considered sufficient by

the Loddick I shall respectfully submit the parity that their feelings may be pleased to express upon me.

I beg to apologise for the delay caused in replying to your letter. I have been working continuously in the Punjab and am not likely to be free before the beginning of the next month.

A few days before the hearing of the rule Mr. Gandhi addressed a letter to the Registrar dated 15th Feb. with which he enclosed copies of statements which he and Mr. Datta desired to submit before the Court. The text of the two statements is given below:—

#### MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT

"With reference to the Rule that issued against me I beg to state as follows:—

"Before the issue of the Rule certain correspondence passed between the Registrar of the Honorable Court and myself on the 11th December. I addressed to the Registrar a letter (reproduced above) which sufficiently explains my conduct. I therefore attach a copy of the said letter. I regret that I have not found it possible to accept the advice given by Mr. Loddick the Chief Justice.

However, I have been unable to accept the advice because I do not consider that I have committed under a legal or a moral liability by publishing Mr. Kennedy's letter or by communicating to the Registrar the same.

I am sure that the Honorable Court would not expect me to tender an apology in order to do what and what might be an act which I have held to be the privilege and duty of a journalist. I shall, therefore, cheerfully and respectfully accept the proceedings if the Honorable Court may be pleased to express upon me for the violation of the majority of law.

I wish to say with reference to the words used in Mr. Madhoo Ghose, the Publisher, that he published it simply upon my request and advice.

#### MR. GHOSH'S STATEMENT

"With reference to the Honorable Court's order as I beg to state that I have read the statement made by the Editor of 'Young India' and am unable to speak with the same cogency as the Editor in justification of his action. I shall therefore cheerfully and respectfully submit by any parity that the Honorable Court may be pleased to submit in order to do.

Continuing the *Advocate-General* proceeded to set out passages to show what constitutes contempt of court. (1) If Page 24 showed that there were two kinds of contempt (2) say not or writing tending to scandalize the court (3) say not or writing calculated to obstruct or interfere with the due course of justice in the lawful process of the Court. The *Advocate-General* submitted that the publication of the letter and the comments thereon constituted contempt in two respects (1) in the language of Lord Hardwick it constituted Mr. Kennedy, and (2) it was an attempt to interfere with the course of justice. He further said that the High Court would punish for contempt of an inferior court. The District Court of Allahabad was under the superintendence of the High Court and it had no power to commit for contempt except for what was done in the face of the Court.

Mr. Justice Martin asked if it was contempt of Court in a civil action to publish the plaint or the written statement.

The Advocate General replied it was contempt. The proceedings did not become public documents until the case was heard. The Advocate General also referred to 1893 Lunge French page 121 and 1893 I E R. He added that publication after trial was different from publication before it. In confidence the Advocate General does the defendant that the part of Mr. Gandhi's remarks was that Mr. Kennedy was forming the law of British India, the High Court, if it wished by letter, would likewise disturb the peace and law the law of British India.

Mr. Gandhi addressing the Court said that he did not propose to say anything beyond what he had already said in his statement. He stated that he had asked him to consider if he was not obstinate in not making the required apology. He had considered the matter over and over again and whatever was the Court held, he asked them to believe him that nothing was further from his thoughts than obstinacy. He wanted to pay all respect to the Honorable court. On the other hand he did expect that the Honorable court would not regard his paying the same respect to his own case of honor and to the dignity of justice. He had heard the Advocate General carefully to see if any thing he said could convince him that he had been in the wrong. But he had considered entirely unconvinced. Had he been convinced he would readily have withdrawn his statements and rendered apology. He did not wish to say any thing more.

Mr. Justice Martin said that the point of law was against Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi had said that he was entitled as a journalist to do what he had done. But the Advocate General had cited authorities against him. Had he any authorities to support his position?

Mr. Gandhi said he differed from the Advocate General on the point of law, but he did not wish to quarrel with legal points and go beyond the limits he had set to himself. The court had before now done justice to many distinguished men and he would himself be considered as undaunted. He would be naturally content with their Lordships' finding on points of law.

Mr. Justice Martin reminded Mr. Gandhi that he was himself a member of the Bar and that he would agree not to rise from the legal stand point.

Mr. Gandhi said he was surprised to do so and regretted that he would be content to take a step of the court with regard to law. But since the court had asked him to argue he would say that what he felt was that he had not prejudiced any party. The law the Advocate General had said that his remarks on the District Judge constituted contempt of a Judge. Mr. Gandhi commented on the District Judge as a judge before an individual.

J. Martin: Take the case of a continental newspaper. Supporting the press commented on the article while the case was going on, what would happen?

Mr. Gandhi: I would respectfully draw distinction as a lawyer between the two cases. The District Judge writes this letter as a complainant and not as a Judge.

J. Martin: He was writing as a Judge exercising jurisdiction over certain lawyers.

Mr. Gandhi: I agree. But he was not sitting in court to decide on values. I feel again that I am travelling beyond the limits I set to myself. The whole law of contempt of court is that one ought not to do anything which might prejudice proceedings before a court. But here the Judge does something as an individual. I have not done anything to prejudice in any shape or form the judgment of the judges.

J. Martin: Would it not be dangerous if the press took comments during proceedings of proceedings? The Court would come in to the Tribunal and the Press would be the Tribunal instead.

Mr. Gandhi: I would again respectfully draw a distinction. If a man wrongly brought a suit against his father then I would be entitled as a commentator on the case's conduct in bringing such a suit against his father, without in any way thereby prejudicing the decision of the Court. And in no matter personal points were being raised. Attempts to write their views instead. I think I have committed no contempt. I have prejudiced no party and have made no comment on the action of Mr. Kennedy as a Judge. I am anxious to satisfy the Court that there is not an iota of contempt shown by the Court in commenting on Mr. Kennedy's letter. I may have erred, and in the view of the court erred grossly, but I have not done so deliberately or contemptuously. I would not add that all that I have said applies to the case of Mr. Dora, the Publisher.

J. Martin: How does Mr. Gandhi's situation in a domain in England reported to a recent issue of the London Times whereby the Editor, Publisher and Printer of a Newspaper was held in contempt?

Mr. Gandhi: There also I intend it is possible for me to draw a distinction. While I was in England the London Mrs. Hayfield's case was going on and the whole newspaper Press decided that this was a serious case prejudicing Mrs. Hayfield and the other party to the Judge, Mr. Justice Stephen and was suggesting that he was held to try the case.

J. Martin:—But that was all after trial?

Mr. Gandhi:—No. It was while the case was going on. I followed the proceedings in the way from day to day throughout the proceedings but it was wrong.

J. Martin:—It did not go on, Mr. Gandhi, for many months. It went on for some days.

Mr. Gandhi:—Of course here I was speaking subject to correction, but I am quite sure that while the case was going on the Newspaper Press was as full of vituperative and unbecoming comments and suggestions, that I was sure I was a contemner would not say at that day he did to go in the length they went.

Mr. Dora stated that he offered assistance himself with the continued exposure by Mr. Gandhi. He was sure he was infinitely more capable of arguing the case than Mr. Gandhi and he would not propose to do that. He was prepared to cheerfully and respectfully state by whatever means their Lordships was pleased to give. The judgment was reserved.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi.)

17618

May 1931  
Vol. II, No. 21

ANANDAS, PRESHYTH BANGS, 1751, 1752

Printed by Anand  
Das Das.

CONTENTS		
Notes	..	1
Articles		
Editorial	..	4
Rehabilitation of Prisoners	..	4
The Indian Overseas Association	..	5
Special Article		
Khilafat and the Columbia Conference News		6
Interview	by S. S. S. S.	
—		
Ag. Khilafat and the Khilafat Question	..	7
In Political Classes	..	7
Turkey and India	..	8

## A CORRECTION.

We regret that owing to an error, Friday, 16th April was given as the 15th of April in our article on "The 15th of April and the 15th." The necessary Friday meeting should therefore be held on Friday the 16th of April.—Ed. Y. I.

## Notes.

**The Judgment.**—We give to our readers last week, the proceedings of the Court case against Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Desai. Judgment was delivered last week which is summarized by the *Weekly Indian Mirror* as follows:—"The Court finds the charges proved. It severely reprimands the respondents and sentences them both to three months."

Owing to pressure on space we are unable to reproduce the full text of the Judgment, we however hope to do so in our next issue.

**Mr. Andrews.**—Mr. Andrews writing from Durban says: "The Baganza Detention very severely received by Durban Indian Community Committee expedited early march. Myself proceeding Capetown to night, taking by Kapshe train, arriving Sunday second April." On this subject we of India is reported early next month. He has taken on his way East Africa, Uganda and Senegal. The mainly about his mission has shattered Mr. Andrews' health. In the latest letter received, Mr. Andrews says that he has been very weak and very unwell. From the account received from friends from South Africa, we find that Mr. Andrews has worked under the greatest difficulties, but he has a marvellous manner of keeping down opposition and shading

away from the weakness of his own being and Jewish nature and we feel sure that he has been making excellent use of the power which has served him so well on many a critical occasion. The active programme he pursues is not dull. No satisfaction of land and trading rights but making acceptance of greater money and labour laws. There is the man whom the Press of India usually considered hysterical. The fact is there is no more evidence Englishmen living that we know—only his moderation is not weak nor does it ever compromise truth.

After writing the above paragraph a further telegram has been received from Mr. Andrews from Laurence Marston in which he says that "as a result of the general elections in South Africa, Unionists have gained 21 seats, Labourists 11 and the Independent 2. The country vote still in favour of General Smuts will probably give victory and have a comfortable Home and Labour Leaders. An unqualified loyal about final result."

There is no doubt that at the present moment General Smuts is the most powerful citizen force in South Africa. The law war has broadened General Smuts' horizon. Smuts's law imagination, his contact with our Great Britain in England has enabled him to understand the significance of the agitation in India for passing equal rights throughout the Empire. And having done that, General Smuts at least can have no difficulty in accepting himself to secure the trading and labouring rights of the British Indian States of South Africa and as the Government of India are quite good in the matter, we have little doubt that they will be able to secure their rights and that Mr. Baganza's determination will enable him to smooth the difficulties in connection with the working of the existing constitution laws of that self-government.

**Rules Committee and its constitution.**—We are emphatically of opinion that the Government has acted in excluding Congress representatives on the above committee. By having Nationalists from participation in the framing of rules for working up the new Bill, the Government have not only deprived themselves of the valuable advice and experience of men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others, but have given the Nationalist party a legitimate cause to

complex that the Government do not seem to have the former's co-operation and good-will. If this belief gets confirmed by similar conduct of the Government in other matters, co-operation will be made impossible for the great party and the successful working of the Reform is endangered. And the Government alone will be held liable for this and for the deliberate mismanagement of the Royal work. They are surely mistaken if they continue for a moment the idea of playing Moderates against Moderates or Extremists or whatever the other party may be called. The Moderates are patriots first and politicians afterwards and as such they will never be party to the device of *divide et impera*. The Secretary of India has already set an example by entering a protest against the non-attendance of Kitchener's representation to the Committee. We still hope that the Government will see that it is never too late to mend. Co-operation and Goodwill cannot go together.

**Our Military Budget.**—Our budgets are arbitrary in a double sense. That namely consisted of the country's revenue as appropriated by arbitrary estimates from year to year, and the manner of peace and good-will upon which, when changed, international relations of the military had to depend, so to behave the former stress upon and upon the other public departments such as irrigation, education and sanitation, as well as public works, to call the budget a military budget. But when one takes the unaccountable, unexplicable, rigid and uncomprehending nature of a misunderstanding the budget efforts and heart-rendering expenditure of millions the non-official members to offer or counsel was less necessary and important than of expenditure for another of greater value and public utility. When the budget will be found to be arbitrary to the extent to which, from shape, effect, substance and what not, and that this is not speaking in mere hyperbole, but in fact, facts vital and serious, can be less numbered by the proceedings of the debate that followed the last and second reading of the financial statement in the Imperial Legislative Council. No amount of argument, explanation, expert opinion was of avail with the Hon'ble the Finance Member and the budget stood unaltered to the last. Nobody can deny the position and lot of the Hon'ble the non-official members of the Council. We heartily sympathize with them and express our sincere hope that better days are ahead for them.

**A correct perspective.**—It is notorious that children (Anglo-Indians) brought up in India are wanting in courage and confidence towards Indians in general. There are, of course, very numerous exceptions, but on the whole it is true that school teachers in India make an attempt to induce in their pupils a correct attitude towards their fellow citizens. The students with which school children are particularly school boys, from Anglo-Indian schools, tend to be unfavourable towards by in general and as a rule have an effort to maintaining good relations. Communitarian give children of British parents brought up in India many opportunities of showing that it is possible for the two races to live together in harmony, and also that the children, so far from being advantage of the fact or effect believe in the contrary way to a certain type was upon themselves but upon their teachers. All the circumstances which the majority of the child

are told very well have put in front of address. Teachers should insist upon their pupils regarding them as their contemporaries with Indians.

These remarks are made not by an English-Indian school, but by an Anglo-Indian Journal of not very wide or deep sympathies for Indians—the Anglo-Indian of Calcutta. Not because such a belief ever on the part of Anglo-Indian school boys which showing: racial sympathy from early boyhood between the two communities is in itself a clue on the great Anglo-Indian Community, that even an Anglo-Indian journal of Tory interests is constrained to utter a word of warning. We welcome this timely reminder as also the suggestion that teachers of Anglo-Indian schools should institute in their students qualities of respect and regard for Indians. We do this because we feel that the smallest and least these seemingly little things do in the long run in approximating actual relations to greater than by any open and fair opposition due to racial interests. But in our humble opinion there is another great reason also why Anglo-Indian children should be so friendly towards Indians. No doubt the teachers have their duty to perform in this respect, in which according to our contemporary they have been failing, but there is a greater obligation on the parents in this respect which they have totally failed to realise. Indians are not found wanting in this respect, because Government and private schools, with private teachers, where Indians are especially treated if not actually neglected by Europeans and Anglo-Indians, having high ranks and positions in the country. The Moslem boys and the Christian converts are the two classes among it may be, that in other cases they may be much neglected and mistreated. But the real result is that not only the children but even the father's character and habits, and those in whose hands these children are brought up, say their masters and least respectable Indians in subordinate services. When it comes to school, the real attitude towards which every sensible Anglo-Indian, European and Indian would desire, the process should begin from the top as well as from the bottom, so to say while the youngsters are steadily made to mistake these qualities studied, the parents should also see that they too set a better example for their children and not give them the least opportunity directly or through their usual staff to encourage the same. Only then will the desirable results be achieved, the racial relations harmonised and the British India be strengthened.

**The "Democrat."**—We welcome the removal of Akbarabad to the defect. Mr. Rajagopal Krishna Pal, its editor, is one of our best speakers and writers of the present time and a not new to journalists. The first number of Democrat page will be for personal and we mark that may partly be true. But as things stand he finally judged by first night, we express our warmest hope that the new journal will succeed in keeping in the fully democratic school it has set before itself as its first aim.

**Constructive Criticism.**—One administration after another in far levelling criticism on their heads without giving them counter-constructive schemes for those originally devised by them. Specially this, in connection with the annual Budget-estimates where under cover of this plea, all constructive schemes are summarily dashed away as unprofitable, destructive, leading in any way out of the "present" etc. How far such treatment of the constructive schemes is profitable and the plea of constructive-criticism, true, can be judged by the discussion that took place in the Council last week on the Budget estimates for the coming year.

"Increase the Indian Army, and the expenditure will go down, by itself" was the almost unanimous cry of the Indian members. The Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee and other members showed how such a scheme would prove a double blessing. It would reduce the army expenditure, at the same time to serve the cause of a legitimate and just demand of "shoot down" against Indians in the Army. It would reduce discipline in Indians, stimulate loyalty and bend the country to the Empire more strongly. The same standard of efficiency as that of the British units would be secured by necessary safeguards and more strict and self-respecting treatment of the newly created Indian territorial army. Etc., etc. But what was the response from the official side? A mere pious hope by the Finance Minister that there might be a great future for a territorial army and Indians. But how could that effect be being when the enormous expenditure in the coming year's absolutely heavy military expenditure? The suggestion was not challenged by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister as 'unsound, unworkable or ill-considered.' That is expressed with a hope for the future when that it did appeal to him as constructive and practical. Why was it not then given immediate consideration? The necessity of a substantial reduction of the military expenditure is urgent. Something should be done to effect it rather than should be forced to curtail the stupendous expenditure as it should be partially borne by the Imperial Treasury as Mr. Macpherson suggests in his book on the Government of India.

**Khilafat and Anglo-Indian Support.**—The letter addressed by the representatives of the two leading Chambers of Commerce in the country to the Viceroy, expressing their whole-hearted sympathy with the Khilafat and condemning the anti-Khilafat attitude started in England is unique. We feel sure to say that the whole country will appreciate the value of the representation of a rich industrial and most influential portion of the non-official Anglo-Indian community in India. It is indeed a healthy sign of the times that they have identified themselves with us in a matter of such grave importance to the country. We sincerely believe and hope it to be a stepping stone to the Hindu-Muslim-Christian Unity of which India and the Indian cause will be a living embodiment.

**Tagore—the only Archer—This the Philosophy of Altruism.**—

"Such an attitude (i. e. the unselfish attitude of a Tagore) would be the only Indian one, which the political aims of nationalism would cause the Indian national attitude. The Indian Tagore, then, can maintain the modernised view point that Indian culture should assume the political complexion of the west for the good of the Mother-Country and for the good of mankind in general. He does not agree that Indian life to be self-interest has got to become purely political, must have a political status to start with. In his conviction, there are other and more lasting schemes of collective life in which politics play but a secondary role and do not necessarily form "the essential regulative principle." To him, India should avoid the production of her future on the pedestal of her past. Of course, he will acknowledge all that is best in the western literature, all the variety of western life to be his and all the thoughts of the western philosophers and great thinkers. But the fabric of Western life has to be created on India's spirituality. The attempt of the Tagore, therefore, will be to spiritualise politics—to give it an Indian and a unity to the Hindu, Mussulman and Indian Christians through religion. This can find the conviction of the Indian Tagore, of which, long before Mahatma Gandhi launched his Tagore-like movement in India, a great prophet of Indian Nationalism wrote:

"It is the spiritual in man alone and not any political ideal that should reform into every Indian and an organisation for collective life. It is the spiritual union of India that is bound to hold together all the different religious communities in the land into the unity of a collective life, history, community and contribution to make to the betterment of the nation."

Yes, Tagore does see an approaching politics by leading the foundation of National ethics to pure and unadulterated truthfulness and love to our politics and so our opinion Tagore is the only anchor for strength and safe steering of the national ship in its voyage towards the ultimate goal.

**Surgical Work on her mission to Europe.**—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu writes from Southampton to Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mahadeo Desai respectively as follows:—

"A love to greet you from Sweden, where my health is improving so the sun day told. There is nothing in the news and one of the North. My tour has been very successful and I have preached Universal Tagoreism in Europe. I hope you are all well. Love from Sarojini Naidu."

"Young India follows me everywhere. O, Leap me in touch with events at home. I have been having a very long and fruitful time in Scandinavia teaching the events of the ideal of Tagore as the salvation of the world—Love and Truth."

Sarojini Naidu.

## Young India

Almadah, Wednesday, 27th March, 1920.

### KHILAFAT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Leader of Almadah and Young India have talked apart I entertain much respect regard for the former that I struggle hard to reach the same that may be put forth by the Leader. But in spite of the struggle of late I have a variety of doubt. The latest instance is the confusion into which the Leader has fallen over boycott and non-cooperation. I had thought that my meeting was clear and that there was no inconsistency. Boycott is a punishment and non-cooperation is a voluntary apart. The idea of boycotting British goods is that although British goods may be better than my Japanese I should not buy the former because I want to revenge myself upon the British people for wrong done to me by British mistake, or for attitude incompatible and insolent language of some Englishmen regarding the Khilafat. I hold that boycott under such circumstances is a form of violence.

Non-cooperation stands on a different footing. If the Government do wrong I become a participator in the wrong-doing by supporting them and thus making it possible for them to do the wrong. It is my duty, not by way of punishment or by way of revenge but in the end that I may not make myself responsible for the wrong-doing, to withdraw my support off that Government. Indeed I should be justified in bringing that Government to a standstill. It is clear to me therefore that non-cooperation is not different from boycott as an abstract form or so.

The Leader also says I disagree in my disapproval of violence and approval of Martial Law was because I feel that Martial does not necessarily lead to violence. One should always stand along the right thing between there are really to be seen. The Leader's difficulty arises perhaps from the belief that strong and debate remain as not necessary and that it is possible for the Hindu-class of India to keep their peace even after an adverse decree by the British Forces. In my opinion the movement is based on violence unless a non-violent system of action is found that would lead to a just solution of the question. All strong action may bring about violence but we may not have to do the right but it may be anticipated and lead to wrong. All that is intensely speaking possible is to guard against mistakes and misunderstanding and with trust in God to go forward. I know that in the Khilafat question that course and that there can avoid violence if short of a proper solution of the question anything is to avoid it at all. I therefore trust that leaders of all shades of opinion will give this movement a firm and unswerving stand on the part of the Hindus will certainly put courage and hope

into Mahomedan heart. Any indecision or indifference will lead to loss of hope and desperation.

Such are main points to be said about the situation to Satyagrah. I still believe that for the moment I consider that I am alone capable of offering Satyagrah in its true form. But if that belief were to deter me from making experiments, Satyagrah would never make headway. But here, there is the further falling of the ambiguous middle. Satyagrah in the form of non-violence has possibilities of success. But martial or severe weapon and harsh way is very not be Satyagrah. Non-violence-cooperation is necessary Satyagrah. When the British Faculty Madam Mahom Mahaveya renounced his membership on the Imperial Council or when Sir E. Sankaranath Tagore refused to be returned of his election they did not do so as Satyagrah. Of course there is danger in widespread non-cooperation. But that is merely stating a warning. The way thing to be remembered is that for the Mahomedans the Khilafat is a question of life and death. It is essential for them to secure a proper solution. It is the sacred duty of the Hindus to give their all for the sake of their brethren as long as they work along the line of non-violence. And I have no better way of keeping them on that path save by all Hindu, Christian, Parsee and Jews who have made make their own, which honestly supporting them and suggesting to them laudable methods of attaining violence without resort to violence.

### ADMINISTRATION OF PROVINCES.

When the Hon. Mr. Sacha moved the resolution for the appointment of a special committee to formulate a scheme for the reorganisation of all the Orissa-speaking tracts with the existing Odisha Province of the Bihar Province, the Hon. Sir William Vincent gave an assurance to place the matter before the Faculty and forward the report of the Committee to the local Government is concerned to ascertain their views on that the whole matter might be discussed in the new Council. The resolution was then by unanimous withdrawal.

That is how the Orissa people's question stands today. The Orissa movement has a long history and during that long period it has undergone several stages having roots of sympathy and opposition about alternately from high officials. But the essence of the Orissa movement remain solve the larger question of the reorganisation of our Provinces. We are all agreed upon the fact that the present Provinces are shaped by military, political, or administrative considerations of the moment. Hardly any regard has been paid to the wishes of the ruled.

It is only when one proposes a concrete scheme to reshape the provinces that one meets with opposition. This opposition is mainly based on false notions of national unity. It is wrongly believed by some that a linguistic basis for provincial reorganisation would create a narrow spirit of provincialism

which may prove detrimental to broader patriotism. They seem to believe that the more we feel for our provinces—the more they seem to be inevitable, in case we accept a linguistic basis—we make the less will the nation as a whole emerge nor thought. This language question comes out of a superstition which is developed in some people by their wrongly comparing India with other nations. In such a comparison they look to a Hindu society without going a little deeper into their nature. When the United States were being formed, the several states did show a narrow provincialism. This is the president that probably leads the opposite of a linguistic basis. But the comparison cannot stand. For, India is not to be built into a nation on the basis on which the United States were. We have been a nation and shall so remain if our age-old two systems. And our remainder can be the best system to revive and strengthen the law. These considerations will make the administrative work stronger than the present heterogeneous one. The stronger the parts, so much the stronger their combination. The homogeneity that will result of a linguistic redistribution is expressed by the authors of the Joint Report, by the author—“We are impressed with the fact, and after concentrated attention of existing administrative units. We cannot doubt that the business of government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogeneous.”

Having the authors of the Report have supported the principle of linguistic distribution as an attainable aim.

With a linguistic basis our provinces will be neither so small, but so much the more useful for that. The officials will be able to come in closer contact with the people. In the present state we have officers who hardly know the language of their districts. In our provinces for instance, persons like of Greater India that in Gujarat, from Gujarat to the Orissa and from there to Bihar native do not manage officials to know the language of any districts. Thus they are naturally precluded to be a severely political life. So also in our courts we find it is very inconvenient and costly to render various documents into the many vernaculars of the province. The English language is, we are told, indispensable in our Legislative Councils. With a linguistic redistribution of our provinces they can adopt their own, or one as the language for their courts and councils. Thus “The business of legislation in the ‘new member’ will” as the Report continues, “flow into the arena of public affairs more with an acquaintance with English,” all our people now from the remotest corners of a province will feel themselves interested in the Government.

The Times of India, however, thinks that such administrative units will not be progressive, that they will be costly and that they will affect the public services. It cites the instance of France to prove its case. But in the self-governing colonies of our Empire we can quote many instances of

progressive but small administrative units. Surely, many of the new provinces on a linguistic basis will be larger in extent than such like Terraces.

The responsibility of moving in the matter of the reshaping of provinces on a linguistic basis is more our own than the Government's. About the Government's policy on this matter the Joint Report says: “We believe emphatically that redistribution of provincial areas cannot be imposed upon the people by official action.” It ends in the policy and profession of the Government, the public must find their way in working up this question by themselves. For a solution of this question will be of great help in interesting the great mass of our people to participate directly in the business of the Government of their country. And this is the immediate object of the elaborate system to be introduced by the Reform. It will surely be, when accomplished, a triumphant achievement in our march towards Home Rule.

#### THE INDIAN'S OVERSEAS ASSOCIATION

The Association, which was established on December 17th, 1925, with the Aga Khan as chairman, Sir Macpherson M. Bhambhani as Deputy-chairman and Mr. H. S. L. Pisharoti as Vice-Chairman and Treasurer, for the purpose of maintaining the rights and privileges and protecting the interests of Indians residing in places outside India, has since been active in promoting the welfare of Indian communities settled in South and East Africa, South America, the West Indies, Fiji, Ceylon, Mauritius, British Columbia, Australia and the New Hebrides Islands.

The Association is doing its share with all other institutions for Indians in the two Africa. It has drawn the attention of His Majesty's Government to the strong protest against the so-called Colonisation scheme, by the East Indian Association (George Town), and has received an assurance from the Colonial Office that the fullest consideration will be given to the views expressed by that and other Indian organisations in respect of Trinidad, Jamaica and Surinam (Dutch Guiana). The Association has addressed an enquiry to His Majesty's Government seeking information as to the number of colonies at present in terms of these territories and the steps, if any, being taken by His Majesty's Government to ensure their consolidation at an early date. The Association has also made representations to His Majesty's Government with a view to securing representation in the South African Chamber of Deputies to be introduced into the Ceylon Legislative Council, and particularly to draw the attention of the Chamber to the fact that the large majority of the representatives are Indians who had not been consulted in the

matter, supplied of the Majesty's Government what steps had been taken in this direction, and that we received an assurance from the Colonial Office that no serious considerations would be given to the matter. The Association has protested against Dominion Status—on grounds regarding the costs of certain classes of labour, because in other portions in British Colonies, and the representations have been referred to the Governor General of Canada for consideration. It has requested the Majesty's Government to press for the repeal or for necessary modifications of the Quota of Sugar Colonies Act, 1913 the interpretation of which was recently laid in a Privy Council case decided against the Indian applicants.

As regards the Mandate Commission, viz. the British Islands, a bill will be introduced by Viscount Halifax, through Viscount Allen which falls to be administered by the Council of St. Africa, and through E. Africa by the British Government, the Association, however, representations to Her Majesty's Government to maintain for the Indian subjects equal rights as Indians with all the other of the Majesty's subjects.

The Association's aims has apparently, resulted all the essence of Indian independence. The latter, in fact, means, for which we are thankful to the Secretary of the Association, points out how much remains to be done as regards to the question of Indian education.

### KHILAFAT & THE CASUITY RESOLUTIONS

The signs at the proposed dismemberment of Turkey passed the doors of hearts in India. Twenty seven years later it sympathetically recalled the past. The Muslim world beyond India was equally agitated. Yet whatever might be the idea of modes of reform, the Indians felt that relief lay only in self-education by making up our weakness of looking and looking to the stars to be succeeded by a readiness to sacrifice.

The first part of the programme was carried out by an amicable demonstration before the world on the 15th October last by London and East. The second part has been expressed as far as formal resolutions of non-cooperation with Government of Government did not come to their aid. The substitution of non-cooperation has been in the shape of non-participation in the Peace Conference. But that was the least that could be done in the way of self-education by the resistance of official non-cooperation. The following passed at the 107th All India Khilafat Conference on November 19th, done at much higher light:—

"In the event of the Khilafat being put in jeopardy through the unjust treatment and demands levied on Turkey in the Peace Settlement, Indian Muslims will be compelled to withdraw all co-operation from Government as a matter of its Rights only."

Does not the text of the Calcutta resolution read like a full paragraph of the above only?

This Conference requests all the Muslim Members of the Imperial and Provincial Councils, M.L.A.s and necessary Magistrates to follow the example set by the Hon. Mr. Fazl Haq and the Hon. Mr. Abdul Qasim, who have their day advocated

their resignation from the Provincial Legislative Councils that if the demands of Islam have not yet been accepted, such and the holy places of Islam are not restored in the peace settlement with Turkey they should resign their respective offices and should express their determination in that regard to the Viceroy.

Take some of those who took part in the early agitation and had largely coloured the resolutions not breaking in three, those were that the resolution is striking into a resolve and hastening towards independence from thought or words into action through their departure.

But what else should have been expected? In the nation increases a nation of small India always and simply feel and cry and shake their fists but stand afloat in some mass today, speak amongst themselves as prepared to handle the huge and receive their share of losses with their own hands!

We have seen that in the very inception of the Khilafat Movement there was within Ang. too who are not would have read it. Only there were two parallel streams running all along. The purely Muslim Indian generation suggested a number of non-cooperation with absolute in the following concluding words of the Muslim Movement to the Premier and then—

"We earnestly hope that the Peace Conference will give an adequate regard to the Ottoman Empire as the Khilafat in accordance with the principles of justice, freedom and justice given to the Turkish of India and other countries otherwise we fear that England's setting persons for the peace of the world will inaugurate an era which will be a complete calamity existing in the absence of kind, but our Muslims and Christians all over the world and I'm all here."

In contradiction to this spirit, the Peace Conference has always been a supposed of many parts of our violence with the "spirit" with a lot of non-cooperation at any moment.

In fact, of the there is nothing, departing in the Calcutta Resolutions.

Through the Khilafat, the Muslim Movement again rises has been neutral down and a number of lines of spiritual and political have occurred a show which the Indian had would for some reason with the culture, or of pushing the fullest harvest that it is capable of. It is a unity and sharing in the Khilafat. It is an attitude that for India. The highest to say now is that if the success of maximal which can only be done by death and not by talk alone. After all the promises of the past several months, when the time for stepping over to look and for in to existence can't self-education, non-cooperation for any. Only in a moment are you, either in the light of the moment of non-cooperation in the light of blood shed. The direction to be made now for

"Dare to every man and nation  
Gaze the conquest in deeds,  
In the streets of Truth with falsehood,  
The good of evil men."

—Muhammad Iqbal.

## IS IT THE AGA KHAN ON THE KHILAFAT QUESTION

[It is assumed in the attention of those who interested in the *Khilafat* question, the following observations are by Sir Eglar, the Aga Khan on the *Khilafat* question in reply to the address presented to him on the 11th of the 18th Inst. *Khilafat* Committee, vol. 1, p. 1.]

### A. CHAIRMAN, BOMBAY.

I am afraid I am going to disappoint you in a small way. You will expect a political speech from me. It was my intention to make a political speech, but every time you find that I have gone wrong I covered here has shown daily a more timely day which has forced me to restrict my contribution to the subject, and I have come to the conclusion that there is the most serious political problem that has arisen in the history of India and by no means of late, that the Indian Empire has turned to walk along the path of self-government. It is a pity that on the 11th of March of this month of the 19th century this will be brought face to face with the greatest problem of foreign politics that since any country has had to face. She has had her terrible problem, therefore, not suddenly before her resources for meeting it had fully grown up. The situation is far too serious. It is not for our use to lay down a course of policy. It is far too serious for our community, even if that community consisted of millions of Hindu men. The situation is so serious today that in my humble opinion it has become an Indian national question, that it needs to be dealt with and the danger must be with the representatives and the leaders of Mohammedans and Hindus and with other people in India as well as you as I believe we have the opportunity, according to what I have seen on the papers, of both the English-Indian community and of the European political community. That being the case, it would be my suggestion on my part to offer my best of policy, but I certainly beg you to be long about—the matter the history of a meeting or a conference, perhaps of times in an informal way, without any publicity, where people like Mr. Lytton and myself who are here in England could get together before the leaders of the Mohammedans and the Hindus, who will be, or to see the policy. It is on me there that the responsibility for deciding on the policy to be carried out will be. There are great changes and risks about. I see them. There are possibilities that the Turks may be reorganized in a way. Yes, there are these possibilities. They have gone through centuries of warfare. Another day peace of thousands of generations and centuries and you can well imagine where they would be. When we have been told that in the 19th century millions of the Mohammedans were a hundred years ago, you can understand what a small nation like the Turks have had to go through and what are the terrible dangers about. All this you must carefully take into consideration. You must remember that whatever the solution you, must try to keep about this—and I know all Turks are anxious about this that it should be such that there will be no new line drawn between the Turks and the Arabs, past here, that they should not fall back about. This is the opinion of the Turks themselves. Whatever it may be, it must be of a nature that they must remain but friends and they must be strong in a common religion and a common Khalifa. There are the great problems before us.

### LEWIS, TIME TO LOOK.

There are no fewer of views and the impression I have brought here. There are impressions I have gathered of other not only coming to me from the Indian Muslim men and Europeans, but also the Turkish part of the world we must not forget. There is very little more to be said and it is necessary that on the representative leaders will tell the weight of either way, whether a divided opinion or of any way, it was and the manner they meet the issue, and I should suggest, though there might be a high opinion of proceeding, but I feel in Bombay they will give better attention and they will in which better way from what I may call the non-divided world with European politics. Here in Bombay we are a local opinion to the west, and it is very necessary that the meeting should take place in Bombay and whatever proposition committee you may appoint, should be located in Bombay. I do not think the Turkish problem will be settled so quickly as you suppose. Look at the Ottoman power—how long it took before it was signed? The same was the case with the Bulgarians, the Macedonians and the Roumanian power terms. There is great need in England of a healthy public opinion and representing it with our real feelings. That is absolutely necessary to the day. You do not realize how in this day the opinion party in England was millions of pounds in comparison over the country showing terrible things that we will be here happened in Armenia—but parties taken in Calcutta. The thing before us now follows that paper of representation like the States and the Sunday Review—though I am not sure about the *Times*—other statements in it. We have to fight against such forces and such propaganda in stirring English opinion as to the maintenance of the position. When the meeting of leaders takes place I would say to them how extensively ignorant people in England are still in the matter. A great responsibility rests on those who stand here in England from India. They ought to tell the English people exactly what your feelings are, *Newsweek* like the *Times* ought to be fully informed that really there is not a question to get an opinion but a proposition and a proposition cannot be made in which the Hindus and the Mohammedans and others in India are all united.

### MR. PROPER'S CLAMOR.

What is the best means of government of India? Is it the national programme of doing into others as you would they should do unto you, or is it to do for others far more than they would do to you? Is the philosophy of the Founder of Christianity, on the integrity of his disciples and their duty toward and toward, the Gospels of love and love, kindness and strengthened into his entire disciples, his disciples were every man's man was taught, and not only taught, but, of the supreme moment of wisdom, practiced.

It is not that other persons or nations often in such spiritual heights. Marking the basis not of ourselves eyes before entering the world from others without any consideration of history. Once again, however, by the Lord revealed to the West that she is the Christian form of government, and, as a condition of the Indian National Congress, India has had been to the world the possibility of real Revolution V of the last centuries will bring down the ages when the history and finally correct statements will, with their work and Faith, having been forgotten.

The Congress will fully recognize the great proposition that led to a similar culture of our people deeply respect and combine the common spiritual activities of the people of the East and the West.

in the line of love and unity in person and purpose during the month of April last.

In these matters nature in the world that, also America, could have come to such lofty moral heights? In these matters the globe's nature that will not be fooled by through-Bismarckian or other spiritual manipulations of its ruler will send a revolution of its own morality! Only a people of the same kind as treacherously humble (in the finest sense of the word) and uncharacteristically proud could have so tripped its tongue and corrected its aim at the longest penitence and pain for her own words than India has done. She has made an indelibly noble gesture of amendment and genuine penitence before the law of the world. And the world has to respond to it.

The first response to this from the people of Great Britain. The words pointed out a spiritual challenge to every good man and woman here. The duty is just India, who have refused a demand from more than 500 the Anglo-Indians, have got more strength of purpose to resist and to continue whatever of wrongdoing is there led to the final resolution for which we, as a governing nation, are ultimately responsible. How can we meet the historical aim of the two India?

How is not done or left unfinished here, from the very failure of our hearts, to accept and we draw it the happened from our side? Will not the one idea of a united Empire means all that has passed two months that seem to have been made for mutual love, and with all effort? The moral character of the world in the past and glory of India ought to have been held one level and made to one harmonious whole. These things are still to be kept in mind that has not of already has not passed, and that, come what may, we will do justice to India that neither that let the eyes of her lower-degree human members whose she will draw the wheel off spring of her own hand. They will not do it in the least, and do not do it. It is not as yet to get our lower in order and to show that our impotence in planning, in doing, and in carrying of the end result is. The responsible subjects who have betrayed our honor must be tried and justly reprimanded. The associates of the traitor, from it a lightness in the breast, must be dragged into the day light and punished.

Finally, India must be made as free as heaven and will ever make her. No delay, no compromise, no half-measures. Freedom, Manhood, and Justice have fought for thousands of us since. Hope as no more good. —

"There shall be a end of pride in things and

World may cheerfully deal it out"

The glory is to India in this resolution. The task is to Great Britain.

## TURKEY AND INDIA.

—India.

The English community in India are under a debt of gratitude to the chairman of the Cabinet and Foreign Chamber of Commerce for having, in the admirable letter which they addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy on March 15th, expressed their feelings in the matter of the numerous speeches made in England upon the resolution of the Turkish Government in Constantinople. In that letter Messrs. Paine and Green rightly said that the English community in India had remained silent from

the assurance that the question was investigated in England, but as none of these questions they could not remain silent but their state it should be unambivalent. They then proceeded to point out their knowledge of the genuine, deep-seated and intense feelings of the Indian Muslims in the matter, they expressed their disagreement with those who are saying a statement as their greatly derived sympathy for the wishes of these Muslims whose help is a large measure isolated as the defect of their own responsibilities, and they dissociated themselves from those parties of the English Church who, necessarily ignorant of Indian Muslim sentiment, had entered into the controversy, their in writing it on the spot of Muslims with a religious confidence which they can never have intended. There was one word really said. The English community in India, who have lived in knowledge and unity with their Muslim fellow-subjects in India all these years, solemnly associate themselves with them, and join in saying on His Excellency the Viceroy to press on the British Government the view that in the down-who came down—to come, as far as is practicable in the different questions in Turkey, the fullest support for the views of the Muslims of India, but in speaking before the Muslims of India about, but for all classes of His Majesty's subjects in this country.

Undoubtedly, as Christ, in before from outside of history and in reference. People who try to take their responsibilities in their fellow men seriously are able to find no excuse whatever for the British people and the American people who, when the war for human freedom has been won, when the world has been made safe for democracy, when the noblest progress have been given the right to work, have now sought to avoid the arrangements as the continuation of the war with the assistance of a neutral. Even if some excuse were possible to themselves, however, for some who they remembered that the so religious of those against whom a neutral was made, finished some of the most loyal and gallant soldiers in the Army of Freedom. Even were that the attitude of British people and American people in the action of men like Lord Roper. That distinguished man of letters has now a place in the world by his advocacy such as that taken in the Washington Embassy. He is one average world like to believe an honorable gentleman. But Lord Roper has committed himself to the statement in steady persistence, that if he believed they were true there is no reason for him, if he was satisfied that they were true his action is unpardonable. Lord Roper has described as a mere political expedient the view that others would be given in Indian Muslim sentiment by the removal of the Sultan and the Turkish Government from Constantinople. He has in other ways completely perverted the attitude of the Mahomedan content of this country. These are points on which there is no room whatever for difference of opinion. The Muslims of India had already the experience of maintaining the Sultan and the Turkish Government at Constantinople, they had that apart from their religious view of this question, confidence in British good faith is entirely dependent on the literal discharge of the Premier's pledge. The non-Muslim people of this country do not promise to support Muslim religion against it, but they are entirely at one with their fellow-citizens in regarding the full and literal observance of the Premier's pledge as essential to the maintenance of British honor.

The Peace of India.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17618

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 12

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY, MARCH 1921, 1921

Price One Rupee  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS

The Satyagrah Week .. .. .	1
Notes .. .. .	2
LITERATURE	
Yakub's, New-children .. .. .	3
Chakraborty of Court .. .. .	3
---	
The New Age of the English .. .. .	4
Mr Gandhi's English Speech .. .. .	8
The Judgment .. .. .	7

## REFLECTIONS

### THE SATYAGRAH WEEK

This satyagrah week will soon be upon us. We trust that it will be worthy of the occasion which it is to commemorate. The ideal aim of work which can be assumed and which will be an aid and an encouragement and help for the English will be the collection of a fund to pay for the memorial site for commemorating the memory of the martyrs of the 22nd April last. To collect ten lakhs from a population of thirty million is not a difficult task if suitable workers are to hand. If rich and well-known ladies and gentlemen could be persuaded to take up the work, it could be finished within the week. The proper thing to do will be to collect pounds from every province. We hope to get such a list next week. But such persons should try to collect as much more as it can, than the above. It would not matter if we succeed in collecting more. The loss is not the highest one required. It is the measure. Every one therefore is exposed to contribute liberally.

Then there is the fasting and prayer. This is a heavy institution. A person has to abstain from food and water. It requires the faith and the faith enters into the soul first. A severe fast can work wonders. It is an intense longing of the soul for heaven greater purity. Thirty three passed since it is a habit for a noble purpose because a prayer. The ordinary use of fasts, in expectation for hastening the work, illustrates the meaning we have given to prayer. When the same fasts are performed with a humble and unassuming mind in an unselfish manner it is an intense illustration and evidence

that it becomes a most potent instrument for warding off danger. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the restriction of the fasts, the manner or the Christian prayer are insignificant. It is to be mastered by the ignorant and the weak, fasting and prayer therefore are a most powerful means of purification and that which purifies necessarily enables us to better to do our duty and to obtain our goal. If therefore fasting and prayer were at least not to answer, it is not because there is nothing in them but because the right spirit is not behind them.

A man who fasts and prays away for whole of the day to do as easy as Jesus' day, naturally, not only obtains no result from the fast in the shape of greater purity but such a discipline but leaves him in the country degraded. A fast to be true must be accompanied by a readiness to receive pure thoughts and determination to meet all man's temptations. Hardly a prayer to be true has to be intelligible and definite. One has to identify oneself with it. Closing hands with the name of Allah on one's lips whilst the mind wanders in all directions worse than useless. We therefore hope that the coming week of dedication to intense fasting and prayer will become a successful reality and not merely a formal observation.

The magnificent episode of late of thousands of Mahatmas going to Jinnah's house in different parts of India and offering heart-felt prayers for the triumph of truth did more than anything else in being a great witness within the bounds of possibility. We would have no hesitation in generalising a proper addition of the Hindu people purely on the strength of prayer. We need not be told that the statement in favour of prayer will both ways, not to open as much to our enemy as to us to pray. But that would be an argument not against prayer but against allowing the result to affect our selection of prayer. One may not make terms with God. It is enough to know that prayer has played from time immemorial a most important part in the evolution of nations as well as individuals. May the Satyagrah week witness a revival of the institutions of fasting and prayer in all their original glory and splendor.

## Notes.

### 19th March and Government warnings.—

While we are of opinion that the various warnings issued by provincial governments and the resolutions by the Government of India in which the consent was not as correctly we need agreed participating in the celebration of the 19th, could have been cancelled altogether or at any rate so worded as to avoid unnecessary alarm, resentment and agitation, we think that the gagging order of the Burma Government in this connection upon 40 leaders of the province, without sufficient justification, is most unfortunate. The extraordinary peaceful manner in which the celebration passed off throughout the country strengthens our conviction that there was greater need for the Government to adopt rather a placid and sympathetic attitude than a nervous and a threatening one. At all times and especially at such critical moments in our history, it is not only for the people to exercise utmost restraint and follow the dictates of conscience by reason, love, and non-violence but for the Government also to proceed on these lines, without the color giving up their freedom and mass of discipline. Any Government, impulsive and government cannot the same and direct the way and in now.

The other way please.—The Hon'ble Mr. Dalrymple, while heartily supporting a resolution for cancelling the teaching of English in Middle schools, humorously related how he was surprised some years ago to discover that one honorable member for Sand did not know English. "That was a very unfortunate state of affairs," remarked Mr. Dalrymple, "We agree, but in another sense. We are not here concerned with the resolution in point. We know that today a member not knowing English can do business little in our Legislative Councils. But we fail to understand why it should be so—why a man should know the language of the people of England when he has been educated by an Indian education to serve Indian people and Indian interests. We wonder if the Hon'ble Mr. Dalrymple ever supposed that the Governor and most of his ministers know next to nothing of the language of the people they have come to govern."

We think it is high time Indian members associated each other with a dignified calmness or a healthy concern and exchanged compliments in English, but, our mutual English friends.

There is, however, another lesson to be learnt from the Hon'ble Mr. Dalrymple's above experience, viz. the need of rededicating our presence on legislative bodies. We hope that some relief like the Hon'ble Mr. Dalrymple will utilize their opportunity and work for securing the end sooner or later. We look for the day when the whole work of the Councils will be carried on in the vernacular of their respective provinces. This would not only signify the vernacular and enable the

masses to be better able to appreciate the work of their representatives in the Councils. The principle of Democracy demands it.

Even as matters stand something can be done in this direction by starting to make permanent in the institutions of our Councils, the use of *Shikshans* or the chief vernacular of the province. Mr. Dalrymple will then find that the workers more readily his requirements and also serve him the object of not being understood by a colleague, certainly in the exchange of compliments but also of general work on various provincial affairs.

### Kyaukse Handloom Weaving Institute.—

The above institute is reported to be doing splendid but quiet sort of work for every in Burma in the vicinity of Rangoon. The institute was started five years back with a view to imparting education to the art of weaving and thereby helping to improve and encourage the weaving industry of Burma. Although goods are made and sold by the institute, its chief object is said to be training people in this handicraft. To fulfil this object, the institute invites and entertains apprentices of all castes, creeds without any restriction who are eager to learn the work and want to adopt it as life. They are encouraged by stipends from the very beginning of their course and are said to be afforded every facility to learn the work. There are different kinds of handlooms with different proprietary processes and the apprentice is taught all these thoroughly. A certain amount of theoretical knowledge is also reported to them for this purpose. The institute has also attached to it a loomery branch and a small dyehouse.

To give the end in view the institute is also organizing the weaving population of the suburbs of Rangoon. The institute has about 25 looms in the suburbs. This has helped to reduce the tendency to mass sales in otherwise most of the weavers had given it up or were on the verge of doing so owing to high prices of raw material and inadequate demand and prices of the finished work. The institute now supplies the weavers with raw material and takes back the finished articles after paying them a fair sum for their work. The work turned out by the institute is said to be good, the prices reasonable, especially as regards expenses, both in plain cloth, shirting, towels, hose and socks.

Having regard to the work that the institute is doing, we feel that it has more than justified its existence and does therefore deserve Government and public patronage, sympathy and help. The promoters of the institute have set a very good example. We hope some of our industrial workers in the proximity to make an effort, will follow their example of doing practical and useful work for the real industrial development of the country. We wish the institute every success. The address of the office of the institute is 28, Regal Street, Rangoon.

## Young India.

Abolished, Wednesday, 24th March, 1930.

### VIOLENCE versus NON-VIOLENCE.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The Ekshata day has come and gone. It was a great success and a complete triumph of Satyagrah. I am not at all dissatisfied but fresh and unswerving. No doubt has been revolutionary as that of the 19th March in that all the morning that very fresh plans manifested the 19th. It was an example of wonderful self-restraint on the part of the Committee not to have called out the mob bands. The Committee deserve the highest praise for its efficient management and for the deliberate re-jection of violence. If the people continue to show the discipline and self-restraint shown on the 19th and still March in an equal measure the spirit of self-restraint, nothing can prevent the full fruition of our hopes regarding Ekshata. Nobody would have believed a year ago the possibility of peace being observed by the British element among the Indians as a matter of life and death in those and on a day of no business for the latter. But there can be no assurance when there is prayer. All were engaged with in quiet, all to be angry but to pray for the right to be done. It is true that all did not definitely pray, but the spirit of prayer was abroad and it dominated the people rather than the spirit of revenge, anger, resentment and so we had the amazing spectacle of the festival day passing off like an ordinary day when everybody expects peace to be observed. The vast meeting of Bombay attended perhaps by thirty thousand men was a sight worth seeing. There was discipline in the faces of those thousands of people who listened to the speaker, yet without expression any other emotion characteristic. The speaker deserves the warmest praise for having introduced into our meetings the correct peacefulness, quiet, determination and resolution as the place of modern fanaticism, sentiment and disturbance. The one danger just the possibility that arises for Satyagrah, the other inevitably leads to violence, and the success of the great meeting and the very successful festival is not violence but non-violence. I hope that the authorities will not allowed the situation. They will not but to understand the admirable spirit of the whole demonstration or the equally admirable spirit of the non-violence resolution to which is my humble opinion it is impossible for any Government of this country or the Empire to take exception. I hope, too, that they will read the spirit of the movement in the measure which it is developing. I hope that the exemplary patience, self-restraint and endurance that are evincing in our midst will have their due weight with them and that they will inform the Imperial Government that while there is this admirable peace in the land there is also a great determination behind it which will not take us for an hour, I hope that Government

will not repeat the sin of last April and collection any false hope of impunity and irresponsible spirit that has come into being and that will suffer everything but frustration, discomfort and defeat.

If a committee of deep respect that we respected a body in the Liberal League should have hardly and in advance condemned the festival. Surely a people so struck with grief and with its government probably sharing them in the pain must have an outlet for orderly manifestation. It was because not they long ago we were afraid to speak or write what we thought that my statements lowered order and because that with stress because of the absence of the same and the open air of public opinion playing upon these States we had a secret revolutionary movement. Today, thank God we seem to have entered the evil day. We dare to think, speak and write openly, without fear, but under restraint that opinion imposes upon our land. I appeal to the members of the Liberal League and those who think with them to recognize this plain fact and to appreciate the opportunity of both men over land motion. If they desire to learn all the unimpeachable lessons that are coming daily to be being for the spirit of the nation, if they wish to become privileged participants in the themes of the new birth let them recognize the signs of the time, let them not repeat the advances of the younger generation, let them not dull their robust hopes and aspirations but let them lead the growing party of young, enthusiastic, self-reliance, dare-devil men. Sympathize with them, respond to the heart's thrill, regulate it, for they are amenable to reason or an appeal to their high-conscience—and you have a disciplined party, obedient to the call of the country. But if they feel aggrieved, if they feel that the older heads will not patiently listen to their words, will not give them a helping hand they may depart and deeper may lead to desperation resulting in a catastrophic destruction. I can recall no time so unpropitiously suitable for leading back to the method of Satyagrah—not necessarily over-zealousness, but truth and non-violence—in which there is no defeat and in which of there is any since it hurts but those who are

### CONTUMPT OF COURT

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The long expected hearing of the case against the abolished the publication of Young India commenced with the publication of a letter of the District Judge of Abolished regarding Satyagrah's lawyers and my comments thereon has been heard and judgment has been pronounced. Both the writer and the publisher have been correctly represented. But the Court did not see the way to pass any sentence upon either of us. If I dwell upon the judgment it is only because I am anxious as a Satyagrahi to draw a moral from it. I wish to assure those friends who out of pure friendliness advised me to tender the required apology, that I refused to except these

advice and not of abstinence but because there was great principle at stake. I had to secure a journalistic independence and get respect for the law. My own feeling of the law was that there was no contempt committed by me. But my defence rested more upon the fact that I could not offer an apology if it was not prepared not to repeat the offence on a similar occasion. Because I held that an apology tendered to a Court is tantamount to be an admission as a private apology. At the same time I owed a duty to the Court. It was no light thing for me to refuse to accept the advice of the Chief Justice especially when the Chief Justice was so very considerate in the correspondence with me. I was on the horns of a dilemma. I therefore decided not to offer any defence but simply to make a statement frankly and fully defining my position, leaving it to the Court to pass any sentence it thought fit in the event of an adverse decision. In order to show that I meant no disrespect of the Court and that I did not desire to discourage the same I took extraordinary precautions to prevent publicity and I venture to think that I succeeded completely in convincing the Court that behind my disinclination it was disinclination, there was no defiance but perfect resignation, there was no anger as it-will but perfect restraint was imposed, that if I did not apologise, I did not, because an extensive apology would have been contrary to my conscience. I held that it was about as perfect as an issue of civil disobedience is, ever has been my privilege to offer. And I feel that the Court respected in a most handsome manner and recognised the spirit of civility that lay behind my so-called disobedience. The handsome judgment of Justice Maclean lays down the law, and decides against me. But I feel thankful that it does not question the propriety of my action. Just as Magwood's judgment recognizes it as an issue of conscience, a very serious and practically unshirked issue for not entering any sentence. Here then we have an almost complete vindication of civil disobedience. Disobedience to the civil must be severe, repeated, continued, never defiant, must be based upon some well understood principle, must not be capricious and above all must have no ill-will or hatred behind it. I submit that the disinclination offered by Mr. Dowl and myself contained all these ingredients.

#### NOTICE

All communications regarding subscriptions, should be directed to an address in the "Manager," "Young India," Chhat Gid, Fardes Bids, Ahmedabad. Our rules of subscriptions.

(payable directly to address.)

Annual in India (with postage) Four Rupees.  
Outside India " " Eight Rupees.  
Single Copy (postage extra) One anna.

and all non-subscriptions should be directed to the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Subscriptions, Ahmedabad.

#### THE MESSAGE OF THE FOLIAE.

The following has rendering of the address delivered in Hindi by Mahatma Gandhi last Christmas in the palace of Ahmedabad on the 25th February cannot fail to interest the readers of Young India. Rao Bahadur Ramdas was in the chair. After the usual introduction the proceedings were commenced with the speaker's own recited national song "Vande Mataram." The address was entitled "The Message of the Foliae."

THE MESSAGE.

Matam is a holy place and in it in many respects Punjab, the land of the Five rivers, may be considered the holiest. It has been called the sacred state of the Indian. When modern civilization spreads its dazzling wings for our acceptance and tempts us by its delusive splendours and success in making us entirely ashamed of our own, we seek shelter and comfort in exploring the treasured stores of those dwellers on the banks of the banks of the Five Rivers and when we meet them face to face in their pastured byres we are filled with pride about the glory of our own ancient civilization that has been based on the incomparable masses called the Foliae.

The Foliae represent the written word of God and the word was given, as the historians tell us, on the holy banks of the rivers of the Punjab. It is for that reason that the very name of the Punjab is every Indian with a thrill of pride. It is that soil whose richness has not perfect joy and pleasure in knowing from its very soil three wishes. It is that holy place where a Hindu's wife proudly said to her husband, "What have I to do with earthly riches that could not save me from death of attachment to me? She at last herself became a divine being and today, throughout their India, millions of Hindus sing those immortal verses which mean—Lead me from Palanod into Death, from Darkness into Light, from Death into Immortality. I have I thought to me, O Lord. Protect me with Thy hands upon me." It is the same holy land where the youth Mahatma, opening long life and enjoyments of the world, immolated himself by thus addressing the God of Death who had asked him to choose a boon, "Blessed do not make a man great. I want no other boon, I want only knowledge of things eternal." It was on the sacred Punjab that the very gods, answering supplicants looked for them and elevated by the pointing of Divine Wisdom set at the feet of the sage and observed Brahmacharya for ages.

Thus we are indebted to this land of the sacred rivers for all that is highest in Hindutva and it is on that account and that alone that we should think of the Punjab in our morning prayers. Not only did the Punjab lead the way in divine knowledge in the times of the Sikhs but even during recent times it has been the birthplace of the Sikh Gurus. We owe our souls to the Punjab for the resurrection, the self-sacrifice and the spirituality that these Gurus expressed in their lives and held up before us

as a pattern worthy of imitation by us. Also since then the Punjab seems to have remained in temporary oblivion of her ancient heritage. The present descendants of the Rulers of old, though they still profess their noble descent by their head-worn *Aryas* turbans, seem to have completely forgotten the heritage of the ancients about Power. The Rulers have said: "Power is greater even than Religion. One man of power is more than a man for hundred cowards. Power controls the earth, the ether, the sky, the mountains, the gods, mankind, birds, herbs, vegetation and insects—all these are also dependent upon the Power. Therefore worship It." The Punjab of today has forgotten this great Power of the soul for physical power and put it on a pedestal. She seems to have forgotten that the eggs are not of the mere material body—her but that they are of the immaterial soul-force. It is not of this Power which sustains everything everywhere that you cannot see it, speak cannot describe it, mind cannot conceive of it. Of this is the Power Herbert Spencer has said: "The Power which the Universe manifests to us is utterly unaccountable — . An infinite and eternal energy from which all things proceed." This Soul-Power is boundless and its beneficence has its dark-energetic character from the power of the body or the body-force. It has the force with which Vesuvius overpowered Yawwasta. Could the Punjab have been created by the hands of the Western world of heritages? There are two distinctive qualities which characterize heritages—immunity and continuity—to increase the work and to fix the strong. Whereas the characteristics of soul-force are protection of the work and fearlessness before the tyrant. But the same immutability takes tell us that the change has not in. They show where the better way when the gods create and the gods destroy the Punjab for a while. When however, they remembered that they had once more, there came a new line shown —

Awake, arise, approach to the great men,  
And learn wisdom from them.

The one who was to awaken the Punjab was in England. He had never seen the Punjab but he had a message for her as he the soul of India. Many said it, some only understood it. The result was that there was a kind of awakening. The people of the Punjab did not open her pledge. They did not grasp the significance of Satyagrah, nevertheless the freedom-giving spirit pervaded the Punjab and the Punjab was awakened. A new power came into being—the power of suffering—and so the millions of laborers received faith in their hands without retreating. Daily today the Punjab has needed that the it was who were under heavy systems including death penalty, but their approach diminished by the Party Council. I have no doubt that the people of the Punjab with their open heart on truth will, even like Russia, acquire the power to drink this power as if it was nectar. For many

an innocent man including the leaders has suffered imprisonment, many have lost their life, many families have been deprived of their loved-ones, hundreds are dependent on public charity. But meet the law, the suffering have been those suffering with a heavy heart. The message of Satyagrah has taken about happiness and money, power and palace, life and death are today different aspects of the same thing. If we are filled with Truth, why need we fear an Oppressor as a Specter? The Truth as we still make us free. The Punjab says to-day— "The work shall not fail the soul either **असतो मा सद्गमय** And of the Punjab begins, it will be a beginning which shows the strong—it will not be the doubtful subject of the crowd. I venture then to sing for you the words of the "Message of the Punjab." And the speaker sang on the beautiful bank of the Subarnah just after starting to the rest quarters of the students of Alameda who listened in peculiar respectful silence, the scene composed by French Speaking Dada Charan Das. That was sung by her to the American Congress. We give a few translations of these verses:

Never has heart,

What though the very life be so danger'd  
Let us not lose heart.

Though the gods may speak

Whether it be through lightning, fire,  
water, wind, hurricane or earthquake,  
None has heart.

Let the shell from the gun strike you,  
Let the edge of the sword cut you as brass  
Never has heart.

Let confusion, forced into my ears crush you,  
Let hard words pierce you,  
Let the gulf of incomprehension be your lot,  
Never has heart.

Let trials, let hardships,  
Let know'dge, let the strength of the strong  
crush you.

Never has heart.

By the order of the Maharaja  
By the instance of the Mahatma,  
By the voice of the friends,  
Never has heart.

By the people of Allah & Peshawar,  
Sindh, Baluch and Saurashtra,  
Never has heart.

O Sun, through love  
Through pain, through patience,  
And by the grace of True God,  
Never has heart.

A Rajah and Maharaja are a great trial being to the Punjab.

Forms of power in the Punjab.

Mr. Gandhi who was as always of the great value of thanks to the speaker and the other in a humorous little speech and that it was somewhat embarrassing for him to speak of one who was not only his valued guest, but had become as dear to him as his own sister. During his privileged audience under Sirs Durr's roof whilst she was separated from her husband, he had had many a rich experience of her devotion to her husband. He knew how like a woman she had fought for securing justice for her husband but never till that evening had he so fully realised that she was husband-mad. The audience might think that she had delivered the message of the People which was the message of Satyagraha in the words of some eminent Hindu, for they had heard no more that evening of the Rules of old. If they were listening under any such delusion it was his duty to rebuke them. He was certainly glad to think that the message of Satyagraha had been delivered in a beautiful and strong. But his pride was moved with grief because he realised that under the cover of delivering the message of Satyagraha, Sirs Durr had done nothing else than glorifying her husband. For him, the author of the song was not other than Frank Bantling, Dick Chaffinley. He did not mind the glorification of a husband by a husband-mad wife. But he resented such glorification under such pretence. The speaker hoped that the audience would join him in his resentment by enthusiastically carrying the vote he had the honour of moving and that the women of Allahabad whom he saw among the audience would show their appreciation of the gifts of the poet of the evening by copying her wonderful devotion to her husband.

#### MR. GANDHI'S KILIKAT SPEECH.

The following is a faithful report of Mr. Gandhi's speech at the Kilikat meeting held at Bombay on the 19th, which evening the only resolution adopted by the meeting.

#### MR. GANDHI'S SPEECH.

It goes to the greatest pleasure to be able to meet the only members of this great conference. They are representative throughout and the collection on the splendid success of the peaceful demonstration of today. We had many warnings given to us as to the consequences that were likely to follow from acceptance of Governor Durr's offer but, thanks to the efforts of the Kilikat Committee, believed only in the matter. The hotel was spontaneous and voluntary. No payment whatever was asked. It was a matter of great satisfaction to me to see that the Council was different the advice tendered by me that still heads should not be asked upon to participate in the hotel. In these days of tension between employers and employees in the western industrial countries of the country, we may as advantage likewise to clean themselves from work without the willing consent of the employer.

Our resolution divides itself into four parts. The first part consists of a protest and a prayer. It protests against violence and irresponsible agitation on any England in connection with the Kilikat question, and appeals

to the Executive and other authorities to discontinue themselves from the agitation and reassure us of the better feeling of the people of the United Kingdom by covering an honorable and dignified settlement with the just religious sentiments of the Hindustani of India. The second part warns those concerned that an adverse solution is likely to result in complete withdrawal of cooperation from the Government and will put an end to any upon Indian public, and if such a step unfortunately becomes a reality there is likely to be no mistake. The third part of the resolution was that the people of India should express their protest against the lack of speech and of indignity in such a manner of their great meeting that any measure of violence is calculated to bring the sacred cause and to its irreparable harm. The fourth resolution is a joint transaction between the Hindus, Mohammedans and others in whom this great land is their mother country or their adopted home.

And it recalls the great movement to a policy of non-violence in the course of the struggle. But Mohammedans have special Roman obligations in which Hindus may or may not join. They, however, reserve to Mohammedans the right, in the event of the failure of non-cooperation, to use any violence in order to restore justice, to resort to all such methods as may be required by the Islamic scriptures. I venture bravely to venture upon with this resolution. I consider the resolution to be thoroughly respectful and moderate in tone. I see in the platform Hindu and Muslim, Hindu and Parsi, all joined together in a respectful demonstration. Complete absence of the great Hindu cloth-market and Hindu houses are an eloquent testimony of Hindu agreement with the Muslim demand. The entire agreement of my in London has proved an excellent of feeling in India which will serve the said justice is done. It is a matter of proud surprise that our Lord Curzon, with all his knowledge and experience of India, should have failed himself with the speaker's agitation.

#### A BILLYBIRD LITERATURE.

There is, however, a silver lining to the cloud that hangs dark overhead. Mr. Hastings has been our accompanying advocate. Mr. Lloyd George has not reaffirmed his miserable determination though on a somewhat bettering from I believe that the Government of India is preparing forward our cause with great honour. The Anglo-India press has not been loudly. The House of India and the Royal Chamber of Commerce have been warmly supported our cause. The resistance against all Englishmen to only stand the banner of Truth and violence British houses and the pledged word of the British Emperor I paid to me as one of my loyalty in the British movement, but I must refuse to say that loyalty at the price of honour and at the sacrifice of the deeply-rooted religious sentiment of our nation of my countrymen. A loyalty that will do well is worth nothing, and I say upon of the acknowledged services of Indian soldiers, both Hindu and Mohammedan, during the late war, the presence with British statesmen are broken, the reasons that erode the loyalty of India will have ceased to exist. I do not lose hope, but of the hope is disappointed and the worst happens, God alone knows what will happen in the fair land of ours. We know that that there will be another peace war now, for the Government as the people will the wrong is righted and the freedom of eight acres of Mohammedans are reported.

## PERFECTLY HONOURABLE

I hope it is unnecessary to show why it is inadvisable on Hindu as well as on Mohan's side with their Hinduism convictions to keep on the same methods and on lower side, I am anxious to believe instead for perpetually landing on both sides we complete accordance with Hinduism. But as a matter of course on this there can be, there should be, no violence either of speech or of deed. We must respect not only India but by her I admit the dignity of being the subject, but every country not in standing along a common surface but in respecting citizens in a modern and industrial way. And in a just and moral cause, Republican progress and development will see the best qualities required of an Emperor's subjects, namely damage this great cause. It may seem a mistake but we shall never reach the just through a series of wrongs. The new violence shows of the moderns, brotherly, brotherly sympathy the violence of self-interest and implies that all operations to reduce their violence will be a capital and speaks a fact not only had to be admitted, without opposition and knowledge of both that movement and the people but the Hinduism want to play a perfectly honourable game.

## HINDU OBLIGATIONS

They wish to survive or express violence. Some of them have, therefore, insisted upon the constitution of a party to the movement, meaning that if any violence fails, they are at liberty to resort to the other methods proposed upon them by the Government and those are the things which ought to be considered, they should leave the country as which it is needed or was against the constitution. And in the modern world, whether in India, or in the most honourable and respectable manner, the steps through which this great movement is all pass, the first being a steady resolution. God forbid that the country should ever pass through such a revolution, and all its honour and the feeling on the Hindu's position must be high and good to say that no danger of violence may, if possible, be avoided, but this country is a revolutionary movement of the kind which we have not seen before, and of it some responsibility will rest with Englishmen, the Hindus and the great Hinduism. If Englishmen will only recognize the existence of the deep feeling and sincerity of the just demands, it would be well. If the Hindus will moderate the religious feeling and actively co-operate with the Hinduism, they are, by mutual and perfectly peaceful effort, some a just solution. Great Hinduism by showing the tendency of the critical moment of their history will be improved. Moral duty by taking the party of violence is understood that there are no divisions of the flag of India. Others, unable to do so, will pass through their deeper glorying beyond, honourable, high-spirited Hinduism in the face and going thus a feeling of being regulated by long balance, Hindu and their development. I hope, therefore, that the whole of India will unite as a people in the struggle and as a cry of justice that shall not be denied. I venture finally to hope that the Government will not send slight resolutions by thoughtless and angry opponents. They will recognize that it is a no longer an affair and that India has the same feelings that salute Englishmen in similar circumstances.

## CONTEMPT CASE JUDGMENT

AFTER showing the facts of the case which are related fully in my issue already given, the Lordship Justice Mann's decision—

## CASES 'SUN—JUDGE'

As to the general principle of law to be applied to the case, there can, I think, be no doubt depending generally, it would be possible to publish statements in an ordinary law, any printing, proceedings in the Court under the terms of the Act, but I do not think that any good reason can be advanced for them, but the underlying principle, I think, that of the fact of maintenance of order for the public benefit, consideration of which demands that in a matter of common law, both parties shall be heard as the case may be and in person or in such able or in person evidence by an independent and impartial tribunal.

That object would be frustrated if newspapers were free to comment on or to be able to publish those proceedings which were still subject. It matters not whether those comments and reports be made in an honest, printed or published. The aim is the maintenance of order in the Court's duty and not a newspaper's, or, the decision of the printing case.

## LAW AS TO CONTEMPT

After my comments on the evidence with respect to Contempt of Court, the Lordship proceeds—

There can hardly be any doubt what would have been the result if it were possible to publish a paper containing such charges of fraud against some responsible men before he could even put it into service, and long before the charges could be judicially determined.

I may refer to one more case, not because it has done any new law, but because it brings the English authorities up to date and illustrates the restrictions imposed there on the liberty of the press, which, as pointed out by Lord Russell in *King vs. Long* (1865) 5 Q. B. 23 at p. 49, is an "ancient maxim of the greatest and no less than the liberty of every subject of the King." The case is *King vs. Hughes*, *Moss* (London and is reported in the Law Reports of 1864, January 1865, and was heard by Lord Chief Justice of England and the Justice of the Peace and the Justice of the Peace. There the newspaper had commented on a pending criminal case, but did not attempt to publish statements of fact, and the prosecution, including a printed charge against and committed to the Court in following judgment, the Earl of Denbigh and—The Court would not permit the investigation of evidence to be taken out of the hands of the proper authorities and to be recorded by newspapers. The liberty of the press shall not when he was suspended of course, and unless some more to show he was charged with the crime, must be protected, and it was the duty of the Court to prevent the public access of such articles which were likely to cause prejudice. The only doubt is the case was whether the Court might prevent the editor from going. The Court had come to the conclusion that in the circumstances it was not the case of the offence committed which was an offence both by the prosecution and editor, by inserting a list of £1000.

## APPLICATIONS TO PRESENT CASE

The prime plea of law then being shown, how ought they to be applied to the facts of this particular case? In my opinion, these principles precluded the publication

of the District Judge's letter pending the hearing of the motions made by the High Court. It was suggested by the respondent's friends that the letter was written by Mr. Kennedy in his private capacity, and not as District Judge. I think that assertion is incorrect. The letter was offered in evidence by the District Judge as the contents of his statement as to and reflecting the case to the High Court in the case. As my friend Mr. Raymond has pointed out, in fact, the letter follows the procedure laid down in the Great Ordinances of this Court, in cases of appeal submitted by a pleader (Sec. 2, 220) It very properly sets out what the District Judge considered to be the facts both for and against the pleader, and gives his reasons for bringing the matter before the High Court. Instead of his laid out facts as he would presumably have been asked by the High Court for further particulars before they took any action. The letter was here quite similar to those I set in other cases where the District Judge, in the exercise of his discretion, brings some matter before the Court with a view to the submission of a question of law. I may mention other and colleagues of the District Judge for the reasons given by the appeal before them, and the evidence of some appeal or subordinate evidence which has been passed by a subordinate Court and which the High Court alone can try or in certain circumstances. In the present case, the District Judge's letter contained the following which the respondent pleader in his motion submitted were reasons, that would be a matter for the decision of the hearing of the nature when all they had to say would be fully considered. But even if the letter was written by Mr. Kennedy in his private capacity, it is not likely it would make any substantial difference as regards a question of law. The letter would still have been and a most important part of the proceedings pending and the record therein, and I do not think that any substantial difference can be drawn between it and the other items of the record submitted by the petitioner asked in the case and in the way in which I have already referred. In my judgment, therefore, the publication of the letter was a Contempt of Court. That brings me to the remaining point on the new paper, containing the heading "O'Dwyer on the Abolition of Juries" which the letter was published. These comments are not only unnecessary on pending proceedings, but are of a purely entirely contemptuous and irresponsible character. They justify the use of the word in substance any doctrine which the High Court may come to at the end. They also amount in my opinion to what Lord Russell described as "infringements of the Judge's work" in the latter connection, the question whether the letter was written by Mr. Kennedy in his private or in his public capacity becomes immaterial, but as I have already stated, it was in my judgment written in his public capacity.

Accordingly, on the authorities I have already cited of so, these comments are clearly Contempts of Court and some would have the view to which Lord Russell referred in my judgment they constitute a serious Contempt of Court.

#### "NO PUBLIC DUTY."

We have carefully considered the various statements made by the respondents and several of them at the hearing

to give any intelligible explanation or answer for their conduct. There was no furthering. In the letter of the 11th December 1900, the respondent's friends intimated that on publishing and circulating the letter he performed a useful public duty at a time when there was a great famine and when even the publicity was being afforded by the popular press,—newspapers would answer that if that famine and popular press read it, it would be increased rather than diminished by ideas of the Lord Judge and that they could not in the public duty of any good citizen.

But there would seem to be some strange mis-conception on the minds of the respondents as to the legitimate functions of a pleader. Otherwise the respondent's friends would hardly have contended before us, as he is tried, that if a man brought a suit against a father and of a pleader thought that the such action was wrong, the pleader would be justified in leaving the case by to public notice in the public press, without showing that the suit was ill-founded. I need hardly say that this contention is an absurdity. It may, however, be that pleaders who are again found in England are imperfectly known or understood in India, and that the respondents have paid more attention to the liberty of the Press than to the duties which accompany that and every other liberty. This has much weight with me in concluding what under the Court ought to pass on this case.

We have large powers and an appropriate sense cannot determine to punish for such proceedings as we think fit and we cannot think of punishment as we may judge it but just on our powers were large as might be, I think, to see them with discretion and with moderation, remembering that this is my object, we have no room to be reluctant the due administration of justice for the public benefit.

In the present case the Court has very amply made manifest what we might not be supposed substantial, but on one point both of the respondents, but on the whole I think it is sufficient for the Court to state the law on which I hope will have no room for doubt in the future and to confer our order in severely reprimanding the respondents and warning them both as to their future conduct.

#### THE ORDER OF THE COURT

That accordingly is the order which I think we should pass in the present case.

The order of the Court will accordingly be, "The Court finds the charges proved. It severely reprimands the respondents and restores them both as to their future conduct."

#### MR. HATHWAY'S JUDGMENT

MR. JUSTICE HATHWAY in a separate but concurring judgment, after discussing the legal aspect of the case, made the following observations:

It is difficult to appreciate the position taken up by the respondents. They are a group of men with a popular knowledge, but have at the same time represented their constituents in relation to any government matter set out to them. It is possible that the Editors, the respondent's friends, did not realize that by so treating the law and their would be an insult if that were so, that it was not noticed by his particular, the respondent's friends. The respondents seem to have passed up a few branches but rather as private members of the law. It would therefore be sufficient in my opinion to reprimand them for their conduct in the law in their position, to severely reprimand them for their proceedings and to warn them of the position responsible by the High Court.

MR. JUSTICE HAYES concurred.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. E. Gouda)

17613

New Series }  
Vol. II, No. 12 }  
MADRAS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1932. }  
Price One Anna }  
Five Cents. }

## CONTENTS.

Notes	..	..	..	1
Imperial Citizenship Association	..	..	..	2
—				
Articles				
The Hyderabad Feud	..	..	..	3
The People's Non-Official Report	..	..	..	4
Indian Abroad	..	..	..	5
Reaction in South Africa	..	..	..	6

## Notes.

**Swagata**—Gajana is writhing up with excitement and enthusiasm at the prospect of having for her honored guest the post-lieutenant of Am. The *Salaya Parbat*, which stands in this city during the week, has added to its attraction by Dr. Deyrol's announcing to attend its opening assembly. We tender our heartiest welcome to the guest who has been a continuous source of inspiration to young India.

**Your pledge, Mr. George**—In view of the extra-ordinary collaboration and relations with which the Khilafat Deputies put their own before the Premier of England, the West, unresponsive and unresponsive reply of the latter is the more extremely to be regretted. Mr. Edward At put the necessary Muslim demand in the clearest and most dignified terms. He mentioned the measures and urged that an International Commission be appointed to enquire into the alleged situation. Congress government may then be awarded the real verdict. But Mr. Lloyd George would have nothing of this and indulged in lot of rhetorical phrasology against the adoption of stringent measures against Turkey. "Turkey has Germany and Austria had been beaten," and the Premier, "Germany and Austria have paid the penalty for defeat, Germany has had justice, partly terrible justice. Why should Turkey escape?"

In the welcome manner of the Premier and the Khilafat Deputies and its advances. He perhaps hoped that there is a plain implication reply to his query and that it is let our own pledges—pledges specific, 'unqualified' and 'absolute.' The words, were justice to Turkey must be measured with the pledged word and enhanced honor of the British Empire, otherwise what was the

idea of guaranteeing maintenance of the Turkish Empire, preservation of holy places and others all wanting that Khilafat in the question for the Muslim alone to decide. Besides the Premier should see that in making that rotten British justice to Turkey, he does not shatter those who have helped him to win the victory.

Mr. Lloyd George is ridiculously inconsistent. In the same breath in which he says that the Allies are making out nothing more or less than justice to Turkey, he claims to have 'very largely declined to the wishes of Indian Muslims.' We still hope that if the stated intentions of the allies are honest, if the pledged word and honor of the British Government is to be enhanced and if Muslim wishes are to be respected, the Turkish problem must be a friendly and amicable relation. In the same time we strongly urge our Muslim brethren not to lose heart. Every advance citizen should strengthen their resolution to spend the cause by financial help or in any way-based contribution.

**Anti-Slavery up in Amn**—It was to be expected, the Anti-Slavery men up in Amn against the Indians in South Africa. Of course they have been so, for the last decade or two but now that a Commission is waiting to inquire into the land and trading rights of Indians, the South African League—the only respectable Anti-Slavery organization in Transvaal—urgently circulating all anti-slavery throughout South Africa with a view to obtaining as many signatures as it can and then presenting it to Parliament "as a tangible expression of the feelings of the white people of the province upon the vital question."

What is this vital question and the tangible expression of the white people's feelings? The vital question is, of course, the so-called "Apartheid" and the tangible expression of feelings includes a policy of segregation apparently enforced. What does this policy amount to in plain, unperished language? It means that not only should every bit of voluntary and unexpressed legislation, in regard to the Indians, that is now in the Transvaal State Book, be referred throughout South Africa, but also that in (the Indians) should, steadily but surely, be deprived of whatever rights he has in respect of trade, property, freedom of movement

the. He is to be selected in downright language and method directly to hard and fast locations known as 'Lion's Bases.' That is what the draft plan from which we reproduce elsewhere and the speech of Mr. Phillips, the President of the League, passages from which also are reproduced on these pages, demand. How should we meet this challenge and take up the challenge thrown down by the League?

There is no doubt that it is a formidable and well organized agitation, and the League is going to put up a strong and strenuous fight to achieve it and end its ugly and aggressive policy unconditionally before the Commission that which we would be the last to underestimate the strength and aggressiveness of such opposing and subversive forces, we are not prepared, having regard to the 'suppressed' opposition and character of the League itself and the world, sweeping, and may we say, shortsightedness of its demands, to attach too much importance to the League's activities and allow our hopes to be dashed about a just and equitable solution of the Indian problem in the near future and an immediate redress of the grievances under investigation by the Commission, Nevertheless to be imprisoned in to be forewarned. The European Rulers will have powerful forces to count against them and it is up to the people and the Government of India to back them with all the support that they can command.

#### IMPERIAL CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION'S ACTIVITIES

The first report of the Imperial Citizenship Association, dealing with the five years' activities of the Association from 1915 August 1919, the date of its foundation, to 23rd December, 1919, has just been published. The Association has been doing its share of work in expounding the social, moral and economic conditions and safeguarding the civil rights of our countrymen abroad. We give below a brief summary of the report.

##### ORIGIN OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Association owes its existence to the South African Indian Relief Fund, organized in 1912, at the instance of the late lamented the Great Kwa-Nobela, with the late deceased Mr. N. J. Dube as President, and the Physician H. H. H. as Vice-President, for the purpose of helping our fellow countrymen in South Africa in their struggle against the Dutch Regime and the British Administration. The Honorary Secretaries of the South African Indian Relief Fund had at that time a substantial balance in their hands and a number of the subscribers to the Fund which was on the 3rd November, 1914, had no business in doing but the balance should be devoted to raising, organizing and maintaining the necessary interests and the well-being of Indians as equal subjects of the British Crown, in all British Overseas as well as foreign countries and a committee, to be called the South African Indian Committee, consisting of several leading

members, was appointed and authorized to form an Association for the purpose of "safeguarding the interests of Indian outside India," and this Association was accordingly formed.

##### ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The first act of the Association was to meet formally and discuss the work of Mr. Andrews in connection with unskilled labour in the Colonies.

The other questions which occupied the attention of the Association during the year were the deposition of seven Indians from Mauritius and the South African question.

Major Andrews and Purser having returned from their tour to Fiji early in 1918, their report was published by the Association and submitted to the Government of India. In February 1917, a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was called, presided over by the Hon. Mr. Bhabha, to protest against the proposed extension of unskilled labour to Fiji and to demand its immediate discontinuance. The ladies of Bombay also held a meeting of protest and a request was made to the Viceroy to receive a deputation of the Women of India to address H. H. personally on the question. The Association also decided to elect a committee to Mr. Andrews in his second deputation to Fiji.

Mr. Goshal's final book on the Inter-Departmental Committee's Report was the first item placed by the representatives of the Crown at the meeting on the 16th January, 1919.

At a meeting of the Executive of the Association held on the 23rd April the Hon. Mr. Andrews addressed the Committee on various aspects of the Indian Labour Problem and other questions which had come under his notice in the course of his late tour to Australia and Fiji. A deputation of the Executive of the Association, asking that subjects of Indian Origin were not "British subjects" was brought to the notice of the Committee at this meeting and it was decided to make a representation to the Government in that important question. The Committee was asked the completion of a sum of 1,000 in Fiji on the recommendation of the Hon. Mr. C. F. Andrews for the opening of a school at Fiji and for supplying other means for a year.

At the meeting Mr. G. W. Tubberville, Secretary of the Indian Association, Nairobi, East Africa, read a paper on the condition of Indians in British East Africa. The letter of the Hon. Mr. Pethicaudon on this same subject was read, and it was resolved that a representation be made to the Government of India asking them to move the Colonial Office with a view to remedy the grievances created by Mr. Tubberville and the Hon. Mr. Pethicaudon.

After recording his deep thankfulness to the British and Indian Governments for the abolition of Indentured Labour, the report says—

The Association has carefully considered the scheme proposed to be established in place of indentured labour and is of opinion that an industrial system is called for. It is to be hoped that the representatives of the people of this country will consider the weight and consideration they deserve.

## THE FUTURE PROGRAMME.

The other questions to which the Association, at different times during the last four years have not yet completed their official reports, but the Commission wishes to assure the public that the Association wishes and will continue to watch the interests of Indian students in India with the utmost vigilance and working possible will be left without any compromise the present status of our Indian countrymen, who have left their motherland with the obvious object of making their lives more tolerable than they thought was possible in their own country.

The Association then records its appreciation and gratitude for the work done by Messrs. Ardmore, Gandhi and Pankaj in helping the cause of Indians out of India and finally concludes—

The Association holds that the time is fast approaching when all the different questions, including with which the Association has been engaged, will be coming to the limit in the immediate future. The day of war and the party system, which, under the aegis of the political and advisory institutions of the Empire, had kept all differences and suspended all disputes, having come to an end, the old feelings of rivalry will again revive and the old wave of self-interest will hold these warring powers apart in the interests of the self-governing departments of the British Empire and probably also in all the countries of the world, with which India will be drawn in some kind of economic contact. And it is not an exaggeration to say that when India comes to the help of her own abroad, the lot of the latter will be unimpaired in the extreme.

## RECORDED THOUGHTS IN INDIAN APPELLA.

Even in the report as presented the South African Union Parliament has already passed an Act which cuts down the rights of Indians, just as these rights already are, of holding lands and trade licenses, and other legislative of the kind is expected to follow. A grant and agreement movement for the equal of all disabilities, new and old, is hereby called for, and must be at once taken on hand to conduct the stress of Imperial Citizenship which is done unacceptably hold. Attention to the Discoms, diplomatic representation to the various states concerned, a remarkable introduction of public opinion in India, with a view to strengthen the hands of the Government in India and England, all these, and more will be, important in the immediate future and your Committee appeals for being so far as authorising and providing for vigorous work to secure maintenance of the position of Indians in India, in order that complete removal of racial inequality and differential legislation of every kind may be achieved without delay.

## FINANCIAL POSITION.

On the 31st of December, 1929, the financial position of the Association was as follows—

Detailed accounts of the Cash value of Rs. 4, 20,000 lodged for safe custody in the Bank of Bombay in the name of the Treasurer under the name of Young India, Messrs. H. A. White, The Hon. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Esq., Sir Winston Murray, Secular, Mr. E. W. Srinivas and Mr. J. R. Patel. This amount and expenditure recorded in Rs. 12,810-0-0 and Rs. 18, 201-11-3 respectively and the balance in the Bank was 581-12-4.

## Young India

Amalohal, Pondicherry, 17th March, 1930

## THE SATYAGRAH WEEK.

(By B. K. Ghosh.)

First and foremost in the programme for the holy National Week I put fasting and prayer. I have said enough, to emphasize the importance of both these for the well-being of our national life. I speak of them from personal experience but writing to a friend as the very writer of prayer I came across a beautiful thing from Thyagarajah which I present to the readers of Young India. If perhaps I might correct him to a definite belief in the efficacy of prayer. Here is the gem.

- "How things are wrought by prayer
- "When this world's darkness, Windows let thy voice
- "Rise like a fountain for us night and day.
- "For what are men better than sheep or goats
- "That scrape a blind life from the brain,
- "If knowing God thy, life is made of prayer
- "Bless for themselves an others who will those friends
- "For in the whole world we live every way
- "Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

Throughout my meetings in India, I have had the privilege of moving with men of all creeds, of moving with thousands of women, hundreds upon hundreds of students. I have the usual with them national problems with a passion which I was unable to describe. I have found that we have not yet reached a genuine recognition of our national state. We have not had the discipline necessary for a realisation of that state and I venture to say that there is nothing so powerful as fasting and prayer that could give it. The only one thought apart of self-interest, humanity and maintenance of self without which there can be no real progress. I hope therefore that in the Satyagrah Week will open the Satyagrah Week with success fasting and prayer.

I do not wish during this week, to weigh in the usual routine part of Satyagrah. I would like us to contemplate truth and non-violence, and to appreciate this immortality. Instead of all of us regulated one here by the other and law of Satya and Ahimsa, there will be no room for greed or other passions. Our resistance comes into play when only a small body of men refuse to follow truth in the face of opposition it is difficult to know what is truth, when he is deluded as to the goal of moral problems, and how to proceed after in the shape of a vision in one's personal effort truth. There may well be differences of opinion as to the advisability of preaching civil resistance as a social struggle which devoted to national uplift, in which one seeks the

co-operation of all without distinction of party, class or creed.

Beyond the paper and feeling on the 6th and the 12th we have the resolution for the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial. I trust that complete organisation would be set up in every province, in every district, and every town or village.

The third part of the activity is represented by three meetings during the week all over India on the stated dates, whereas I have suggested the passing of certain resolutions, viz. on the Rowlett Act which gave rise to the Satyagraha movement, the Khilafat question which by Hindu associations attracts Hindu-Muslim unity and what may be called the Jallianwala Bagh resolution to be passed on the 12th April calling upon the Government to take such measures as may be necessary to prevent a repetition of the tragedies that were witnessed during Martial Law regimes and which were spread over before the inauguration of Martial Law by the unlawful massacre of the 12th. I suggest the following resolutions for adoption:—

#### For the 6th April.

1. This meeting of the citizens of . . . . . hereby places on record its emphatic opinion that there will be no peace in the land until the Rowlett Act is repealed and therefore appeals to the Government of India to introduce at the earliest opportunity a bill repealing that act.

#### For the 6th April.

2. This meeting of Hindu Mahasabhas and others, the inhabitants of . . . . . trusts that the Khilafat question will be solved consistently with the just demands of the Moslems of India and with the solemn pledges of his Majesty's ministers and this meeting records its opinion that in the event of solution decision being arrived at, it will be the duty of every Indian to withdraw co-operation from the Government until the pledges are fulfilled and Rowlettism abolished completely.

#### For the 12th April.

3. This meeting of the inhabitants of . . . . . of opinion that whilst such movements elsewhere, although commended after grave provocation, were worthy of admiration, the deliberate and calculated manner, without warning, by General Dyer, of unprovoked, unarmed and otherwise defenceless men at Jallianwala Bagh was an unexampled act of barbarity and hopes that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will take such steps as will render impossible a repetition of such barbarity and other similar barbarities committed by responsible officers in the Punjab during the period of Martial Law administrations and hopes that recommendations made by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress will be carried out in their entirety.

#### THE PUNJAB NON-OFFICIAL REPORT.

The much expected report is published. The Commissioners may congratulate themselves on the methodical manner in which they have approached their work and the uniformity with which they have handled their difficult task. The status of the Commission must give added weight to a report which in otherwise capable of standing on its merits. The Commissioners have not travelled beyond the evidence they had in their possession. The reader is therefore, if he is so inclined, able to test the conclusions for himself. The present resolutions are neither weak nor weak. The Commissioners boldly ask for the repeal of the Viceroy and the dismissal from service of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and other officers. These are the five recommendations against which there may be some opposition. But the Commission have given clear and unambiguous reasons for such recommendations. And if the veracity of the facts set forth by them is not challenged, their recommendations are unshakable.

It is not without some pain that we feel ourselves in agreement with the recommendation for the Viceroy's recall. We believe the opportunity to be a cultured English gentleman coming well by India and anxious to do the right thing. But there are not the only qualifications for the high Viceroyal office. Lord Chelmsford has undoubtedly shown a lack of imagination. He has applied to his Indian office the traditions of a colonial constitutional Governor who has inevitably to be guided by the advice of his ministers, is politically precluded from taking the initiative and taking bold policies, if he affects them at all, not in virtue of office but through administrative and moral resources. A Governor in the self-governing colonies acts by making good suggestions, even proving them on his ministers, and tries to move public opinion not by exercise of authority but by making useful friends at social and semi-public functions. The very qualities therefore that enable a Colonial Governor to make a success of himself especially Lord Chelmsford for the Viceroyal office. The Viceroy of India has massive powers, he is an arbiter, he dominates the Executive Council & moves suggestions from him is like a legal machine. He initiates and gives effect to policies. He expresses, with the very language of the profession, the administration of the profession. He has, therefore, to be a strong ruler, with great imagination, with psychic sympathy which he is never asked to show. With all the qualities of the best Lord Chelmsford has shown himself to be weak at critical junctures. Instead of leading his colleagues he has allowed himself to be ruled by them. He has allowed his personal administration to do as they have liked. The result was a variety of policies—localism, localism or centralism as Rowley even under provocation, repression, persecution and intolerance without pretensions in the Punjab. Such a confused shroud is impossible under a central Govt.

agreement with a deal at the centre who knows his mind and who knows how to expose his will on his subordinate. Lord Chelmsford has equally failed and so we believe that the Commissioners would have failed in their duty if they had hesitated to advise, with the facts before them, the result of the expediency the Viceroy.

With reference to the Budget, too, the Commissioners have "if anything" erred on the side of moderation. But perhaps it would be better for the public to derive the feelings after the publication of the report of the official Commission "to be in the evidence collected by the non-official Commissioners great, we feel that no other feelings were possible. Indeed going through the evidence we can see a stimulus although to refrain from stating conclusions which could not be absolutely supported by overwhelming array of facts.

## INDIAN AHEAD.

### THE NEW AFRICA.

So long as the war lasted, the position of our country was almost neutral for the moment, to be more exact political and military neutrality. Party issues were called by both the dominating party and the satellites there was a mutual respect and all disputes and differences were not made in the interests of a bigger issue—winning the war for the Empire. But the war having come to an end, the issue also seems to have ended and we have had ample signs of this during the period of last year and since. The feelings of rivalry have begun to revive, the old rivalry of class interests to have their way and once again we are dragged into the same struggle as the self-governing Dominion and Protectorates of the British Empire, chiefly the two African. But a greater vigilance on our part to safeguard the true rights and interests of our fellow-countrymen abroad, coupled with a more liberal outlook and sympathetic attitude, owing to the fact, of course of the responsible European nations and administrations has made the situation and smoothed the task of bringing about permanent and real understanding and settlement. Things have steadily begun to take a favourable turn in East Africa. We have discovered that we have in some of the European nations there, few-headed race-able and honest men—men whose chief prejudices and interests—who are willing to stand by the side of their weaker Indian brother-natives, against the oppressor majority, the selfish, lawless charges and fabrications of a nation of the white community. The protests and bold statements of men like Messrs Robert Chelmsford, G. H. W. Mackenzie and E. Coleman opposing the anti-Indian agitation, are beginning to have their effect. The latest number of East African Chronicle reports that there was a marked difference in the attitude of the latest session of the Commission of European Associations as indicated with previous sessions the "Indian Question" being

comparatively far advanced from the agenda of the Government. The almost unanimous support of the African, raised by resolutions at their election a liberalistic title has high was abandoned by the maintenance of Nairobi, Uganda and the Coast. And there are other signs which show that the angle of view is beginning to change gradually if not all at once.

In South Africa also the prospect is hopeful. A more or less correct idea that of General Smuts' has been taken in the growing list of them who have come out on behalf of justice to the Indians in Africa. General Smuts has openly declared that while a member of the War Cabinet, he had great opportunities of knowing the feelings of Indians, and that they have broadened his outlook, his sympathy and his respect for Indian fellow soldiers in Africa.

But while all this may be so about the hopeful outlook, let it be remembered that it is all due to our own constant hammering and constant vigilance. It is no exaggeration to say that the timely and effect work and untiring labour of India, Mr. Ashurst, was chiefly if not entirely responsible for the happy change of views in East Africa. The untiring labour and skill with which he investigated the conditions of Indians in East Africa, and the changes of social, domestic, political, and other, the education system in which he proved to the full that these changes were utterly necessary and judicious and feasible, were widely copied by various measures of repression against Indians all the land its inevitable reaction against the selfish propaganda. It woke up the sympathies of far-sighted and honest British natives and put heart into them to speak out.

In the case of South Africa also, it is the firm and moral attitude of the Government of India backed by an emphatic and vocal public opinion that has acted as a check upon the former uncharitable activities of the selfish and greedy white attitudes of the colony.

Thus it will be seen that the need for more and more hopeful outlook for the existence of united vigilance and a constant hammering on the part of the public and a firm and moral attitude on the part of our Government, becomes the greater. The only hopeful sign that we see to-day should, indeed, no one into the false belief that our task is done, our object achieved, and the rights and the interests of our countrymen abroad guaranteed. We have a far heavier task before us. The little response that our efforts have met with, on the contrary, revealed to us the further necessity of action and agitation to secure proper and rightful status for our countrymen in the land of their toil. We have only made a beginning. We have to strive to achieve the end, May our Association like the Imperial Citizenship Association and other bodies remain for ever wonderful of them and being useful, enlarge the sphere, increase their numbers and, justify their existence to the fullest possible measure.

# SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

## OUR HOPES AND FEARS.

### ANTI-INDIAN VIEW

At the South African League Congress held in Pretoria, Transvaal, in the first week of February last the chairman, Mr. L. F. Phillips, delivered an important speech, setting forth the reasons for the attitude of the League and its members policy. We give below important extracts from his speech which we owe to the Times of India.

The Congress was convened in order to consider the South African Bill which it is proposed to present to Parliament, and the form of which is also given later. Before proceeding to discuss the petition, Mr. Phillips outlined those views which, in his opinion, govern the following questions—

Why is it essential our restrictions laws, prohibiting immigration of persons on the Witwatersrand, prohibiting residence in all our Transvaal towns, the Indians are regarded as disrupting public life, have ruined and ruined us though such law did not exist, and has required by special legislative action which they have by their wrong.

The first cause is "immigration, more definitely in the past of the Witwatersrand in the demand to avoid difficulties which involve long international various parts of the Empire are being solved." The second cause is "the activities of the wholesale trading concerns in South Africa." Mr. Phillips on this point says—

If the volume of trading done by the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape is considered, it must come that the leading industries of India to those houses must receive many millions sterling. I have indicated to several old traders of what the amount of money may be, but what you remember that more than 50 per cent. of the trade in India is in the hands of the Indians, that is the outside towns of the Transvaal the proportion is just as great, that is the town of Johannesburg there are some 4,000 that 4,000 Indians holding houses of various sorts, you will appreciate that the volume of trade takes place among the wholesale houses affected by the question, need be enormous. This merchandise appears not only to those houses in South Africa but to similar houses in the United Kingdom and in India. It shows a powerful influence on that question, one which cannot be lightly dismissed and one which gives us weight.

The third cause is the "anxiety of the people, never to the question."

### THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

Mr. Phillips next considered the magnitude of the problem. He says

In the matter of immigration it does not appear on page of the Act of 1923 that the door has been closed and kept closed, as in other countries.

In 1918 there were 15,000 male Indians employed by mines or enterprises in the Transvaal. By the year 1938 this number had increased to 14,000. Now that would be nothing enough even if the figure represented the educational level of the problem. But I have no hesitation in saying that they do not. The belief is held that of a mass of the Indian population in the Transvaal were to

### SYMPATHETIC UTTERANCES AND PROMISES OF SOUTH AFRICAN NOTABLES

In his speech at the Imperial Conference held in 1917, at which the Resolution on Reciprocity of Treatment between India and the Dominion was passed, General Smuts, on behalf of South Africa, said—

"In South Africa there has been the fundamental trouble, that the white community have been afraid of opening the door too wide to Indian immigration. We are not a homogeneous population. We are a white minority in a black continent, and the anxiety in South Africa has for many years been excited by the fear that to open the door to another non-white race would ruin the position of the few whites in South Africa very disagreeable indeed. It is because of just that, and not because of any other attitude towards the question of Asia, that they have adopted an attitude which sometimes, I am forced to admit, has ruined the coloured folk, although not the majority of white men. Luckily we have got over those difficulties. The rest of the late the trouble in South Africa did an enormous amount of good. It was followed later by the visit of the Honorable Mr. Bhabhani, a distinguished public servant of India, who also caused the Government to overcome great difficulties in the previous years ago. The result has been the passage of legislation to which both the white and the Indian communities agreed. There is still a difference of opinion on administrative matters of detail, most of which are referred to the Honorable Mr. Lord (Sir) Bhabhani's recommendations in the presence of Mr. Bhabhani (the Honorable) which is before us, but I had seen and I have always felt sure, that even the white community in South Africa were not of the view that they were going to be flooded by uneducated immigration from India, all the other questions would be considered subsidiary and would become easily and probably soluble. That is the position in which we are, now that the law which formerly closed the matter there has been removed, the great principle of reciprocity agreement for which they have contended is in our hands. First, with the consent of the Indian population in South Africa and the Indian newspapers in India, and, that being so, I think that the door is open now for a general and amicable solution of all the other administrative matters which occurred and which will never from now to come. Of course the main improvement has been the calling of India to the Council Chamber of the Empire. Now, if any genuine peace deficit of treatment, we can discuss it in a friendly way and try to find a reasonable solution, and I am sure we shall never find it. I do not do not remember that, amongst the administrative problems which occurred in our country, the question of India will trouble us much in future."

Lord Selous, on the Emperor's behalf, at the Imperial Conference of 1917 mentioned Law No. 1 of 1923 as "an excellent" and "agreed" in the spirit of modern legislation." Mr. Bhabhani on behalf of the South African Union

less to-day, they would be found to exceed 25,000 miles.

In Johannesburg, where the number of population exceeds 100,000, in Durban more than 100,000, they are now hundreds on the year 1910. And the same progress throughout our Indian Union is to be traced on other towns in the Transvaal. On the Witwatersrand, it is claimed by its manufacturers that capital works are making steadily. In Johannesburg there are already over 4,000 probably 4,500 and possibly 5,000 Machine Tools of various sorts in various sizes, besides the heavy things, through the various stages of commercial operations up to a considerable number of wholesale importing houses.

In the whole of the Transvaal it is claimed that their export accounts to night million sterling. If this progress during the short space of 23 years is continued, who may wonder the progress which may be made in the next half century?

In Natal to-day there are three Indians in every two white men, and they are employed in practically every trade. It is my opinion to believe that the time will come in our history when the white workers' place in South Africa will be a thing of the past. It is my earnest goal to believe that our experience in what has been **INDIANIZATION**.

Turning to a consideration of the proposal to repatriate all Indians, Mr. Phillips does not explain it on two grounds. First, it would not be practical, and, secondly, it would not be just. The solution of the problem lies in the suggestion of the Draft Petition, of which the outstanding point is "aggregation separately married and." Mr. Phillips continues to follow—

Now aggregation is insisted upon on three grounds which demand the policy involving the terms of our Transvaal Laws. The Indians quickly demonstrated the existing conditions under which they were proposed to live, and under which they continue to live to this day. Their mode of living is a menace to public health.

Segregation is insisted upon on moral grounds. We desire as a people to associate white people, and the growing numbers and the increasing wealth of Indians added in these few instances with white people by intermarriage constitute in our view, a menacing the future of our race. The real point is, "Are we determined to remain a white race?"

This aggression must be rigorously enforced if we are to maintain our rule and control over the vastness of our own country. The natives of South Africa, especially those in Natal, are people of a class and colour the same as those over. Judged by the only test they would apply, which is physical attributes, they are classed rather in their own.

The States are shocked to appreciate that there are various classes among the Indians in South Africa, but the position in the bulk appears to the States is in other way than this, that people whose he claims with himself are granted privileges, which are denied to him. He knows that they are not of his country, that they have no national right in his land. He knows that the Indians have not developed any love of country to him. He knows that we resist him to his business and to our Indians.

Our reader will be able to judge from the above how the very gravity of the situation is accentuated by Mr. Phillips in introducing the Draft Petition, and how the racial attitude taken by the Anti-Indians.

Government's promised sympathetic consideration of the Memorandum.

"It is only fair to say, and it is the truth, that we have found that Indians up our coast in South Africa who have in some parts a very substantial portion of the population are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens, and it is our duty to us, as Lord Dufferin has expressed it, that they are treated as human beings with feelings like our own and on a proper measure. —As far as we are concerned in South Africa we are in agreement with all proposals in the Draft Memorandum in the consideration of any Government and we will give it the most sympathetic consideration that we can seriously."

Referring to the address pronounced to him by the Northern Indian Commission, Lord Dufferin in a typical speech made the following proposal, observations—

With the improvement of the status of India, the position of the Indians in other places will be better. Before my return, I heard that the Indian Trading Act had been passed in the Union Parliament and that there had been a good deal of excitement among the Indians here and which had also caused a great deal of feeling in India. But the Government had decided to appoint a commission to inquire over the interests of Indians in that respect my speech to them. Some of you think I had done upon Indians, but that is not so. I took up to them. They come from a very old civilization—much older than ours. They are able to hold their own. We have no skill either in South Africa, and we are careful what community cannot withstand a great influx of Indians. But since the Indians are here, I think they should have the treatment as all parts of the Union. We have to be made by side by side and we must endeavor to understand each other's standpoint so that we may live and grow together. We are members of one family and belong to the same Empire.

Living in the midst of white people, and in a white land,—no, he is probably willing to say, why should these things be?

We demand segregation on various grounds. The wealth of every one here is largely derived from its agriculture and it is a legitimate reward of the people contributing their own. The one thing the Indians is demanding in South Africa to-day is that they have land and opportunity and be well equipped for the wealth to be derived from this source. Now can we support segregation on white land if we are forced to admit this possibility?

There is segregation whether it is restricted to 1910 times by the present and for some years to come, and naturally apply to those trading also. This League, I believe, is proposed to administer that those trading rights which are now in existence shall be allowed to remain during the term of the present holder and be allowed to be exercised on their present sites as long as such a holder shall live. But if we are to discuss fairly to this measure such a holder should be compelled to find a successor for his own people. He should not be allowed to transfer his business. Upon his death, it should come and when the holder dies each business should be sold him. In other words we are in the ultimate determination of the Indians under the terms and conditions whatever they are business attached to their past lives so which they would be segregated. (Indian view.)

## THE IDLEY FRIENDS

The following is the draft petition referred to above—  
To the Honorable the Speaker and Members,  
House of Assembly,  
Union of South Africa.

The petition of the Congress of the South African League representing Kaffirpeoples, Chamber of Commerce, Society of Indian Business and White inhabitants of the Transvaal, sheweth—

Humbly sheweth,

That the growing numbers and influence of the Jewish community in the Transvaal constitutes a serious menace to the moral and economic well being of the White inhabitants of the Province.

That the several and publicly expressed contempt for and treatment and present actions and changes of the laws of this Province by Jewish men a serious reflection upon the administration and tend to cast into the minds of the large non-Jewish population a lack of respect for the laws and institutions of this country.

That the policy of the other Dominion of the British Empire is one of respect and tolerance.

That every attempt on the part of the Transvaal Government and of the Union Government to deal with this question has resulted in a curtailment of the rights of the White community without in any way bringing equality to the position.

That in every instance the assumed separation of rights by Jewish to the Transvaal has originated from their infringement of the laws which administration has been conducted by the Government by means of its duty to enforce such laws. In consequence, Parliament has been compelled to pass legislation, imposing disabilities the imposition of penalties by Jewish inhabitants to that their was illegal.

That the speedy which has proceeded hitherto on the part of the Government in enforcing the laws of the Transvaal, discriminating between Whites and Indians is regarded as a direct cause of the dissatisfaction that is daily made among the White inhabitants of the Transvaal.

That your petitioners regard a strictly regulated system of registration as the only remedy for a time being which is necessary, in danger to the nation.

That your petitioners are convinced of the failure of several administrative and legal upon Government to do anything such above remedy by continuing to increase the duty of enforcing the laws which are already in existence in this Province.

That in the opinion of your petitioners the lowering level of the Cape Province, whereunder the granting, withholding or removal of trading licenses in the sole

privilege of Monopolists and other local bodies should be accorded for this Province.

That your petitioners regard the possibility of granting to Jewish legal title to the franchises which Government of the Transvaal with given opportunities however, as they do, that the granting of such title would constitute an unnecessary necessity to the Indian community and perpetuate the wrong which their presence in the market of the White causes.

That in the opinion of your petitioners the rapid growth of Jewish Trading throughout the Transvaal country will upon the economic responsibility of successful competition by White traders has made it imperative that legislation be immediately passed in the direction of enforcing a trading license law which on the death or insolvency of the holder thereof, making it inadvisable and unprofitable to purchase in respect of which it is granted.

That in view of the decision of the case of the Emergency Manpower vs Debus and Gordon that Indian traders and their employees who fall within the terms of Section 1, Act 21, 1919, are legally entitled to trade in any where in Government territory and in view of the fact that the question of such treatment was widely debated and contemplated by Parliament, legislation be introduced as a matter of urgency to prevent such traders.

That in view of the decision of the Supreme Court, Transvaal Provincial Division, in the case of the Emergency Manpower vs Debus, Ltd, wherein the registered title to immovable property acquired by an Indian Company before the 1st May, 1919, was cancelled, legislation be passed in a matter of urgency, granting to such Company a period of two years in which to dispose of such property, or as provided in the case of companies operating adversely since the 1st May, 1920.

That in view of the fact that the attention is held by the inhabitants of the Transvaal that there has been a marked increase in the number of Indians in this Province, Government take steps to restrict, via the right of Indigo and Jewish property residing in the Transvaal to be so resident and deposit such as may be found to be in illegal residence.

And your petitioners as it duly bowed will ever pray.

## SIGNATURES.

All communications regarding subscriptions, should be directed to the Manager, "Young India", Church Hill, Pioneer Club, Johannesburg.

Our rates of subscriptions.

(payable strictly in advance.)

Annual in India (cash postage) Four Rupees.

Special India " " Eight Months.

Single Copy (postage extra) One anna.

and all communications and postal matter to be carried on the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Satyaprasadchandra, Johannesburg.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by H. E. Searles)

17618

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 12.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY, 1906

Price One Anna  
Per Copy.

### CONTENTS.

Notes	..	..	..	1
Announcements	..	..	..	5
The English Question	..	..	..	9
Mr. Balakrishna's visit	..	..	..	13
Madame Cama's story	..	..	..	15
Letters and East Africa	..	..	..	17-18

(By Mr. C. F. Andrews)

### NOTICE.

All communications regarding advertisements, orders, etc. should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", Chanda (Sa, Pander Paha, Almora).

Our rates of advertisements

(payable strictly in advance)

Annual or twice (with postage) Four Rupees  
 Outside India .. .. . Eight Rupees.  
 Single Copy (postage extra) One Anna,  
 and all manuscripts and printed matter to be inserted  
 in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should  
 be addressed to Subjapokharam, Shimoga.

### Notes.

#### REMEMBER

- (1) 4th and 12th April for listing and payment.
- (2) The Jubbulpore Bazaar for collecting the loan between 4th and 12th April.
- (3) The meetings regarding the Banked Act, the EICIS and the Bazar.

**A Noteworthy Story—**Madame Cama, one of the most celebrated persons of India and the most popular leader of India, has announced her visit to a letter addressed to the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi and forwarding statements worthy of a high-souled Karaman. The Madam is an orangutan. He is a man known for his education. He has interests refrained from taking part in politics. He is a man with a stake in the country. When such a man announces his visit, he is not less a significance which we hope the Government will not overlook. We believe that the Madam's visit is only a precursor of many such acts. It is not an act of cooperation. We think the Government may

length of the Madam's visit. They may think that her intention is to be kind and that the Government will be more the worse for having to receive her name from the list of Directors. We were the Government's against considering my such great leader. For the community the Madam's visit is a symbol of work. It is a protest to a general withdrawal of cooperation from the Government and its unscrupulous policies.

**Mr. Andrews' return—**Mr. Andrews has returned from his African visit. He has done great excellent work both in South Africa and East Africa. He has brought to light a situation in East Africa, which is serious enough to require the prompt action by the Government of India. The Indian officials there have a right which is superior to that of their trustees. And yet the outlook for them is so dark as it is possible for it to be. In South Africa Mr. Andrews has explained the Indian regulations, has given their rights against the well-to-do colored a definite shape, has met many European officials, interviewed Mr. Erasmus Robertson and told the Indian community with hope that such a remedy is in their hands. The inspiring view can be created. The suggestion that is now being has the opportunity of creating a great wrong done to a body of men who have suffered well of South Africa. But whatever the result, Mr. Andrews by his visit to Africa has added materially to the many services rendered by him to the land of his adoption.

**The Spinning Wheel—**The readers will recollect that the 2nd March, last was the date fixed for awarding Mr. Karaman's prize of Rs. 1,000 for the best spinning wheel capable of turning out yards more than the quantity turned by the present wheel. Only one competitor sent in their invention. This came up to the required standard. At the same time two others, one from Kanada and the other from Orissa, Punjab, brought wheels which were full of promise. The officials themselves required time for perusing their inventions. It has therefore been decided to extend the time to the 20th September during which period it is open to others to enter the competition. We hope that many others will do so. At the same time we would urge artists against making the trial unless they have some technical knowledge of spinning wheels and understand well spinning. A few technical knowledge combined with appliances may show being about the desired result.

## Young India

Almohabad, Wednesday, 7th April, 1920.

### THE FOREIGN SENTENCES

(By M. K. GANDHI)

The commissioners appointed by the Congress Foreign Sub-committee have in their report accused His Majesty the Viceroy of criminal want of imagination. His Excellency refused to commute two death sentences out of five as a due observance of the maxim. The rigidity of the appeal by the Feroz Council do more prove the guilt of the condemned than their innocence would have been proved by quashing the proceedings before the Martial Law Tribunal. Moreover, those sentences were under the Royal Proclamations in accordance with its interpretation by the Foreign Secretary. The members of Council were not free to say private queries into the sentences and their victims. The silence given though a vow, was purely political and connected under constraint. His Highness's pardon has been taken for the murders and arson. In the circumstances commensurate distance reference of the death sentences. The popular belief forgives the view that the condemned men are innocent and have not had a fair trial. His execution has been so long delayed that hanging at the ways would give a rude shock to Indian society. Any Viceroy with imagination would have at once commuted sentences of the death sentences—not as Lord Chelmsford. In his administration, certainly, the demands of justice will not be satisfied if at least some of the condemned men are not hanged. Public feeling will be acute for nothing. We shall still hope that either the Viceroy or Mr. Montagu will commute the death sentences.

But if the Government will generously act, if they carry out the sentences, the people will equally act if they give way to anger or grief over the hanging of it has deliberately to take place. Before we become a nation possessing an effective voice in the councils of nations, we must be prepared to contemplate with equanimity, not a damned individual innocent man and woman but many thousands before we obtain a status in the world that shall not be surpassed by any nation. We hope therefore that all concerned will take rather than less hearted trial hanging as an ordinary affair of life.

[Since the above was in type, we have received the cruel news. At least M. K. the Viceroy has unconditionally given the rude shock to his society. I received by the letter to take heart-comple of the individual sentenced, V. I.]

### MR. SAVIROBANATH TAGORE

The want of the greatest part of the way to Gujarat, is no small event, and Gujarat has become itself by extending to the Port's royal sentence in the capital. The day sentences others by the

people and have touched the heart's heart. His address to the Sahitya Parishad ten years ago, it includes the loftiest sentiments. Every line of it is proof of the religious spirit pervading his effort. It is worthy of the Port and the common. His address to Calcutta on the subject of modern education is a fine token of his noble courtesy and humanity. He had to speak strongly in Almohabad with its conservatism and its sixty-old walls. He had to tell Almohabad that the search after gold must be subordinated to the search after God. He performed his task with consummate skill by denouncing the officials of Calcutta. We hope that the people of Gujarat will take to heart the Port's message. That would be its best appreciation.

### BAKSHI AHMEDKHAH'S STOP.

The following is the text of the letter addressed by Bahadur Ahmadkhan to the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi —

It is not unknown to you how quiet and peaceful the Indian Mohammedans have been throughout the period of the war and in spite of the long-standing and continuous growing troubles connected with the Ottoman Empire, which have been taking place everywhere the Mohammedans of the war, they have not made themselves responsible for the slightest act of violence in any part of the country. On the other hand, they have during the war fought for the British Government in the Darkest, Syria, Mesopotamia and the other parts of the Ottoman Empire. They believed that their holy places would remain safe as they had been promised, but in reality none of them is so their lands, the holy Mecca, the holiest of all the Muslim holy places and Medina, which our holy Prophet is buried, are not in their real name, under British Empire. Jerusalem has been wrested from the Mohammedans of a being given to the Jews, all the holy places of Iraq have been directly under the British Government and the remaining portions of Jerusalem which is a great deal in the holy land since. The solemn pledges held out regarding Constantinople and Thessalonica being returned even to be recovered in the hands, for the British and Allied forces have actually occupied the east of Constantinople and it is proposed that it should remain under the Allied guns. The Mohammedans of this country have adopted all the constitutional means that they could think of in order to bring to the notice of the British Government their just demand, but as land has been paid to their rights, and even the inevitable measures of their respect has not been attended to. In these circumstances as a humble Mohammedan I have decided to deliver myself of all the long-remembered upon me by the Government and I return herewith the gold medal of Honor—fixed together with the two silver medals of the Companion's Orders of England and India, and herewithward I give up the title of Bahadur-Mahdi.

I hope you will be so good as to forward this letter together with the medals in the Hand of the Local Government and ask him to receive my name from the list of Muslims.

As this matter concerns the public eye, I am commending it to the press.

## INDIA AND EAST AFRICA. THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT.

(By Sir G. F. Anderson.)

TRANSLATED FROM GERMAN BY ECONOMIST.

It is stated again and again, in important documents published in East Africa that the Indian is actually retarding the economic progress of the African native, that he has taken out of the African's own hands the chief opportunities for self-advancement in industry and trade. It is pointed out, that on the Western coast of Africa, where there are no Indian artisans or traders, the Africans have learnt to undertake skilled work for Europeans, under European guidance and supervision. But in East Africa, where there are many Indians, who are cleverer than the African natives, the Indian comes in at all points between the European and the African. He is thus, as belonging to a 'more civilised race' (to quote the Economic Commission Report), in a position of vantage and is able to keep all the trade and industry in his own hands and permanently to depress the African.

The European, if it will, in order to work his own machines, at the moment, employs the Indian who is on the spot, instead of instructing the African. But if the Indian were out of the way, the European would be obliged, either to employ the native, or else to undertake the work himself.

It is further argued that the Indian is a poor workman and a poor workman. He is also said to be unindustrious in business. His influence over the native is bad. If the African were directly under the influence of the European, it would be far better for all concerned, and things would rapidly improve.

For these and many other reasons, it is urged, the employment of Indians in East Africa has been a mistake. It would have been much better never to have brought them out at all. In South Africa, that mistake has been discovered in time. It must be put right in other parts of Africa also. No more Indians must be allowed; they must be excluded all along the coast. East Africa must fall into line with her sister colonies in the South. Just as South Africa has shut the door against the Indian, so East Africa must shut the door also.

It may be well, at this point to recall the exact words of the Economic Commission Report. They run as follows:—

"The African is not doing enough to prepare to stand against the competition of the more civilised race. So long as that race is engaged to keep her to standards by supplying her with all the goods which he is the path of advancement, he must be enabled to be a more honest and skilful worker.... On purely economic grounds we submit that the admission of the Indian into East Africa was a cardinal error of policy. It involved the economic degeneration of the African over a large part of Africa and the consequent retardation of progress for the sake of a... reached to be but a

temporary convenience. In our view the error ought gradually, but without any unnecessary delay, to be rectified by similar steps to those by which the same error is being rectified in Natal."

The Report again speaks of the presence of the Indian as depriving the African of "all incentives to industry and opportunities of advancement."

It is significant that the Commission of Amateurs' 'Fetters on Indian' articles, not once only, but many times over, phrases that are identical with those of the Economic Commission Report. For instance, one of its main heads of indictment reads as follows:—

"Whereas Indian competition deprives the African of all incentives to industry and opportunities of advancement"

### INDIA BEING A FOREIGN BURDEN.

As the Commission of Amateurs' 'Fetters on Indian' was published some months before the Economic Commission Report, it is clear that the non-official members of the Commission, such as Major Duggan and Lord Chalmers, not only were aware of their own role in the Indian Question the Chairman and the other official members of the Commission, but also intended never to desert, as a great measure, the 'Indian' position of the Report. In this matter, if one may judge by internal evidence, official opinion has been led by non-official opinion and not vice versa. It is true that Colonel Amery, on behalf of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has denied in the House of Commons any Government responsibility for the findings of the Economic Commission. This denial, however, must not be taken as changing the whole question. In spite of Colonel Amery's words, the main conclusions of the Report are likely to influence the administration. Then, at some later date, when the pressure of non-official opinion in East Africa grows weighty and a momentary opportunity presents itself, legislation may be hurried through. The Indians have no safeguard whatever at the present time.

The situation now brought about in East Africa by the terms of present official and non-official is a clearly defined policy of African Indian exclusion is one of the most striking signs of the times. The people of India would be very foolish indeed, if they were led to sleep by Colonel Amery's assurance in the House of Commons. It was negative, not positive, and such negative answers are not seldom explained away, when over-whelming pressure is brought to bear from the other side.

### EXCLUSION OF THE EUROPEAN.

The Economic Commission's members were all of them Europeans. There was, as I have already related, not a single Indian Commissioner appointed, no Indian evidence was taken. It is therefore hardly to be wondered at, if there is no mention whatever in the Report concerning the exploitation of the East African native by the Europeans. Yet this question should have been taken up first of all by an independent Economic Commission dealing with East Africa.

The one of the tasks that humanity is undertaking to accomplish in the present generation is the long neglected duty of affording to the African native some progress for the national uplift he is of their country, in European interests, which has followed European conquest. In no detailed phrase, but in broad fact, the African has only too often been made a mere labourer and drainer of water. Through three centuries of slavery and through one century of many varied forms of forced labour, the European has made use of his possessions in Africa in order to make money quickly. He has first taken possession of African lands and then employed every effort, short of slavery itself, in order to compel the native to work on those lands for his master's profit.

#### OUR NEW OUTLOOK.

All this kind of thing was regarded with complacency and even with approval in past generations, when glory was attached to ruthless military conquest and barbaric exploitation. But it cannot possibly be regarded thus to-day, after the realisation that have been made during the last war, unless, God forbid, we are to go back to those days again. The whole ethics and underlying principles of 'conquests and 'Empires' and 'possessions' have been changed. The mythology of the human race does not stand where it was. We have gained a new outlook. Our perspective now is different.

It is doubtful if, in the long run, the exploiting of Central and South America is the most profitable and worthwhile business, and the flowing of the spices traffic upon China at the point of the bayonet during the whole of the nineteenth century, have been more disadvantageously incurred on themselves, and destructive of morality in the countries affected, than the grossly European exploitation of Africa which has not yet come to an end. The events which have taken place in the twentieth century on the Pelagos Group, among the Herosoes in the South West, in Angola in the Portuguese west plantations and in the recruiting of native labour for and wide for the East Indies,—in various typical examples from different European possessions—have only been the natural sequence of a long series of earlier exploitations which go back to the old slave-making days.

The treatment of the human race will not endure much longer those wrongs which have been so ruthlessly committed by European soldiers and sailors, by European mine owners, and by European trading companies.

#### THE OTHER SIDE.

I do not for one moment wish to suggest that this is the sole record of European conquest in Africa. That would be a wholly one-sided impression. There is a whole world of human and self-willed, of honest work and devotion to duty, among administrators, missionaries and many others, which has gone far to redeem much that is altogether 'of the north-easterly.' There has also been the successful application of modern sci-

ence to the problems of mechanical transport leading to their solution, the opening up of great highways of communication from one end of Africa to the other, the stamping out of innumerable horrors and diseases of their wretched negroes, the gradual abolition of land-holding and slave-raiding, the uplifting of African to African cities to modern centres both in man and brain, the lessening of the long dreary episodes of life by modern energy, medicine and education, the all too slow, but still perceptible spread of education raising some above the level of the herd. All this neither takes into account, and much more else which we never see recorded.

I have seen the African in his new and average state, the state which civilisation was professed to be a matter of course, I have no illusions, therefore, about the kind of conditions which need often to be laid before the European conqueror.

#### FORMS OF THE CURRENT LABOUR TRAFFIC.

But, in the same way, I have no illusions about the consequences which follow, when the domestic and tribal life are ruthlessly broken into pieces by reconstructions constituting for the purposes of labour. I have seen the effects of such labour recruiting in India itself, and among the Indian immigrants who have been induced (and more often coerced) to go out to the colonies under the Indian Empire. We speak to-day with bitterness of the evils of the factory system of labour in England, in the early nineteenth century, but historians at some future date are not unlikely to speak with equal condemnation of certain forms of labour traffic in our own days.

To show that there were any sort of the past merely, but of the present, a quotation may be given from a writer, who states that he has had more than half a generation's intimate experience among the Kikuyu tribes of British East Africa, and has now just by just the determination which has taken place. He talks bitterly of a new diploma, Fakhri Ben Fakhri, contributing his article to the 'International Review of Education.' He is not, however, a missionary, probably an official in the service of the East Africa Protectorate Government, the words are follows—

'There is no more sign of moral delinquency than that the message be to become available among the masses of the people. In the numbers of men of different tribes in European employment in British East Africa the customary order is by the month. The African men and women arrange each month by themselves, the women receiving clothing, food and money, (part of which is often sent to her family) and leaving her master at bed and board. These women may last substantially for months and years. They do not send anything voluntary to support themselves. These send their money for the tax. For them there exists no permanent class of periodic labour—a totally new feature in African life. But most of the men, who have taken more or less permanently to wage-earning under Europeans, have wives of their own. Their industrial life being precarious, their liabilities to their women are un-

unwillingly accepted. They have no work, as they live in houses. They get their wages at the end of the month, they change their master at the end of the month, they travel for days, perhaps, to other masters, and so they survive for a month. These people have no reason to strive for or to war on. As it inevitable children are born, diseases are common. But such diseases are not felt to be dangerous, as by many provisions it still felt to be. His system gradually. The state may some day evolve in the fact, that it is more effective disease faster than any considerable means of prevention are possible it.

"And so they survive for a month." "The system fits the life." I have understood these two sentences, because the writer, in the remainder of his article, makes it perfectly clear that the corruption which has defiled the very fountain head of native life, has been caused by the unscrupulous rivalry for the larger European market, which must whatever happens, take these folk out of 'nature'. The system fits the life.

Up to the present time in East Africa, the worst stage of all, that of the great limited liability companies has not been reached as yet. There is nothing in British East Africa yet comparable with the wholesale recruiting of native labour for the mining companies on the Rand. The individual owner, who lives upon his own estate, may be expected to take some personal care of the houses being the more directly under his supervision. In his case, there will be little sale of land here and there. But I have seen too much, in different parts of the world, of what happens, under the proliferating government of large companies, to have much faith in human goodness under 'company' regime. It will be a bad day for the East African natives, when land speculators and the demands of modern capital bring the individual owner who now stands side large landed estates, run by directors, in a foreign country, as absentee landlords, with the amount of yearly dividend as their only being interest. Yet it can hardly be doubted that, as things are now looking, this day is rapidly approaching.

The Europeans have, therefore, first to clear their own character of exploiting the native and keeping him in servitude and making him a mere source of food and driver of water, and they will find it extremely difficult to do so.

"WE HAVE SEEN HIM, HIS LIFE."

Many of them, such as Signor Crespi Bassani, are frankly willing to declare their aims and objects. "We have stolen," he writes, "the African's land. Now we must steal his labour." The same writer looks forward, in the future, to "the dilution of society into two strata, of which the lower is the African, and the mental work and driver of water of the proceeds to meet all the simple wants, while the upper (i. e. the European) supplies, disease, and takes all the surplus product (the Italian one man) Capital

was a wholly wrong 'stout of capitalism,' he writes, 'greater indeed, the more man of Africa's independence will never take part in the development of their country. We can never develop their country without them as partners, and not because when we possess one, who does not will not do manual work. And the natives will not disappear, as have savages of other lands.'

It would be difficult to express in words and guess how the policy of perpetual subjugation of the African natives. One may easily demand of Europeans such as these that they should turn their attention to their own shortcomings in dealing with the African, and judge the Indians by the same standard which they apply to themselves.

While I have thus felt it necessary to bring forward quite plainly and bluntly the charges against the Europeans, - meaning that he should not play the hypocrite by charging others with the very evils of which he is guilty himself - I do not wish in any way to divert the main issue on the Indian question, which the Commissioners have brought forward. It is well to prove, that, entirely apart from the conduct of the Europeans, Indians had themselves, by occupying parts of territory, had violated the African to occupy some of his positions in their own country. But, for my part, most strongly and almost only would advise the Indian people, so far as by any power, to do their utmost to stop their Indian country men from going out to East Africa at all. The best thing that I should wish would be, that Indians should take any share in the general European scheme to get rid of the native African negro.

COMMISSIONERS' CHARGE OF SYSTEMATIC DECEIT.

But after taking all the pains and care I could, to find out the actual facts, by consulting at first, local as well as European witnesses, and by obtaining at the head from African witnesses (I was in Uganda) their own opinions of the natives, I have no hesitation in saying that I am confident, that the charge brought forward against the Indian by the European Commissioners is completely untrue. In the evidence which I have received I am convinced that the very opposite is the case. It has become clear to me beyond dispute that the Indians have done much to help forward the development of Africa.

I do not wish to imply that the Indian's record, with regard to exploitation, has been altogether clean. He has followed the habit of seeking for large profits, instead of being content with moderate returns. But this is entirely different from the charge of the European Commissioners, that he has kept the natives as servile as a 'beast of burden' and driver of water. It is that, which, in the evidence which I have received, I now regard as entirely unjust.

But before the situation in East Africa and Central Africa appears to be that the natives already made in bringing the native forward out of the state of lawless grey (nearly) state, the actual level is a great number of (nearly) has been due to two causes which have been working together. There has been first, of all, the initiative and enterprise of the Europeans, whose wealth and practical ability and higher civilisation were

ing have made him usually take the lead. The European has also had a considerable share in his success, in the line of which my reference to the part of the average could easily be held in check. This form has frequently been richly used, and the millennium should never be reached or reached in a profitable. At the same time, it appears to me almost, after what I have seen, that the labour of Africa could hardly have been proceeding without being driven to the background at command, and the very fact, that it was there, has put an end to head-hunting, cannibalism, and numerous tribal fighting.

#### INDIAN'S SHARE IN OVERHAULING THE NATIVE.

Recently, the Indian had been, even before the arrival of Europeans, in close contact with the African natives along the coast and to a much lesser degree to the interior. He had met the natives in trade and barter and had performed as many as an available evidence work since the arrival of the Europeans, the Indian has proved himself into the interior for more than before, often returning late seasons—sometimes seasons when no European could possibly work. Whenever the Indian has gone into connection with the African has been the more so, more than that of the European. The latter cannot undertake extensive areas of labour in the interior. Therefore the actual daily apprehensions of the African has been carried forward to a successful term by the Indian, artisans and mechanics. They have trained some African mechanics than all the industrial and technical skills put together. Indian teachers have also carried forward successfully the same kind of apprenticeship in other necessary directions, including the maintenance of the operation of tools and better and the rules of society.

I have been able to obtain the opinions of many of the largest European employers of native labour in East and Central Africa. It was a striking fact to me that every one of them took practically the same general view of the situation as that which I have outlined above. I was told by the men on the spot who were responsible for the work being done, that without the presence of the Indian as an intermediary, such rapid progress would have been absolutely impossible.

These men, with whom I talked, were practical men, not theorists. They had known the Indian and had of the day, through long years of practical experience, railway construction, railway work, barter work, managerial work, district administration and in the management of large estates. They told me that, for the most part, their skilled African labourers had been trained by the Indians. They told me also the interesting fact, that, whenever the African natives engaged sufficient skill in manual work, he got the job as a matter of course in preference to the Indian. The same was quite simple. The African was always appreciably cheaper because there was no expensive passage to and from India to be paid for.

To give another typical instance taken from my notes, while I was passing down the coast of Africa, on board ship, I found that two of my fellow passengers of the same table were European mechanics in process. I got to them the question, whether East Africa could have progressed so far in work of industry and other practical construction without the Indian. They both answered "no." The present rate of progress would have been impossible. Furthermore to exclude the Indian,

to-day, would be to delay things almost indefinitely. On another occasion, I was asking the manager of a large workshop the same question. I mentioned to him the objection derived from West Africa, where no Indian had helped in the development of the country and things had yet gone forward.

"No!" he said, "it may be that in West Africa they got forward without the Indian. But how many countries did they take to do so?"

I have constantly carried about with me, while on my journeys, a copy of the final report of the Economic Commission, and I have observed it to European employers of labour asking them to read the Indian evidence. The evidence of these countries would not have been accomplished by some of the remarks that were passed upon their performance.

I have been often told by practical men, and from what I have seen with my own eyes I can well understand it, that the one main difficulty, at the present time, is not the education of Indians, but rather to get into sufficient number of Indian artisans, in order to push forward the important work which is being held up by lack of workmen. The one great trouble is, that owing to the immigration which has to be undertaken all over the world after the great war, every country, including India, wants its own mechanics and artisans of home production more than abroad.

"We want more Indians."

"What is to be done to get more Indians?" and a manager to me? "It's a new work, new industry, something new every year, and how do they expect us to get through these work with our national? We want more Indians, not less—that's my opinion."

I gathered also from three more employers of labour that it was almost to talk about the Indian regarding the native labour and keeping him in arrears and refusing him to continue altogether.

"Why?" said one employer to me, "what is going to get the natives over the first stage? Will the Europeans take him to school and teach the natives how to handle a saw, or a machine, or turn a screw? You must always remember that, when we come, the natives was more savage. He has to be got out of that condition, and he can only do it by Indians."

I asked generally the question, whether trade policy came in saving the Indian to prevent the African from learning the practical details of skilled work. I was told that instances of keeping out the African were everywhere indeed. They were hardly successful. The boycott would break down. The European would slip in to prevent it. Besides, no skilled methods ever had slipped through such a barrier. The demand for skilled workmen went far beyond the supply. It was impossible to maintain in East Africa to think that the amount of work to be done was limited. It was unlimited, because throughout all of the white society, and of Central Africa also, had only just begun. The Indian artisan, who would do slowly and regular work, and had the intelligence to own the native under him, was in great demand and could always work cheaply.

A somewhat common complaint among the European employers was that the Indian's work was of an inferior quality, and that since the war it had greatly deteriorated. The Indian was therefore teaching the African to see his tools badly. As this is a technical point, it is of course impossible for me to pronounce any opinion on the subject, but the complaint itself was fairly widespread.

On the other hand, it should be understood that some employers had told me, that they have had Indian skilled workmen, who, for steadiness and absence of break, were the equals of skilled Europeans.

I was told, also, in great authority, and over a wide area, that the Indians was able to learn his job more quickly than in England that from a European. The reason for this was, that the Indians, though very careless about the way to learn the language, had a particular gift of getting on with the matter and making his understand quickly what he wanted to be done. He had also more patience with the matter than the European.

There was a considerable amount of evidence given to me by those to whom word I could then apply, that an immense amount of petty pilfering was still among the Indian workers, and that the lower classes among the Indians had often encouraged this and other things or received the stolen goods. As the police in East Africa are actually well connected now to their work and efficient, their efforts have been difficult to check. The evidence offered from the Indian merchants and employers as well as from Europeans that the lower classes among the Indians did and that those crimes as due to the uneducated Indian population which has been allowed in the past, Europeans, assuming East Africa, have been obliged to prohibit so far as such an enterprise before landing, and there is a general desire that this remedy should be made tighter. It is clear that some similar control of Indian immigration is desirable. The programme of India as revealed in the class of immigration also runs over.

#### GENERAL STATE OF AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND.

Carbon hopes and more general facts came before me in the conference, as I progressed into the interview, along the Atlantic coast. There appear to me, on the whole, to add greatly to the strength of the views held previously which I have already given. I would mention these in order as follows:—

#### OPINION OF VIRGINIA.

I The people of Uganda, who are the most intelligent, enlightened, and progressive Africans, whom I met on my tour, are already in favour of the retention of Indians in their country. They would have been the very first to say not against any amount of free rights and privileges, but they have lined out by their own experience that Indians actually help them, and for this reason they wish them to remain.

When I was at Uganda, the Apika Kageza, the Prime Minister nominated to be present as a member of the Indian Club called the 'Club'. The president, at my request, put the question whether they desired the Indians to remain in their country. The answer was 'yes.'

Before I left Uganda, the Apika Kageza, the Uganda Club further handled me as above-mentioned by themselves, in behalf of the 'Club's' action, that the Uganda do need the Indians by reason because they did good to the country. They also wished more Indians to come out.

I shall not forget one incident which occurred during the question of the retention of the Indian question. The Chief Justice in a very humorous way spoke one sentence which caused great amusement. I was told by the interpreter that he had said,—

"If the Indians were to leave our country, we should soon have to begin wearing buckskin again."

Perhaps the most important piece of evidence which I obtained at Uganda was from the young Uganda leaders. These young Uganda are naturally a man. They are intensely eager to keep their country free from all outside interference. They would personally, also, be more likely to come into competition with the Indians than any one else, because they are all English educated. They asked me to meet them again, without any of their others being present, and I readily assented. They indicated my own preference as one who desired to open problems with their national opinions, and it was for this reason that they had invited me to meet them. When we were seated together I asked them at once, if they wished the Indians to remain in their country. They were quite unanimous in their answer 'Yes' in some specimens, and I am certain that it represented that large mass.

The immediate answer of the young Uganda was unhesitating. They were very thoughtful men and remarkably intelligent. One of the young Uganda said to me at the end of my visit,—"We shall look most and more to India, in the future, to help us." I believe that his opinion will be retained.

#### OPINION OF KENYA.

I When I went from British East Africa to Zanzibar, I found there a substantial Indian community. It seemed to me, also, that the status of the African Indian was higher there than anywhere else along the coast. The best Arab companies of the island may possibly account for this in part, but I cannot help thinking that the Indians who have been a century along it.

The relief was very great indeed when I came from the midst of the strained racial relations at Nairobi into the calm and natural social atmosphere of Kenia. In Kenia there seems to be no racial conflict at all. Life was serene and peaceful and full of human courtesy, not artificial and constrained and entirely unreserved.

#### THE RESIDENT'S OPINION.

On both occasions, while visiting the island, I was fortunate enough to see the Resident and to be able to discuss with him the Indian question. He told me that there was no Indian problem of any kind in Kenia and he hoped that there would be no such problem. The Indians fulfilled their own part in the community and so he wanted to have them out.

The Resident told me, also, that he had been for some months a member of Nyasaland and there was had acted as Governor. He gave me full permission to state his opinion, that the Indians had played a useful part in Africa by opening up and developing the country through trade and industry. He had always encouraged their coming, because he had found that they helped the natives forward and brought him into touch with the Europeans.

A very simple illustration that he used remained in my mind and appeared to me. It seemed to be the root of the matter.

"The first element," he said, "of progress, in dealing with the raw material, is to gain an advantage by means of trade and labour. Here the presence of the Indian is invaluable. The native is not enlightened in his, as he is of the European, and the Indian pushes out in the back regions, where no white man could go. The

native means along with a few eggs, a lump of lead was and other goods and sold down to bargain with the Indians. They go on bargaining, sometimes for hours—the Europeans could never stand it—and at last the natives pass away satisfied with a bit of Muscatine tobacco and with the Indians taking the eggs to the nearest market. There could not be a better specimen for such a useful process of exchange!

I had many other incidents concerning the way in which the presence of the Indians had helped the Spanish Administration. I had placed to go to them as well as to Rhodias in order to see things with my own eyes. But my piece fell through.

#### THE GERMAN COMMISSIONERS' VISIT.

3. A third fact, which seemed to me to strengthen the argument in favour of the Indians in East Africa, had been the result of the German Royal Commission with regard to what is now called the Tanganyika Territory, and was then called German East Africa. There were no German obligations towards the Indians, including my part in their Empire: they were African and Europeans. The commission which came out from Berlin was for economic purposes. It was not to gather evidence as to the ability, or otherwise, of the Indians in the development of the colonies. The Commission, after a very thorough inquiry decided in the Indians' favour.

I notice the East African Commissioners suggest that all that was mere camouflage, and that it was really undertaken for political reasons. This seems to me to be a gratuitous supposition. If Indians were desirable for political reasons, the obvious thing would have been to have made us free about them, and to let them go on working in German East Africa as they had done before. The commission came rather to point to their own talk throughout as to their political work, which has been acknowledged by leading colonial experts all over the world.

If this is the true explanation, then, as an impartial testimony to the value of Indian settlement, the findings of the commission are noteworthy.

#### OPINION IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

4. The Portuguese have had a longer experience in the East coast of Africa than either the Germans or the British. For at least a hundred years, at not much longer, they have allowed Indians freely to reside in their Mozambique territory at the different parts of Africa, Mascarenes, Lorenzo Marques, Sofala. Indians have also settled in the interior, where they have been allowed to buy land quite freely.

It has been quite easy for me to find out, on my visits to the different parts, and especially during a somewhat long stay in Pemba and in a journey inland, the conditions under which the Indians live in Portuguese East Africa. The Indians have told me, that they have been everywhere welcomed with equal treatment and courtesy and kindness. They speak very highly indeed concerning the freedom under which they live and the absence of racial

prejudice among the Portuguese Colonists. They mention everywhere a generous treatment.

I went also to call on Portuguese Officials, both managers, merchants, soldiers and civilians of the colonies that I could find that side. I found it was uniformly favourable to Indians. The Portuguese do not appear a thing for the Indians, not in color, industries, law-abiding people, who never give any trouble, they also stated positively that their presence was valuable to the country and to the African natives. In every case our estimate, the direct service was great to us, "we could not get so without them."

#### OPINION IN RHODIAS.

I passed on from Portuguese East Africa to Rhodesia at Umtata, the border town. I was met by the Indian community. The European Major, the Magistrate, and the local bank manager accompanied them, and they appeared to me their satisfaction at having Indians in their territory. In the Indian affairs of Rhodesia, it was stated explicitly, that, in Rhodesia, Indians were treated well and had no grievances to bring forward. The one thing that they most desired was education for their young children. I found not only the Administrators, but also the local European, eager to help the Indian community in this direction.

Indians have a free right of entry into Rhodesia on a very simple educational test. No Indian woman accompanied by a relative is asked to pass any test at all. On enquiring from Indians themselves, I found that this educational test was freely and regularly administered and it speaks well for the the immigration office staff, that in single complaint of mistreatment was brought before me.

In accordance with Cecil Rhodes' wish of "the freedom for every coloured man" the vote has been given to those Indians who have reached a certain standard.

I had every opportunity of stating my fellow country-men in Rhodesia and of discussing frankly the Indian question with them. It was a very great pleasure to find that the Indians were welcomed and that there was no movement on foot for their prohibition. Every one seemed quite satisfied with the present arrangements, which goes back, in its origin, I was told, to Cecil Rhodes himself and to the following set of principles he laid down concerning the rights of citizenship, from the Cape to the Randers river.

What was of even more importance to notice than the legal status was the kindly feeling between the European and Indian communities. From the administrative days onwards it appeared to me, that there was a general desire to make the Indian a welcome citizen. The Indian case might have been expected, both at once responded to the attention in every address that was presented to me, they complained the fact they were well treated and that they had no grievances to bring forward.

(To be continued.)



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi.)

Five Rupees  
Vol. II, No. 15

ANANDAASAR, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29th, 1910

Price One Rupee  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS.

The Spirit of the East . . . . .	1
Notes . . . . .	2
ARTICLES.	
The New Stage . . . . .	3
Our National Debt . . . . .	4
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.	
India and East Africa . . . . .	7
"Dependent" . . . . .	8

## THE SPIRIT OF THE EAST

By JAMES BROWN.

The representation of Europe has at last found how to better herself. Commerce has no longer been incidental opportunity and cultural efficiency in bringing the Asiatic races wonderfully together, and they are now determined to take their fallen share in the world picture. They were once the other before and standing alone of the neo-nation whose conclusions of the west before them very soon has put them on their guard from blood-sucking and introducing it to the spiritual house of the East. It has made them realize in good time the virtues and grandeur of their own civilization and put heart into them to produce it in the world. To do this they must begin from the beginning. They must make themselves understood. For understanding is the byname to every thing. There is no doubt that the Japanese Peace Delegation has succeeded. Understanding is the Japanese to the diplomatic world. When we understand our enemies, enemies will never more our antagonists, and peaceful diplomacy will be restored. On the other hand of understanding—general sympathy and goodwill will give the upper hand, leading to recognition and friendship even a moderate level upon which to lay the entire structure. A League of Japanese patriots known as the Sakurayukai have been trying to do their part in bringing about this understanding, and judging from the words by Mr. Uchida, the President of the League it seems they are an influential body, having helped a good deal in shaping the present Japanese policy in China and Korea. And now they have started the *Asian Review* with the objects stated above

In a beautiful, little article that appears in *Asiatic Review* Mr. Paul Richard, outlines the same kind of viewpoint of the magazine. Asked "why a French subject for a Japanese magazine written in English," he replies:

"Because here is something greater than mere nationality or patriotism. Here is the spirit of a national soul in struggle and a new soul in the light of its higher truth."

"Therefore the propagandist work of the 'Asian Review' will be, in the aggregate, just the contrary of that generally credited to, already or not, by many western countries. It will not be the glorification of it. It will not be the drawing of the most detached things in capital ways—things which descend to the extent that who publishes it will be worthy of the *Asiatic Review* in my heart—and my dream."

There was some great work done, and all that is to be said is by Paul Richard's magazine in *Asian*.

The depth of feeling of the matter in the *Asiatic Review* can be judged by the following concluding paragraph of his note on the Turkish question:

"The language used is full sympathy to our Turkish brethren in their suffering conditions. To them we extend protection and protest. The time is fast approaching when the world will be characterized as a new era of real humanity and justice—when the true way of the present and of the past will be and ever will be the foundation for the people of 'protesting the old' because of the past's wrong doing—in it for the old leaders of man, whose word is! They will be swept off the face of the earth, and when that world of man will really be made a fit place for all human beings to live in. Then our Turkish brethren will also have their proper place allotted them; the 'real' humanity and justice which the false humanity and justice are about to deprive them of."

Our readers will be interested to know that Mr. James H. Cousins and Mr. Paul Richard are the literary and general advisers of the *Asiatic Review* (privately). We hope with such an able support behind it, the magazine will manifest the new international of the East, showing the right harmony between the ideals of the East and of the West.

We congratulate the Sakurayukai on this, their new field of activity and hope to have more of Japan through them.

## Notes.

**An earnest of the Reform.**—On the first day of the National Week, the nation with one voice expressed its protest against the Executive Act. The repeal of the Act, as Mr. Gandhi said in his speech, is the only way in which the Government can reject the wrong done in the Punjab. They now crowd the Act in a spirit of defiance. And now if they have realized their error, the words of prayer are perhaps too thick for a splendid confession to make. As they say, This is our error, break another. The enactment of this Act on the Statute Book is the culmination of an unorthodox challenge to the public opinion. If respect for public opinion is the basis of responsible government, the repeal of this Act must come as an earnest of the Reform. We hope the nation's vote has reached the Government's heart.

**It is not made never best.**—The resolution on *Akhbar* Reform was one of the few important resolutions unanimously passed at the Punjab Provincial Conference. Mr. Laxalde of Poona, who moved the proposition, said that *Akhbar* was so to be a transferred subject. He explained that the question before us now would be whether to large a remission of four years a year as a mark of immediate prohibition or whether to be content with gradual reform allowing local opinion an unobtrusive role. The resolution said that the Conference requested all the temperance bodies in the Province to hold a special conference for considering the future *Akhbar* policy.

We think that one of the questions before this special conference will be how to organize the activities of the present temperance bodies in the Province so as to win the moral reputation of our Province in this respect in the eyes of the pre-British days. An organized attempt led by Hindus is sure to arrest the drunk and a group of workers initiated by Mr. Laxalde's friend will not find it very difficult to root out the evil altogether. The bold and uncompromising attitude in this respect, of a Province Chief, will be of striking interest.

I fear Lo Bengalee has than I fear beauty, I thought Lo Bengalee when he had his father's great warriors from Meis, and there has been, and he never' own again, and God who helped me then would help me again, Lo Bengalee never given me a sleeping sight. But in light against drug, only light against disease, and not against man I found the white man's drink more than all the oranges of the Malabari, which kill men's bodies, and are quickly over, but drink gets drunk into men, and destroys both their souls and their bodies forever. He would never had I pray your House never to set me to open even a little door to the drunk-Letter from Khiter to Mr. Wynlay Sheppard.

**An embarrassing gap.**—Should we publish a letter from a correspondent, complaining about the indifference of our leaders towards the masses. Although we may not associate ourselves with the tone of the letter, we give it a place, because, we feel the letter draws attention to an important point. In these days of democracy, only the sentiment can be the medium in our public meetings. That is the only way to fill the ground or becoming popular to those who know English and those who do not know it.

## THE SOUTH AFRICANS' LEAGUE.

### A SURPRISE VISIT.

The House of the General Committee of the South Africans' League to support the Commission at present sitting at Cape Town is again into the South African question in South Africa, comes as a rather surprising surprise. It is a surprise, because it was to satisfy the demand made by the Anti-Slavery in the last Parliament that the Commission was originally proposed by the Government, and however, when the South Africans' League was formed last September, one of the reasons for its formation was the acknowledged need to collect and arrange evidence and statistics for presentation before the Commission on behalf of the Anti-Slavery. Moreover, it was to some extent due to the pressure exerted by the League—though they were supported in this by the Indians themselves both in South Africa and in India—that the terms of reference of the Commission were enlarged so as to include enquiry into the withdrawal of the two most vital points of interest for the minds of the Nation. A resolution passed unanimously at the inaugural congress of the League in September last—“That Congress voted with enthusiasm the organized action of the Government in appointing a Commission to enquire into the South African question in South Africa, and expresses the hope that adequate representation on that Commission will be given to members of the League. . . . and further expresses the hope that the terms of reference of the Commission will be the widest possible.” Another resolution, also passed unanimously, was—“That Local Authorities, Churches of Commerce, Trade Unions, and other public bodies be urged to collect all available information in regard to Slavery, and take steps to lay such information before the Commission.”

Now, what can have occurred since September to cause the leaders of the League to change the *satis facit*? The announcement of the appointment of the Commission has been received with enthusiasm by neither the extreme Anti-Slavery nor the extreme members of the Indian, which may be taken to mean that, in the circumstances, the Government have succeeded in appointing a fair and moderate Commission. But even in those circumstances, the General Committee of the League, who have not shown

themselves to be nearly-satisfied, have not for a moment hinted that the Commission is a purely *pro-India*. We believe that there are very many reasons for this beyond the first, viz., that the League have discovered that outside the Transvaal there is practically no Indian problem and hardly any *Indo-Indian* sentiment. They accordingly have to present their case to a Commission that will not regard the question as a Transvaal problem, but will suggest what may best be done in the interests of the whole Union. The League, therefore, feel that, since they are assured here both of the support they hoped for from the rest of the Union, they had better drop all pretences and come out into the open as a purely personal body with a definitely local pretension. Secondly, we believe that an investigation they have found that the evidence to examine the Commission does not exist. The Indians need a 'warrior' in the Cape, and the League find it difficult to press on facts and figures derived from *pro-paganda*. But it is more than a 'warrior' in the Transvaal. What they know they could not bring from the Commission except by real hard facts, they now hope to extract from Parliament by trials and exposures. They do not set itself by a pre-emptively captured feeling. And it is for these two reasons that we have called their surprise beyond answering—*The Issues of India*.

## Young India.

Announced, Wednesday, 24th April, 1900.

### THE NEW STAGE.

It is for the last twelve months that the Khelafat question has been hammered both in England and in India. In its first stage the question was more spiritually oriented in England than here. The Muslim leaders in England focused the Muslim view of the real problem affecting Islam and Muslim lives in the Peace Conference. They pleaded their case before the British members and the publicists. It was the failure of these efforts and the trial of the happenings in Persia that gave us a real awakening in India. The Mohammedan leaders in India realised that the Allied Powers were all with one exception concerned by the heavy weight of the selfish interests prevalent in the western world. They then had no time in forming a Deputation, and what was left then called a *solid* cry by some, assumed a shape, the massiveness of the Muslim demand was noted. The first badge of a Deputation presented in England.

This Khelafat Deputation saw the great leaders of the Liberal party. They also presented their case to the Premier. The results of these interviews are all known already. The Deputation's efforts are not confined to personal interviews only. They addressed a crowded meeting at Essex Hall on 21st March. There were large English audiences. The meeting is reported to have resulted in successful suggestions on the audience, including notable English

publicists. The "Sunday Dispatch" correspondent confesses that a larger meeting is to follow shortly.

The treatment of the Khelafat question runs with the Big Five. Of these the Indian Minister Sir John Hall is one. His appointment the response is received from the Chamberlain make it clear that Italy does not share territorial aspirations in Turkey or Asia Minor. He declared that it would be a mistake to assume religious feelings of the Muslims. Not from beyond the Atlantic has been coming unhappy news. The American reply to the Allied Note regarding the Turkish Treaty emphatically expressed the opinion that the part of East Thrace outside the Commission's scope should be given to Greece, but Administration and Kirkuk and the surrounding territory should be given to Bulgars. The Ambassador of America should be desired as to recognise all legitimate claims of the Armenians, particularly for an easy access to the sea. It (the reply) suggests that Constantinople should be given to Armenia, that Turkey should give Mesopotamia, Arabia, India and Syria and the islands in the hands of the Great Powers for disposal. The real main employment part of news in the conference of the American American Commission Report, is made.

"The only solution of the Near East problem is to give some Power a mandate which should also include Constantinople." Seeing these two telegrams one can appreciate the Deputation's wish to secure of paying a visit to the United States. A message has been already addressed to Senator Lodge and the American Press. The appeal expects an important company into the whole history of the situation of the so-called "Mandates" by an international Commission, including an adequate number of Indians selected by the Indian people themselves. It complains that the Turk record of massacres has given Britain and better merely on the reports of the British. It further asks America to suspend its policy of pushing the work of the first line negotiations. The Deputation concludes: "Please place this our appeal before the Senate, also the House of Representatives and American generally." We are sure that the Khelafat Deputation will easily transmit the Indian and Mohammedan involved in President Wilson's safe fire policy. They will prove in America how the numerous champion of self-determination has himself caused spread for Turkish Front and for Home Vermin speech.

Though the representatives of the Allied States refuse to acknowledge the justice of the Muslim case, we do not feel quite disposed of the Chamberlain public at large. And it is clear that the Deputation is determined to take their case to every ear that hears and that hears not, both religious on the part of our Muslim brethren. It is our duty to show that they are trying all possible local methods thoroughly.

In their anxiety to ward off future between the Muslim leaders have been consistently frank in explaining the Muslim position. They have with their characteristic business practical against the



day on the Indian budget. The year of execution. The State Street of India is the only one of the railway which are... (text continues)

The position on the Indian budget... The State Street of India... (text continues)

In the Indian government... (text continues)

period of 60 years... (text continues)

While dealing with the position of assets and liabilities... (text continues)

And in the year's end... (text continues)

- (a) India is... (b) The... (c) The... (d) In... (e) No...

What a striking contrast... (text continues)

## GRAVE SITUATION IN PUNJ

In the Editor, 'Young India'

Sir,

The situation in Puj has been growing more serious day by day. Official Agency has stated in the Report of Commerce that 125 Puj Indians have been recruited in connection with the distribution of the income of the opium stocks. We know that an equal number of 125 men had been sent from New Zealand to assist in maintaining order. The Puj authorities have decided that the worst strike of the Puj Indians was a political movement, and the arrest and deportation of Indian leaders in Puj is vital to the movement. We have already learnt the news that 125 "Indian leaders" were arrested, arrests were held upon them, one of them was killed and 24 were wounded. The last two years that we have read from our newspapers in Puj indicated to that the employers and the Puj Government had in sympathy with the Indians and that great services was providing.

The Indian public has heard all the news about our newspapers in Puj with the best interest. With the exception of a few sentences in the paper nothing has been done in India for the Puj Indians. It is high time that we took up the cause of these unfortunate people.

The first thing that we ought to do in the present state of a continuance of Indians is to send in Puj to engage into the present condition of our newspapers in the colony. After the abolition of indentured labour in Puj the things have gone from bad to worse. It is a fact that the employers of Indian labour in Puj and called the indentured labourers. When the question of the abolition of indentured labour was brought before the Puj Council in July 1916, the acting Colonial Secretary referred to it as follows: "The actual substance of the plan to be carried out would they could we come effect closed."

Now, Mr. E. M. Smith, K. C. said "I had seen that some explanation is due to the change of front. It has been long known that the people have always opposed the policy of granting the 'privileges' to India. The position now is that when we agree to voluntarily send the indentured, we are to be... We to require that the Government in the present state in the matter and we may be told by some one higher up that we will get an Indian labour we have all our labour. We are forced to do this."

It is therefore clear that the abolition of indentured in Puj has some deeper reasons than that of pure philanthropy. Messrs. Howard, Ransome, George Smith and Robinson of Puj were in their letter of 18th May 1916: "There are several objections to our in the possible in her refusal to supply labour." We have here with the Puj Government is well here ready it can be influenced by the C. E. Company and the Eastern of Puj. Under these circumstances we have some doubts about the impartiality of the Puj Government in covering 125 Indians.

The matter was represented several it ought to be investigated very carefully by an Indian Committee. Mr. Andrews has returned from South Africa and naturally he is the best person to do this difficult task. But he is not enjoying good health and it will be most difficult for our part to ask him to start again on a long journey

to Puj. I would therefore suggest the name of another gentleman who has also done some useful work for the Puj Indians. He is Pundit Tara Ram-Bhadrappa of Mysore. Mr. Andrews has a high opinion of the Pundit's work in Puj. In the introduction of a Hindi book, Mr. Andrews writes "I have the great honour and privilege of writing Hindi. Tara Ram is one of my friends and I regard him almost as remarkable for his steady persistence of purpose and unswerving honesty of work. In Puj, I think he has some respect by Indians and Europeans alike. He has done a great service to the Indian cause by his Indian advocacy of their cause. I do not know any single Indian who has done more for the Indian men and women in Puj than Pundit Tara Ram."

Pundit Tara Ram served under indentured for five years from 1883 to 1888 and he lived for twenty-two years in Puj. He was held in high esteem by the Puj Indians who mention as their representative to the Madras Congress of 1911. Pundit Tara Ram has done good work in connection with the agitation for the abolition of indentured labour. We have got a thorough knowledge of the Puj language which he can utilize in getting acquainted and independent opinion of Puj Indians in the present strike and "work in Puj. Besides the Pundit Tara Ram's visit to Puj will have some of great satisfaction to the Puj Indians.

May I beg the Imperial Government to send Mr. Andrews to Puj to see the case of the Puj Indians. It will not be a very difficult thing for the Government to send one of its members with Pundit Tara Ram to Puj.

Our Government should have duty to perform. The Government should at once take in Puj authorities that they should propose the establishment of the 125 "Indian workers" with an independent Indian Commission has reported on the situation in Puj. We can never be satisfied without such telegrams sent by the Puj Government.

Yours truly,

J. S. Narayan Shrivastava.

[We shall give in our next the other part of the letter.—Ed. Y. I.]

## INDIA AND EAST AFRICA. THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT.

(By Mr. C. F. Andrews.)

(Continued from our last issue.)

CONTINUING WITH THE TRANSVAAL STRIKE.

The difference from the attitude concerning the Transvaal was very marked. The racial antagonism has come there to a head. The Transvaal policy is the same as that.

From the point of view of the present, necessity it is not necessary to discuss the Transvaal situation, but one fact is worthy of an especial note. The economic argument, which is used against the Indians, by the Transvaal and South Africa generally, is not the same as that which is used by the Transvaal Commissioners in East Africa. In the Transvaal, the argument has been that the Indian competition with and takes away the trade from the Europeans in East Africa. The argument has been that the Indian competition with

and keeps us outside the Africa. The point is so important, that it may be worth while to quote the passage from the East African Commission report: "Except the master system (of trade), "the Report says, "the European (if the Indian would admit to the moral, social and commercial obligations, inherent in European society) has nothing to offer from African competition. The contrary theory, which formerly found favour in local Government circles, having been completely exploded by the history of the last thirteen years."

That is the ground on which the hostile party in the Transvaal have sometimes registered against the Indian as represented in East Africa and now again.

#### SITUATION IN NATAL.

We pass through the Orange Free State and then come into Natal without entering it now. The difference is noteworthy. It may be rightly argued that the East African Commission at the Free State is more backward and the soil is part less fertile. But nothing otherwise for both these differences credit must be given to the fact, that Natal had Indian labourers and artisans all these past many years and the Orange Free State had not.

That is of even more importance in the argument, it may be shown that in Natal where there is a greater number of Indians than in any other part of Africa, the progress of the African nations has been more rapid than in the Free State. So far as the African has returned from European servitude, that his wages have risen much higher in Natal than in the Orange Free State where there are no Indians at all, so far as the African in Natal being from the position of a "man lower of word and stature of value" to the Indian, that he has actually surpassed the Indian in the average of his monthly wage, and the African's wages are many times the Indian's wages are doubling. I am taking account of the latest statistics from the Annual Year Book of the South African Union, published by the Director of Statistics.

#### SITUATION IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

4. I have even the treatment of the African nation in the Orange Free State. I believe I am right in saying that the African of the Free State has no right in any land and no civil status at all. He must labour to one of the European masters, who have taken possession of all the soil. If ever there existed a class of people, who, by their very principles and traditions, were determined to keep the African in servitude, the white-rabbit form of South Africa are such. Their religion itself appears to sanction this attitude. Yet these very white-rabbit farmers were given special privileges for cattle work in East Africa and were allowed to hold land in the upland areas which has been withheld from Indians. The Europeans in East Africa have perfectly well the principles and traditions of these Free states. Why, then, that, was there no protest against their attitude, if it was so widely desired to protect the African before?

#### SITUATION IN THE CAPE PROVINCE.

5. In the Cape Colony for many years past, Indians, along with "coloured" people and African natives, have been allowed the franchise on the two qualifications of (1) having been previously valued at 75 £ and (2) being sufficiently literate to sign their names and write their addresses and responses.

It was a generous attempt to do in the Cape Colony

to find how entirely the Indian question has passed the judgment. There is in a very great measure due to the rights of citizenship having been granted. The number of Indians is not large. They are contented with their present position and show no ambition. With regard to the African natives, there has been an enormous improvement of any kind which can be traced to the position of the Indian. Experience has come entirely from the European teachers' system, which still stand on certain classes of skilled work, (which the Africans are quite capable of doing) being reserved for the European workers. The African natives are completely prevented by the stringent teacher's rules, even of the "coloured" form many in his trade. Every effort has been made by liberal education and by liberal labour teachers, to break that colour bar, but with out result.

I will give one instance, which was recorded by a class we probably hundreds of a similar nature. A certain type of beating in the mines has been reserved for European workers. But the European is allowed to employ a Kaffir, on a more primitive, to do the actual work, while he looks on and directs and draws a high monthly wage. The restriction in the colour bar reduces the intelligent and highly skilled African workers to European servants.

#### A VINDICATED MAN.

There was one striking fact, which told us a positive decision in favour of the Indian. Dr. Albertsdam, a leading member of the Indian community, has done more than any person in South Africa to uphold the cause of the African natives, and it was this moral and political driver. He has represented King for many years in the Cape Provincial Parliament and Council, and, during the recent session, he removed from the South African Union Parliament, in well to the fact to represent them also. The white and coloured population of the Cape were less than their living men.

#### DEVALUED MONEY.

and it has been their champion all his life. This fact will be difficult to fit in with the theory of the Economic Commission, that Indians want the progress of the African natives and keep them in an economic state that is more backward of word and stature of value.

I have now gone through, at length, the different kinds of evidence which I have gathered, while travelling up and down Africa. Looking back over the whole field, there is very little indeed that does not the recognition of the East African Commission against the Indians. On the other hand, there appears to me overwhelming evidence which tells in the "coloured" favour.

The longer I have studied the main question and with more, the more clearly I have seen that there is a fundamental fallacy underlying the whole position of the East African Commission. It is the same as the fallacy that sometimes creeps into the working out in Europe or America, when it is said that the amount of work to be done is limited and that there is only just enough wages to do it. The working men then set out, that new work is always being secured, and that work done leads on to other work. Similarly the Economic Commission in East Africa seems to regard the whole amount of skilled work in the country as strictly limited. They appear to assume, that every Indian employing a skilled man is keeping an African out. But the truth

to be made in the various States the work to be done in West Africa is practically unlimited, and new posts of more than eight or ten miles each with their areas for the smaller. New work, new posts, more work when, would it, but one another, each within the same or little.

A mere handful of 15,000 Indians, by using the Khasi Commission's plan (which) is a variety almost entirely undeveloped as I of apparatus were, would possibly fill up every vacancy. Whereas our Indians in doing skilled work, many African nations are bound to be employed as assistants. Out of these assistants, we have watched the Indians at work, there are others to be seen who are more handy with their tools than others. These Africans will be put on to lighter and lighter work, as soon as they are ready for it, and everything will be done to advance them, because they are so exceedingly cheap. By the very nature and character of his work and occupation in East Africa, the Indian cannot be made over to another. He cannot keep the Africans out, even if he wished to do so.

It would be well to prove, that the yearly Indian immigration into East Africa was considerable in numbers, if it could be proved, that all the new posts (or they become vacant) were filled up with new Indian recruits from India, and so room was left for the desired Africans, if it could be proved that the Africans, however working side by side with the Indians, in an earnest did not make progress, then there might be good reason to accept the more urgent of the Commissioners against the Indians.

But it is not best to see, over and over again, and one of these people can be proved. Instead of Indians working over Africa, some Indians have been going and then there are more, as the Indian population is declining. Lacked of their being so many left for the desired African workers, such skilled Africans are being taken on to lighter jobs, but Commission reasons, as quickly as possible. Instead of the Africans not making progress, under the operation of the Indian, he has been advancing with extraordinary rapidity.

CONCLUSION.

This then is the substance of the whole matter. The comparatively small number of Indians, who have gone out to East Africa, have, for the most part, done useful necessary work. They have been employed in such manner as to remedy the progress of the African nations. Their presence, if the country is to advance, is still urgently required.

NOTICE.

All communications regarding subscriptions, beyond six should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", 44, Chit St., Faneuil Hall, Boston.

Our rate of subscription  
(payable strictly in advance.)

Annual in India (with postage) Five Rupees,  
Outside India " " Eight Shillings  
Single Copy (postage extra) One anna,

and all manuscripts and printed matter to be sent to in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Sub-Proprietress, Beharwal.

"IMPOSSIBLE"

To the Editor, Young India,

Forgetting to save our language, however undeveloped the language of another, howsoever cultivated in letters, is not fraught with evil. This doctrine of the State, as applied to the article of progress, based on an illustration to the speaker's meaning which the great poet addressed at Leidenburg in the City. The poet checked the advance of the principles of Government for their long history, and accepted their being, not for any personal pretensions of his own but as a token of the advent of civilization in the national spirit. The English-knowing part of the audience of course a necessity—were deeply stirred with the honorable words and noble thoughts of the poet—because they made the speaker the more anxious to know what their great had to say to them. The poet could not speak in English, but there were at least three men of letters of English, in the meeting, who could surely the part of the public. The public did not expect them to master every word and phrase into their mother-tongue. However, when that a poet's style is not his own and can not be successfully paraphrased even in the same language, much less in a different language and that too in the eye of the moment. But the public had every right to know what the poet of their heart wanted to convey to them. They, therefore, applied to the President who was no less a man than Mr. Norman Mac Donnell, the well known part of English. For Indian the President and Principal Kanchankar he were there. The people looked up to them with, deep eyes and respect to the speaker, but all in vain. The President mentioned all their experiences with a shake word—"Impossible." Some of the audience still desired to speak but the President refused them with the usual remark

"Humar!Mud says, have English first and then come to him."

I do not blame them for looking for this. They have done more than anybody else to enrich English by giving their best thoughts in that language in English. But as observed by Mr. Donnell on the same platform the previous evening, "our English educated people do not mix with the masses, do not think of the masses." The system of education is not laid out for the rich-people. They have their conversation from a foreign literature and being used to think their best thoughts in foreign medium, they suppose it to be "impossible" to express their noble thoughts in their mother tongue in first effort. I hope it shall not be manifested when I say that every day in our English education, that we may bring home all treasures in that noble language which are inaccessible to our masses. Teach the people to learn English in order to enlighten their Indian spirit it is a great job and a great proof of the benevolence of the English education at all times. Had our education been conducted through the medium of the vernaculars, there would not have been the growing gulf between the educated and the masses and no prominent would have been driven to utter the contempt word "impossible."

Yours etc  
One is the audience.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. E. Gouda.)

17618

Price Sixpence  
Vol. II. No. 18

APRIL 24th, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24th, 1902

Printed and Sold  
By F. G. Cox.

## CONTENTS.

Title.	Page.
Notes.	1
<b>Articles.</b>	
Bradford	2
Indian Affairs	3
The Cause of the Troubles	3
<b>Notes.</b>	
Some Remarks in Fiji	5
British Subjects	6
R. Khanna's Account	6
R. Adams' Comments	7
The Belgae	7
The Second Week	8

## Notes.

**Communal representation.**—We have already enough to do in securing representation being demanded by other small groups besides the majority has been extended to the mass of Europeans. But when the cry for communal representation comes from India or Burma, the absurdity becomes manifest. We mentioned some instances of Europeans who pleaded for communal representation in the Burmese Council to be formed under the reforms. We believe that the demand will be withdrawn before it is made in fact. The Burmese will have every right to resist any such separate treatment of Indian settlers there. We see no harm in giving to the Burmese for their and our mutual good, not for the exploitation of the former. Their welfare should be our first consideration. As a friend recently points out, the Indian demand would be like Capetian or Marston claiming communal representation for themselves in the Bengal Council. Surely, Indians of Burma would have a right to enter the Burmese Council, only if they by force of ability and service are deemed the Burmese vote. We, who desire that nobody should set up claims or make which are against our interests, are bound to guard against allowing rights in Burma to conflict with the interests of the Burmese. And yet that is precisely what has at the bottom of the demand for communal representation by Indian settlers. We, therefore, trust that wise counsel will prevail and that we shall hear no more of communal representation for Indians in Burma.

**Mr. Bradman's Deportation.**—With April will be the anniversary of Mr. Bradman's deportation. During his captivity the public have shown in various ways their strong disapproval of the summary order of the British Government. Apart from Mr. Bradman's qualifications, deportation without trial of any British subject must be a matter of great concern to any self-respecting citizen. We must make it impossible in India for any British subject to be deported or have his liberty otherwise restricted without due trial except under circumstances in which every government must have the power of suspending the operation of the ordinary rules of law. And we must make it clear that no circumstances are proved to have called for Mr. Bradman's deportation. We hope therefore that the wishes of the President will not set public writings at naught which that Mr. Bradman's deportation should be cancelled without delay.

**Jallianwala Bagh Memorial.**—The National Week has been a strong success if Jallianwala Bagh is any index of the rest of the country. The three meetings were extremely successful. The Government have the opinion of the country on the Jallianwala Bagh, the Khairat question and the Punjab largely. It is difficult to know to what extent hatred and anger were undertaken. But there is no doubt that a respectable number went through the discipline and proper religious spirit. But the most striking demonstration of the success of the national observance was the response made to the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial. The list, published daily shows the liberality of the donors and its catholicity. But the public have little of the spontaneous help rendered by the list and led by those who have not hitherto been touched by the national spirit. A band of ladies went through personal canvassing with most encouraging results. Even Hindu and Muslem collected subscriptions for the Memorial. Lists have been coming in from far and near. Contributions have come in from the off-Changpans. It is hoped that those who have entered the accounts will send their contributions to Lady Ordland at Amherst without delay. They should remember that the day for the payment of the balance of the purchase price is near.

is there Peace in the land?—Our Labour contemporary is generally known for its moderate views. But in its criticism of the Satyagrah Week, it took back with the wording of the first resolution on the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, it is of opinion that the words "there will be no peace in the land until the Rowlatt Act is repealed", should have been modified for the simple reason that it thinks from outward signs, that there is peace in many parts of the land. This is not correct. The Tribune perhaps seems to imagine that there is no peace in the land, only when there is bloodshed, clamour and violent agitation. It happens that we are all working for—and we believe with considerable success—the total abrogation of these elements from our public life, however much discontented and dissatisfied we may be. There, therefore, should not be the signs to judge our feelings.

The People and the Society disturbances during April last were due to the high feeling that ran along the same, firstly on account of the Act and subsequently, the arrest of Drs. Kishore, Satyagrah and Mr. Gandhi. And unless that was not a genuine agitation, the Society cannot rebuke or do out till the cause of its agitation is removed. That the feeling has not that yet is amply proved by the number of queries Mr. Gandhi has received from every part of the country about the repeal of the Satyagrah movement in connection with the Act.

The fact that we have been repeatedly demanding repeal of all repressive legislation again shows that our minds are not at rest and cannot be at rest till such legislation is removed. And the first and most important measure of such legislation is the Rowlatt Act.

#### NOTICE.

All communications regarding subscriptions, *et cetera* should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", Ghadi Da, Panch-Pada, Alambabad.

Our rate of subscription

(payable strictly in advance)

Annual in India (with postage) Four Rupees.  
Outside India " " Eight Shillings.  
Single Copy (postage-included) One anna.

and all manuscripts and printed matter to be inserted in this paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Satyagrahchakravarti, Calcutta.

#### OUR MADRAS AGENTS

Messrs. S. GANESH & Co. (1 Rameswami Chetty Street, Triplicane, Madras) are our authorized Agents for Madras.

Manager,  
Young India.

## Young India.

Alambabad, Wednesday, 20th April, 1909.

#### SWABHUKH.

The National Week closed on Tuesday the 19th. It was in every way a remarkable demonstration of Hindu-Hindu unity. The determination to secure repeal of the Rowlatt Act and the Satyagrah spirit. The speeches delivered were able and wise in the point than before. There was no disorderliness at any of the meetings of which we have received reports.

What however about Swabhukh? Was Swabhukh too not a product of the Satyagrah spirit and activity? It undoubtedly was. But Swabhukh work in the most unorthodox of all. It does not lead itself to speeches or meetings or to wild scenes. It is not possible to see fifty acres of crops annually by speeches or demonstrations. It provides work more than the sowing of the annual grain. It involves the honour of Indian womanhood. Everyone who has any connection with the real industry knows that the women working in the industries exposed to temptations and risks to which they ought not to be exposed. Many women in want of home employment accept and repair labour. And only those who know what the labour is, understand the risks the women run. Give them the spinning wheel and no woman need ever seek any other employment than that of the spinning wheel. Swabhukh means even distribution of wealth from an occupation next to agriculture to agriculturists. It supplements agriculture and therefore automatically attacks a steadily to solve the problem of our growing poverty. Thus Swabhukh is our veritable Kumbhkon, supplying all our wants and solving many of our difficult problems. And an occupation which saves our honour and provides our livelihood, becomes a religious duty.

How can the great contribution be achieved? The answer is simple. Those who realize the importance of the problem stand out about working in one or all of the following directions:—

(1) Leave spinning yourself whether man or woman. Change for the labour if you need money, or make a gift of at least one hour's labour to the nation daily.

(2) Learn weaving yourself whether for recreation or for maintenance.

(3) Make improvements in the present handloom and the spinning wheel, and if you are able, pay for them so those who would make them.

(4) Take the Swabhukh vow and pattern the cloth that is both hand-spun and hand-woven.

(5) Detectives seek cloth among your friends and believe that there is none not and honestly in Khadi whose yarn has been prepared by poor poor castes.

(6) If you are a mother, you will give a clean and national culture to your children and make

them wear clothes made out of beautiful Khadi which is available in millions and which can be most easily produced.

**Education.** This means the creation of a most perfect organization in which every part works in perfect harmony with every other. If we succeed in bringing into being such an organization, not only is the nation of Swasthi assured, but real Swasthi comes to us as a matter of course.

### INDIANS ABROAD.

The progress against Indian matters outside India is showing itself in a variety of ways. Under the important suggestion of action the Pyl. Govt. the Government has departed Mr. Marshall Daxler who with revenue and military work has been conducting his business in the poor indigenous. Indians of Pyl. is mentioned in the article. The whole trouble has arisen over the strike of the Indians in Pyl. Indentment have been cancelled, but the spirit of liberty is by no means dead. We do not know the present of the strike, we do not know that the strikers have done so wrong. But we do know what is behind them a charge of arbitrary is brought against the strikers and their friends. The reader must remember that the Government that has created conditions in the recent approval in Pyl. as the Government that had the hardhood to limit Mr. Andrew's account. What can be the meaning of this in character. What can be the meaning of this in character with the Pyl. strikers and Mr. Marshall Daxler? Did they and he want to wage the war of government? Did they want any power in that society? They struck fundamental freedom. And it is a prohibition of taxes to see the word which is such a mistake. The strikers may have been convinced Mr. Marshall Daxler may have been told them. If his advice looked on the ground, he should have been treated. The information in my possession goes to show that he has been strictly constitutional. One point, however, is that it is no show of power for the Pyl. Government to have departed Mr. Marshall Daxler without a trial. It is wrong to propose to deprive a person of his liberty on mere suspicions and without giving him an opportunity of showing his character. Mr. Marshall Daxler, he is mentioned, has for years past made Pyl. his home. He has, we believe, brought property there. He has children here in Pyl. Have the children any rights? Has the wife any? May a property owner be removed of the holding of a lawless Government? Has Mr. Marshall Daxler been compensated for the losses he must undergo? We trust that the Government of India which has endeavored to protect the rights of Indian settlers abroad will take up the question of Mr. Daxler's deprivation.

Not in Pyl. the only place where the spirit of lawlessness among the powerful has come to the surface. Indians of (the late) Orange East Africa had themselves in a worse position than here-

fore. They state that even their property is not safe. They have to pay all kinds of taxes in perpetuity. They are harassed in their trade. They are not able even to send money orders.

In British East Africa the chief is perhaps the British. The European settlers there are doing their utmost to deprive the Indian settlers of practically every right they have hitherto possessed. An attempt is being made to compass their ends both by legislative enactment and administrative action.

In South Africa every Indian who has anything to do with that part of the British Dominions is warring with bitter breath the progress of the measures that is now afoot.

The Government of India, have no any job in protecting the interests of Indian settlers in these various parts of the Empire's dominions. They will be able to do so only by following the broad and the most consistent policy. Justice is absolutely on the side of the Indian settlers. But they are the weak party. A strong opinion in India followed by strong action by the Government of India can alone save the situation.

### THE CASE OF THE VERNACULARS.

To anyone who watched the proceedings of the recent Sahitya Sammelan at Calcutta it would be clear that our national awakening is not confined to politics alone. The enthusiasm displayed at these gatherings indicated a happy change. We are giving to thought their proper place to the vernaculars in our national life. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's prophecy that India will one day be an English-speaking country, has not to-day many stars in its horizon. The great reformer's spirit, however, still haunts some a number of our eminent men, hardly generous in favour of English in the national medium. The present status of English in the national medium weighs with them sorely. They feel to see that the present status of English is no credit to us and that it is not conducive to the growth of a true democratic spirit. That status of men should learn a foreign tongue for the convenience of a few hundreds of officials is the height of absurdity. An intention is often cited from our past history to prove the necessity of a lingua franca to strengthen the united Government of the country. Nobody disputes the necessity of a common medium, but it cannot be English. The officials have to recognize the vernaculars. The sound consideration that appeals to the depths is India's position in the Empire. The arguments, put in plain words, amounts to asking if most of Indians to accept English as their common language, for the sake of the other parts of the Empire whose population is not more than 11 crores.

The fact that that ought to receive consideration from every student of this problem, is that after a century and a half of British

with only English has failed to take the place of a *Medium French* of India. A host of broken English, or *dehli*, has come to have precedence in the regard to our cities. But the fact was only decried those who profess to study our national problems, as they would like Bombay and Calcutta. And what is their population after all? It is only 2.5 percent of the total population of India. The second fact that the English ignore is that a very large majority of our vernaculars are due to our mother, and descendants of her, Hindi and *langue France* make all the progress except the Indian peasantry. In view of this advantage in favour of Hindi and in view of our present national circumstances how can we accept English as our *langue France*?

The solution of this problem will decide the fate of the vernaculars. In our educational system English is confined to have an educational dominance over vernaculars. The extreme Englishists hold that English should be used as the medium of instruction "at the earliest stage possible." This argument is based on the fact that students in a foreign country pick up the language of the country without difficulty at an early age. Relying on the argument the Calcutta University Commission say "Whereas in a foreign country a child is surrounded by those who speak the language of the country, so a child here, if surrounded by others who speak with the exception of the teacher, are as exposed to himself of the new medium, it is a case of our parents teaching many, not of many teaching one, and it is only by experiment that other new methods can be worked out successfully." The "educational economy," as an advantage of Vernacularizing our educational system, has received recognition at the hands of the Commission. On having perused not, in our issue of February 12, that the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission in the vernacular are a further step. The next logical step after this is recommending the use of vernaculars as the medium in our universities also. The Sadler Commission have made the intermediate stage as a holding place between the use of vernaculars as the medium of instruction in secondary schools and their use in the college department. They have expressed as their own opinion a language system for the future. But they also say: "We do not wish to prejudge the future. It is not for us to predict whether the national desire to use English in the school will eventually outweigh the numerous advantages of being able to use a mother tongue not only in the situated classes throughout India, but in some peoples than any other, and giving access to other to the literature and the scientific records of the world." Though in view of the evidence submitted to them the Commission have could not be persuaded to lay down a policy for the future in favour of Vernacularizing university education also, it is equally true that they could not find anything in the evidence

which supported the Englishists or the Englishists. They, though the majority of the Commission's opinion do not in themselves decide the future, they do favour a strong movement in favour of the vernacular introduction of English by some university persons, and of its ultimate introduction for others, a movement of which there was little sign in the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council of 1912."

If we study the Commission's analysis of the replies we can more fully appreciate the movement. The question put to the witnesses was: "Do you hold English should be used as the medium of instruction and examination at every stage above intermediate in the university course?"

The replies are classified as follows—

- (1) 122 are positively in the affirmative;
- (2) 59 are in the affirmative, with slight reservations;
- (3) 85 are in favour of a joint use of English and the vernacular either side by side in the same medium, or in parallel institutions;
- (4) 32 replies suggest the gradual replacement of English by the vernacular as the object to be aimed at;
- (5) 37 are in the negative; and
- (6) 8 are unresponsive to the question.

The 122 replies are in favour of the English-medium and nearly 100 are not against using the vernacular-medium more or less. This proportion is certainly favourable to the vernacularists besides, even among those that favour the English-medium there is not an unreasonable section of witnesses who advise the foreign medium, however, there is an promise for progress and national development for different subjects. In regard of education is not against the vernacular-medium on principle. They do not like us to let hot water boil we have found swimming. Of a number will not more desire in the evidence of the remaining witnesses that stand for the English-medium. This larger evidence has changed the vernacular as well over to serve the purpose of the medium of instruction. These witnesses bring an account of the history of our vernacular. There was a time when Sanskrit was the sole medium for Hindu philosophy. But a few orthodox scholars carried their vernacular with a decent store of philosophic literature and brought Hindu philosophy within the reach of the masses. Can we not with our present ideas of organization do for our vernaculars in the sphere of education what our three vernacular scholars did in the sphere of philosophy? As against the difficulty of these witnesses, the vernacularists may cite the example of Japan. The Rev. W. S. F. Hilliard Principal of St. Paul's Cathedral College, Calcutta, in his evidence, writes: "Japan by use of the vernacular, has built-up an educational system that commands the respect of the West." The testimony of John Buchanan Chalmers, the editor of the *Modern Review*, is even more convincing. He says: "The use of the vernacular in all grades of secondary education is indubitably necessary. All ob-

persons have been only temporarily, for the most highly developed modern languages and literatures were in fact no better than Bengali. In their own development was obtained by one and it will be obtained in our case, too, in the same way." Thus we find that though the evidence before Dr. Saha's Commission is not today in favour of vernacularising university education, it does hold high hopes for the future of the cause of the vernacular-medium. There was when the vernacularisation cause was linked upon with national. There is now not only so did not but ourselves has taken the place. Two important institutions have recently posed the cause. The newly University of Poona and the Queen's University of Hyderabad are using the vernacular as the sole medium. Their progress is being keenly watched by many. These causes will, as Justice Sir Abul Kalam says, make the solution of the problem of the vernacular cause at the last session of the Hindu University, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya invited all the eminent vernacularists to meet at a conference. We hope that such an organized effort will insure full recognition of the vernacular as media of instruction.

The present distribution of provinces is neither better which has come up for us any than any other in the course of the country. The entire re-division of provinces on a linguistic basis will be followed by a rearrangement of universities.

We have shown above the steps which spheres of work for the cause of vernacular. And it is evident that unless we stick to this track, we shall not be able to remove the growing intellectual and cultural gap between our men and women and between the classes and the masses. Just also equally certain that the vernacular medium alone can establish originality in thought in the largest number of persons.

## INDIA ABROAD

### GRAVE SITUATION IN ILLI

We give below the latter part of Pt. Harbajan Brajendra's letter (see p. 1 of our last issue for the first part):—

The Fijl Department, which is at present in our country, has claimed to represent the Fijl Government and the Fijlers. We should ask the Fijl Department to be kind enough to answer the following questions—

1. Is it not a fact that the Fijl Government's agents have compelled the labour of Indians during the war to make enormous profits out of sugar?
2. Is it not a fact that the Fijl Government of the Comptroller has themselves appropriated the part of the Indian labourers' earnings which was to pay for their return passage?
3. Is it not a fact that the great sugar industries in Fijl are exporting their trade to some of our ports, one of

them has been open to the regulars the labourers who have helped to grow the sugar?

4. What is the nature of those Fijl labourers who have earned the right of free passage to India during the last 2 years? When will they be repatriated? Will not an early repatriation of these labourers give an immediate relief to the Fijl labourers?
5. Is it not a fact that during the war the intending Indian emigrants were promised a payment of 12 months by the Fijl Government to Fijl? Were not these emigrants ordered to give not a half month on Sundays and all Saturdays are not working days? Is it not a fact that the possession of 1/2 in Fijl are better or those as those in India? Do you not think the deliberate deception is after trade to some day in India without any repatriation as to the Fijl years?
6. Why was Dr. Saha, in his report, to show that it is not a required leader of the war industry of the Fijl labourers? What was the effect of his report on upon the Indian population of Fijl?
7. How many industrial labourers were liberated on 1st January 1930? What did it cost the Fijl Government or the Fijl Government? Did the Fijl Government agree to send labourers willingly or were they forced to do so reluctantly?
8. Is there not in Fijl a law called The Masters and Servants Ordinance which fixing of this, may be applied to the emigrants to send water what they may be made to serve for a period of one year immediately on their repatriation to India? How many Indian labourers are being under this Ordinance?
9. Is it not a fact that the Fijlers have made various working agreements with the labourers who have to work under the same conditions as Indian labour and for the same wages, with the addition of a bonus of £1 10 shillings? How many labourers are working under this system?
10. Is it not a fact that the reserved and unutilized portion of the C. I. R. company of Fijl amounted to £ 200,000 in January 1930 and to £ 1,141,000 in March 1931?

Is it not a fact that more than £ 100,000 extra profits were made by the Fijl since 1914 to the war?

11. Is it not a fact that during the last three years of the war, not a fraction of these enormous war profits was distributed among the substantial classes who helped to make those profits?
12. What were the names of the most active of Indian labourers in Fijl? How were the profits of the Fijl connected with the strikes? What was the attitude of the Fijlers during the strikes?
13. Will you please give the profits of the Fijl in 1929 and 1930?

The labourers in Fijl have been suffering all sorts of hardships and deprivations for the last 40 years. They are deprived of us do not help them at this time of great trouble. Shall we not do something for these worthy thousands of our countrymen in Fijl?

### British Guinea

Dr. H. S. L. Pichai writes to the "Times of India":—

In your leading article entitled, "India Abroad," published in your issue of the 14th ultimo, you deal, amongst other problems, with that of Indian migration to British Guinea, and in the course of your remarks, you refer to

the manner with which the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya agreed to sign the British-German agreement now in India with the object of promoting the so-called Commemorative Scheme about which a great deal has been said or written. You suggested that the Pundit's conduct might be set at rest by the simple process of stipulating a protest to be Indian conduct in British India so that world be quicken their senses, a delegation to inquire, less expensive and quite as instructive. I do not know whether Mr. Malaviya had the necessary powers at his disposal, but the Indian-German Agreement, of which I have the privilege of being the Honorary Secretary, has received the most urgent requirements on the subject of Commemorative objects of the British-German delegation, from what I know is the only organized public body representing the Indian community in the Colony, namely, the East India Association of Singapore. Of this Association the Indian members of the delegation are prominent members and while in this country they issued a pamphlet proposing to be published by Little Jones when an address should they choose to speak. My Association was at, however, been furnished with copies of a lengthy and somewhat voluminous, of which I expect a copy in which the views of the Indian delegates to represent the Singapore Association is registered and the volume is contained for what, in fact, is, namely, with various Commemorative Schemes in the broad sense, but of Indian origin, I may add that the interpretation of the volume has been confined to me, quite entirely by a very prominent Member of Parliament, ably assisted or aided with a wide experience of conditions obtaining in the British West Indies and British towns, and who is himself a supporter of the scheme.

My Association has only by the last week received an official letter from the Secretary of the Singapore Association emphasizing the fact that the members of the scheme among intelligent Indians in that colony is decidedly against the introduction of immigration, except upon a scheme based on the same principle of Indianization which obtains in Canada or Australia. He writes—

"The foremost step to be taken in a planned scheme with Government support is, of course, to stop labour for the sugar estates. Believe me it would be a sorry day when the Indian public give its sanction to it. It would be a reversal of all the claims and well-recognized facts which have made the work of India bright and successful and well-remembered. Do you realize the loss to business in which Indians have been and are still held in the Colony? The term "Dutch" used by whites and Malays would a word by which they express their contempt for educated members of the Indian race who are judged by no higher standard than the half-bred Chinese labourer on the estate."

"The scheme which falls to the discredit of Indian immigration will not be ready on the scheme though kept down a bit. It is a necessary and a substance to the one and to give credit to the proposed scheme argue your case elsewhere for the time. I expect you to fight the case in six letters and I expect to be allowed, for the interest of the case is more than fifty times the money Government will be disposed to the other side for the conduct of the scheme in a few Commemorative Schemes have not been prepared."

"The time is coming, however by East India and the west coast is likely to give in being illustrated mostly by both of drainage and irrigation, and possibly

by reference being made to the high death-rate which they then engaged in the maintenance.

"The Government are not to expect when they speak of Commemorative to the conditions presented to it are not being made—only Mr. J. A. Leitch's speech before my Association, in the West India Committee Chamber of August 10, 1899."

My Association's attitude is based on the fact that as a member of the representatives made by the Government delegates while in England, some selected men went to the Colony from Liverpool to hasten their business, but being unable to find other employment they were eventually sent to one of the sugar estates, and the question is put, if such be the case of those men, what would happen in the event of any large number of Indians being sent to the Colony? The matter is referred to in a local newspaper, *The Tribune*, which, I understand, is not Indian owned or controlled. My Association is in possession of reports showing that through copies taken from the British West India is willing to go to India and to Central America because the promising returns and the conditions offered are satisfactory, as is willing to go to British India. There must be some reason for this, and until the matter is satisfactorily explained it is more than questionable whether Indians should be referred to emigrate. There is yet one other reason why I require to think India ought to transfer the matter of the present time. The system of emigration will probably be the Colony as it does also in Trinidad, Jamaica and Surinam, and there should be no complaint of any further competition from Indians in any of these places until the maintenance of existing emigration. Then they are not an economic necessity, my Association has just had the last possible evidence from the admission of the largest sugar estates in Trinidad whose management that they or better are not to be taken, and they have every reason to be satisfied with the results of their experience. Having regard, therefore, to these various considerations, in closing the fact that the military and commercial needs of the Colony are substantially fully provided for and to the serious conflict of interests between the East India Association of Singapore and the delegates are so to do, it would seem not merely judicious, but essential, before any step is taken to give effect to an official emigration to any colony of emigrants to British Guiana, or even other Colonies of any sort, probably composed of non-officials, to go to the Colony and report on the facts.

#### EAST AFRICAN MESSAGE DEPORTATION PROCLAMATION.

(RESERVED PRINT)

Mr. C. F. Andrews has given in a representation of the Associated Press of India a copy of the Deportation Proclamation of the Administration of the Tanganyika Territory (the late German East Africa) which reads as follows—

"The Administration may by a claim under his hand require to be taken that any person shall within the time limited by such notice leave and be expelled from the assigned territory of German East Africa for such period as in any circumstances, and any person upon whom such notice shall have been served who neglects to comply in leave

the territory as shown or leaving both the territory returns therein before the expiration of the next period shall be guilty of an offence and shall be punishable with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months or with a fine not exceeding Rs. 1,000 or with both and shall be liable to be deported. Should the Administrator deem it to be undesirable to the public good that any person should be deported from the said territory, he may by notice under sub-section (1) of this section be directed to be deported from the said territory to such place and for such period as he shall direct. No appeal shall lie from any order of deportation made under this Provision. This person to be deported may by warrant of the Administrator under his hand be detained up to twenty-four hours for the purpose of his deportation orders."

Mr. Anderson states that the Department Provisionally refused any right of appeal to reside at the seat of Government and is parallel to those in the Indian States of British East Africa, which it is very well understood in its terms. In its present shape it is probably an interim measure to be followed by a regular Bill drawn up as a result of a committee on the Federation. At the present time any Indian may be deported without any right of appeal at the will of the Administrator thereof.

—The Sunday Chronicle.

## B. AFRICAN COMMISSION.

(From the Times of India.)

The first public sitting of the African Commission took place at Caprieville on Thursday, March 27. All the members were present, namely, Mr. John Long (Chairman), Col. J. Scott Wylie, Mr. W. Dawson Baxter and Mr. H. J. Matthews, who the secretary, Mr. J. H. Matthews. Sir Benjamin Babington visited the proceedings on behalf of the British Government. The Terms of Reference of the Commission are as follow—

To inquire into and report on the provisions of the law affecting

(a) the acquisition of land and rights affecting land in the Union by Indian and persons of Indian descent or landing on other purposes,

(b) the liability of carrying on all business by such persons generally, or in specified branches, and whether it is in the public interest to alter the law in any respect,

(c) to make recommendations with regard to any difficulties and grievances which have arisen or appear to arise in (a) and (b).

Mr. G. L. W. Humeagh, Provincial Secretary of the Cape Province, was the first witness examined. He stated that the same of hope as to general justice in the Cape Province was done with under Ordinance 14 of 1904. All applications for general Indians' licenses had, in the first instance, to apply for a certificate to the local authority. An appeal was allowed to the Administrator of the Province as soon as the cases grew, but refused by the local authority was that there was already sufficient work to do in a particular area.

The Chairman: A municipality can refuse a certificate without giving any ground for their refusal?—Yes.

Is that provided for in the Ordinance?—Yes, in clauses 1 and 4. As far as the Ordinance is concerned, it seems that there are two things to be granted or refused.

The Chairman: Have you had many cases in which difficulties have arisen?—There had been appeals, but I have no specific numbers.

As far as you know, there has not been much difficulty in carrying out the law referring to the issue of licenses to Indians? You have not heard of any serious prosecutions?—No, except the ordinary penalties that come up under any piece of legislation. I do not think it has been specially acute, so far as my knowledge goes.

Col Wylie: Has a hearing often any power to refuse a license once a license has been granted?—Not, so far as I know.

Mr. Matthews: Suppose a man voluntarily sells sheep, would you cancel his license?—No, I think he must then be dealt with under municipal or other laws.

Col Wylie: If a person is refused, is there any appeal to the Supreme Court?—I take it there would be, under the common law. If it was provided for in the Ordinance.

Witness, in reply to Mr. Matthews, stated that, apart from the town of East London, he had no knowledge of any application of Indians at the Cape Province. Speaking from observation at the Province, he should say that there was a tendency amongst Indians to live in a particular area.

In reply to the Chairman, witness stated that when the municipal authority had refused to withdraw revenues to other purposes, there had been appeals by the licensees to the Administrator, but not in many cases. In such cases the Administrator had allowed the appeal, and reversed the decision of the municipality.

## THE BUDGET.

(From "The Indian Review.")

REVENUE ESTIMATES AND ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE.

In the financial statement for 1923-24, the total annual revenue was given as Rs. 120 lacs, of which Rs. 87 lacs have been spent for military purposes. That 72 per cent. of the resources should be spent for military purposes shows an altered state of things. This must mean the curbing of production by means of agriculture and other industries, of education, of sanitation, &c., and most in the long run tend to hampered development. But it is not this that we intend mainly to say, in this Note.

India was placed a geographically different country and her educational opportunities is lower than that of any other civilized country, as the following figures of educational expenditure per head of the population of different countries, published by the New Zealand and India League, will show:

	Per Headings	
The United States	10	10
New Zealand	12	12
Sweden	12	12
England and Wales	10	10
Canada	8	8
Switzerland	8	8
Germany	8	8
The Netherlands	8	8
Denmark	8	8
Belgium	8	8
France	8	8
Austria	8	8
Spain	8	8
Italy	8	8
Japan	8	8
China	8	8
India	8	8

The Budget demands for military expenditure in 1904-05 was Rs. 84 crores or more crores. But the actual military expenditure has been Rs. 70-81 crores. The Government had anticipated in 1903, and in its two subsequent years, but 70,000,000 Crores. And the money has been saved. Why then was it a much additional amount for loans, not voluntarily but by profuse deliberation and effort, for submission? Let us see how far this can help us in getting less military expenditure in our budget and plan. According to the returns 1911-12, there were in British India 3,33,14,000 boys and girls of the age of 2 to 18. According to the official report on "Indian Education in 1912-13" published by the Bureau of Education in India, the annual cost of educating each pupil in primary schools in British India is Rs. 2-0-11. The total expenditure would thus be about Rs. 1,000 crores. This means it has been Rs. 21 crores.

In the year 1904-05 the military expenditure was 17-10 crores of rupees. In 1911-12 it stood at 15-50 crores. Even in 1915-16 the expenditure was no more or more than 23 crores, in 1916-17 thirty crores, and in 1917-18 forty-five crores. For the year 1904-05, some 10 crores have been budgeted for the military expenditure as compared with higher than even the average of the years of the great war. And we are required to believe that hereafter the military expenditure in any year, if it was, it will be indispensable, and could be well and be feared, but that 10 crores of expense for national defence purposes cannot be spared by any means. This we absolutely refuse to believe.

## THE NATIONAL WEEK.

### MR. RAJESWARATH'S MESSAGE.

The third and last of the series of public meetings in celebration of the National week was held in the open square near the French Bridge, Bombay, on the 13th, Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding. The meeting was arranged under the joint auspices of the Bombay branch of the Home Rule League and the National Union.

The President of the latter announced that his Representative Speech was unable to be presented but had sent a message, which he called upon Mr. C. F. Andrews to read.

Mr. Andrews conveyed read the message which ran as follows:

"A great crisis has been born in the name of law in the Empire. Such terrible exigencies will have their legacy in the wreckage of ideas behind them. What happens in Jallianwala Bag is itself a monstrous progeny of a monstrous war, which for four years had been deluging the world with fire and poison, physical and moral. The same disease of the sin through which humanity had walked across the blood-soaked length of spring has been culminating in the minds of those who have power in their hands with an attack of apoplexy which, in fear of resistance without. The revolution of the powerful who aimed at death in using their machines of flight followed upon the carnage and wounded villages and suffering unrepentable humiliated upon their fellow-beings behind the scenes of an unbroken continuity of justice, and put not having for a moment that it was the ancient form of death in their own mind, but became only possible through the opportunity which the tide was not given to men. From nearly everything but our highest nature, sampling truth and honour under foot. This

derivation of the basis of civilization will continue to produce a series of moral earthquakes, and men will have to be ready for still further shakings. That the future will take a long time to be restored, is clearly seen by the moral intensity of indignation universally kindling and the atmosphere of the present disturbances.

"But we have no place in these regions of telegraphic power reading the world-wide life according to their own purposes. What most concerns us is to know that the moral degradation actually process the people, including indignation upon the helpless, but also their victims. The destruction of good or partial conditions of the humanity to rely and mean, but the least and impudently which they are apt to find upon the words of the weak are no less abject. Therefore, when physical force, in its strongest form is itself, plan to reach the spirit of man, that again the time for him to assert that he need be indomitable. We shall refuse to be afraid and to any moral defeat by obtaining in our hearts the disease of revolution. The time has come for the victims to be the centre in the field of righteousness.

"When brother kills the blood of his brother' and we take to be his, getting a high standing money, when he tries to keep the blood stains fresh in the soil as a memorial of his crime, that that is almost unendurable under the given laws and the exact parity of the laws. The man who has killed the wife and daughter of the innocent in our neighbourhood, let us except God's own punishment the blood stains of indignity with our people—

"Take you to Jallianwala Baghian two men paid today.

"With Thy government, O, Tirah, be ever more so.

For the first year since from the Tirah, who can see our work from the fear of suffering and death in the midst of terror and from maintenance in defiance of injury. Let us take our lesson from the best, even when the worst of the pain and death is still indomitable. Let us all measure, really and strictly see for the opportunity of action, and only the Hindu and the one can be clearly. Let those who work try to lighten the minds of the forces with stress, among the Hindu majority of men in their anger, but let us be quick in the provisions to come afterwards of that only which we can create, let us be grateful to our fellow-beings, who have led us the cause of our Father, who supported all practical progress, and spread his love for and with it "You and again."

### THE RESOLUTION.

We therefore then passed the following resolutions:—"This meeting of the citizens of Bombay is of opinion that while not anxious at American although unimpaired, also gave government were worthy of consideration, the deliberate and uncalculated manner without warning by General Dyer of massacre, unexcused and atrocious destruction near Jallianwala Bag was an unexcusable act of barbarity, and hopes that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will take such steps as to render responsible a reparation of such barbarity and other similar barbarities committed by responsible officers in the Punjab during the period of the martial law administration and hopes that commensurate steps by the Punjab Govt. Committee of the Indian National Congress will be carried out in their entirety." The resolutions were passed and the meeting was dissolved.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi.)

For Sale Vol. II, No. 11	AMSTERDAM, FRIDAY, APRIL 24, 1920	From Our Agents P. L. Carey
-----------------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------------------

## CONTENTS.

	Page.
To the Members of the All India League	1
Notes	2
As before	
Why I have joined the All India League	3
Non-Co-operation	4
The Case of Jharkhand	6
Impaired Performance and Fiscal Autonomy	8
President's Reply	11
Mr. Gandhi's Speech	12
Supplemental Preface to Report	18

## TO THE MEMBERS

or

### THE ALL-INDIA HOME RULE LEAGUE.

I have abstained hitherto from the even touch of any ink for me to belong to an organisation that is purely and frankly political. But after careful deliberation and consultation with friends I have joined the All India Home Rule League and accepted the office of its President. Some friends whom I consulted told me that I should not join any political organisation and that if I did, I would lose the position of spiritual adviser I enjoy at present. I profess that this question had remained in my mind with me. At the same time I felt that if I was accepted by the League as I was, I should be wrong or not clearly say myself to be an organisation that I contribute for the advancement of the cause which I had spent my mind and of the methods which I had chosen for me. My attitude with quietude and better results than those that are usually adopted. Before joining the League, I had never intended to exercise the opinion of those who were outside the Presidency and to which I had not the privilege to come or read about unless I was co-worshiped by the Bombay Presidency.

The cause referred to by me are the Hindu-Muslim Unity with special reference to Jharkhand, the recognition of Hindustani as the lingua franca and a linguistic re-organisation of the Province. I would engage the League if I can carry the question

with me in Hindustani so that they occupy the largest part of the national time and attention.

I fully confess that I believe that a necessary place in my scheme of national reorganisation. For I feel that the activities along by me if they would not check national energy, would bring about all the reforms that the most ardent nationalists ever dream, and so far as the desirability of full self-government at the earliest possible moment is concerned I yield to none in my desire to hasten our progress. And it is because I feel that the progress towards self-government can be best accelerated by developing the activities I have mentioned that I keep them in the forefront of the national programme. I shall not treat the All India Home Rule League as a party organisation among some of the time I belong to no party, and I wish to belong to none hereafter. I am aware that the constitution of the League requires it to help the Congress, but I do not regard the Congress as a party organisation, even as the British Parliament though it constitutes a party and has no party or other dominating it from time to time, is not a party organisation. I shall venture to hope that all parties will thank the Congress as a national organisation presiding a platform for all parties to appeal to the nation with a view to deciding its policy and I would venture to say would the policy of the League as to make the Congress retain its non-party national character.

This brings me to my method. I believe that it is possible to introduce non-compromising truth and honesty in the politics of life of the country. What I would not expect the League to follow is a policy of Civil Disobedience methods, I would advise every man to make himself as non-violent as possible in all his conduct. If we shall come to this or to other circumstances and they occur, I do not wish however to develop the theme any further. I would rather let myself be in my opinion that most arise from the full statement I have made. My purpose just now is not to demonstrate the propriety of my action or the soundness of the policy, which I have indicated but to take the members of the League into my confidence and to invite criticism of the programme before me. I do not and my suggestions they may wish to make for the advancement of the welfare of the League.

M. K. Gandhi.

## Notes

**The problem of the und clothed.**—Sir Charles Maecy of the Rajes Cotton growing Association has recently published a list out of the world's population, 700 million people are well clothed, 200 million are half clothed and 100 million und clothed. We have no such figures in regard to India, and it is ridiculous that the proportion between clothed and und clothed people is highly disadvantageous. In the Indian cotton, especially as a case of the fact that it makes only second to America among the cotton growing countries. It is proved by the Cotton Committee that we can grow more and better cotton. We are undoubtedly making the new mills to be created in India too small. We had to allow to provide a work machinery. But, the situation regarding will machinery is very serious even in England which has been one of our largest importing countries. The "Economic Quarterly" in its interesting review of the cotton industry, tells us "that new mills would be so costly that hardly anybody contemplating them, and, consequently, there is a prospect of the demand for goods exceeding the supply, for quite a considerable period." This makes it evident that unless we reverse our old opening markets and headlines, we cannot solve the problem of the und clothed. India has given us enough and a promise more, we must work to deserve it.

**East African Exchange.**—Already the news from East Africa about the proposed change of currency, from the rupee to the sterling is making steps and activity. And now news comes that legislation has been started in the independent States of the East African Union to allow a new uniform rate of exchange for the rupee. The rate of exchange in India stands today at 2s. 6d. to 2s. 11. -to 100 in the rupee. One does not have to wonder that the rate is going to rise or fall. Not that East African legislature has already started a drastic legislation fixing the rate of the rupee at 2s. 6d. now, 2s. 10. as from July 1, and 2s. as from December.

Now every body knows that a very great portion of the East African Trade and Finance is geographically dependent upon India. Hence, East Africa is itself a great producer of cotton and other raw materials which it exports to European countries. Naturally, the movement of the legislature has led to a state of things and consideration which has much of a serious dislocation of trade, and a financial and industrial crisis is imminent. It is clear that no consideration has been given to the established commercial and industrial interests and the native productions of the country, a very large portion of which is held by the Indian Community.

**Beginning with objection.**—A group of the proposal of Imperial Preference, some of our friends held out to us the prospect of its favourable working in the case of our exports. They point out to us the manner of its working in the United Kingdom. Do not our tea, coffee and tobacco enjoy distinct

advantage by protection? And now come our brilliant and versatile contemporary from Bombay and says to us, "Look here! the British Government have budget proposals to impose an additional duty of 40 p. c. on imported sugar but with a preferential rebate of one-third on sugar from the Dominion and from India! Is not the prospect a good example of the advantage which India may reap from Imperial Preference?"

Now we object that though we are not quite contented with the idea of enjoying nothing else but our advantages as a result of preference being nullified; i. e. the product of such harmful elements as tea and coffee, tobacco and opium. But we shall not make ourselves in for a while and look at the question squarely. It does not matter two pence whether wheat is granted to India and additional duties are imposed on foreign opium. What matters in the first place, is what is the actual state and scope of our Opium Industry. And we have it on the not very old reliability of an eminent writer in the very same paper that though we produce tobacco, we yet import opium worth Rs. 44 lac a year!

For the sake of higher revenue which are involved in the question of Imperial Preference, we may not today want upon the realization of our contemporary's expectations. We may even concede to it, even that discovery have proved that Malwa flower is capable of producing alcohol and spirit, the "bright" prospect for India in the trade monopoly of alcohol and spirit. But the question of question is, is that the only side of Imperial Preference? Is this a "good example of the advantage" which India will reap from Imperial Preference?

**Why no objection?**—Why is the Premier in serious and heavy of the concerned department of the Congress Department for the purpose of placing before the British public the Foreign Report? Our worthy contemporary wants that no passage should be granted to the department when its members have got their names previously registered. And then no passage should only be started in the order of priority certificates. We do not know whether the department has done this or not, but our contemporary's previous reputation and attitude towards the sub-committee and its work has been such that he will accept the contents of it. It has been preceded by an honest anxiety to find strictly, fairly and impartially with those who have submitted their priority certificates earlier and stand a better claim than the department. The Indian view will be that our country very less in its attitude anxiety to shelter the official wrong done and their shameful and dishonest acts, but upon the opposite side to the case of justice and impartial treatment. We on our part, however, do not wish to question the motives of our contemporary. But we

would surely question the wisdom of the suggestion. The paper would be easily mistaken to suppose that the department of the Legislature would not serve any useful purpose. It is of almost national importance that the grave wrong and unparliamentary course perpetrated in the name of British justice and British Raj should be righted and the fair name of Britain and the British Empire restored. Only then will the Indian feeling be reconciled in this country. The sooner, therefore, this business, the better it will be for the stability and honour of the British Empire and its administration.

Eighty applied for a job and a chance that complaints of mistreatment of Indian passengers by Railway officials and by individual European passengers should be heard as when, in spite of repeated warnings and remonstrances of the authorities by law courts, in several instances. The very exposure of these mistreatment and ill-treatment, as we thought, was sufficient to every trace to show that thereby the whole was put on a footing that they belonged to was put down and shown and that their conduct was to be treated their own community leaders being a man against the law of the land. But we see an impression in a few days' time of two instances being reported and after the other, in which not Indian only passengers, but females have been harassed and returned over by some railway officials in the same way as by a Captain of the Majesty's Army in the other. The account of the latter incident has been telegraphed to us by a correspondent which we reproduce below—

On the 15th April the Railway South Chhambhal Eight was travelling, with the ladies, to Delhi from Meerut, by the Bombay Delhi Down Express, which leaves Meerut at 11:15. Ladies were seated in a second class compartment labelled "For Ladies Only."

The British lady's was in another compartment was seated, at 11:15 the ladies' compartment was entered by a white man, dressed as Military driver, whom some travellers later saw as one Capt. Parker of the 1st Air Regiment, Delhi Force. He entered the compartment unceremoniously, ordered the sleeping Indian and asked them to vacate the compartment at that time when the train was in the way in another compartment. The poor ladies were frightened. The Capt. began talking with words and threatened to forcibly take them out. The sleeping Capt. looked at the ladies, then and there and was about to offer assistance when both Chhambhal asked, by mistake, at the compartment to ask after the ladies. To increase the pain to find the wrong done. When he perceived he was handled with indignity. The station master and guard intervened. Their protests against the high insolence of the Captain were unheeded. As the train moved, the ladies, in much discomfort of the sleeping lady, were obliged to climb to another compartment, when the train was about to depart. The criticisms of H. K. the Commander-in-Chief and H. K. the Viceroy is applied to the passage.

## Young India.

Almohat, Wednesday, 28th April, 1910.

### WHY I HAVE JOINED THE KHALIFAT MOVEMENT

(By M. K. Ghosh.)

An interested South African friend who is at present living in England has written to me a letter from which I make the following extracts—

"You will doubtless remember having met me in South Africa at the time when the Rev. J. J. Isaacs was seen and you, in your company there and I subsequently returned to England deeply impressed with the magnitude of your attitude in that country. During the months before war I wrote and lectured and spoke on your behalf in several places which I do not repeat. Dissatisfied from ordinary service, however, I have returned from the papers that you appear to be adopting a more radical attitude in your attitude in regard to 'The Khilafat' that you are now treating and contemplating a union between the British and Muslims with a view of establishing England and the Allied Powers in the position of the Chamberlains of the Ottoman Empire in the system of the Turkish Government from Constantinople. Knowing as I do your sense of justice and your honest intentions I feel that I am entitled, in view of the trouble part that I have taken to promote your interests in this case, to ask you whether this letter is, or is not, as I cannot believe that you have wrongly misinterpreted a movement to place the west and support departure of the Standard Commission above the interests of humanity, for if any country has accepted these interests in the first it has surely been Turkey. I am personally familiar with the conditions in Syria and Armenia and I can only suppose that if the report which 'The Times' has published is correct you, have chosen to deal with your moral responsibilities and allied yourself with one of the prevailing empires. However, and I fear that this is not your attitude I cannot pardon my mind. Perhaps you will do me the favour of sending me a reply."

I have sent a reply to the writer, but as the views expressed in the quotation are likely to be shared by many of my English friends and as I do not wish, if I can possibly help it, to lessen their friendship or their interest, I shall endeavor to state my position as clearly as I can in the Khalifat question. The letter shows what such public men can do through responsible journalism. I take not even the Times report returned to by my friend. But it is evident that the report has made the writer to regret my alliance with 'the prevailing empires' and to think that I have "chosen to side with" my "moral responsibilities."

It is just my sense of moral responsibility which has made me take up the Khalifat question and to identify myself entirely with the Mohammedans. It is perfectly true that I am acquainted and conversant with the conditions in British and Muslim, but certainly not with "a view of establishing England and the Allied Powers in the position of the Chamberlains of the Ottoman Empire." It is not

leave to my usual in substance governments or anybody else. This does not however mean that certain acts of mine may not result in embarrasment. But I should not hold myself responsible for having caused embarrasment when I was the wrong of a wrong-doer by refusing assistance in his wrong-doing. On the Khilafat question I refuse to be party to a hush-hush. Mr Lloyd George's effusive declaration is practically the whole of the case for Indian Muslims and when that case is backed by accepted authority it becomes irresistible. Moreover, it is incorrect to say that I have 'held myself loose of the prevailing madness' or that I have 'strongly condemned the movement to place the trial and verdict, deposition of the Standard Government above the interests of humanity' In the whole of the Indian-Muslim demand there is no element in the deposition of the so-called 'sovereign' depositions of the Standard Government, or in the contrary the Indian-Muslims accepted the principle of taking full personal responsibility for the protection of non-Muslim minorities. I do not know how far the confidence of Armenia and Spain may be considered as a safety net how far the Turkish Government may be held responsible for it. I must repeat that the reports from these quarters and work suggested will show the Standard Government, French or in a measure responsible for what would be the way to Armenia and Spain. But I am in no way interested in supporting Turkey or any other merely. The Allied Powers can easily prevent it by means other than that of making Turkey either dismembered and weakened or the Ottoman Empire. The Allied Powers are not dealing with a new situation. If Turkey was to be partitioned, its position should have been made clear at the time, because of the war. There would then have been no question of a hush-hush. As it is, no Indian-Muslim has any regard for the peace of the British Empire. In his eyes the only opponent Turkey is that of Christianity as before with England as the backbone of the way. The great objection from Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah is the impression, that he says that unless an English law deposition is removed in its entirety from the French Government and the people.

Thus, if it were, as I hold it to be, that the Indian-Muslims have a sense that is just and is supported by accepted authority, then for the Standard to be support them to the utmost would be a necessary result of their loyalty to their sacred duties of them to co-operation from their Muslim-Muslims. As a public-spirited citizen, I would be entirely of the same opinion if I did not support Indian-Muslims in their struggle to maintain the independence of their country and to maintain the independence of their country. I am convinced that I believe that is supporting their cause in a way which is not only just but also is supporting the cause of the British Empire. I am convinced that the British Government has not only not expressed to their satisfaction it has not possible to make the situation thoroughly, to help and unambiguously.

## NON-CO-OPERATION

(By M. K. Dasgupta.)

A writer in the "Times of India" the Editor of that wonderful daily and Mr. Dasgupta have all in their own names undertaken non-co-operation movement in connection with the Khilafat movement. All the three writings invariably discuss many questions which I shall start for the time being. I propose to answer two serious questions raised by the writers. The similarity with which they are stated enables them to a greater consideration than if they had been given in a casual language. In non-co-operation, the writer thinks, it would be difficult if not impossible to avoid violence. Indeed violence, the "Times of India" editorial says, has already commenced in that substance has been restricted to an Calcutta and Delhi. Now I fear that violence in a certain sense is responsible to avoid I consider in South Africa in the initial stages of the positive resistance movement. Those who had fallen away were not violent. Government in violent or peaceful according to the nature in which it is practical. A country has any will refuse to resist properly after a period who press has talks about his house. But the situation will become violent if the individual life of a person is made unbearable by such a number of steps. The real danger of violence lies in the people refusing to non-co-operation because of unjust and unyielding. This may happen, if for instance, payment of taxes is suddenly suspended or if pressure is put upon soldiers to lay down their arms. I however do not bear any real consequences for the simple reason that every responsible Muslim understands that non-co-operation is a successful means to totally unyielding with violence. The other objection raised is that those who may give up their service may have to starve. This is quite possible but a serious one, for the standard will certainly make the price was the time who very suddenly had themselves out of employment. I propose to try to explain the value of the difficulties of questions which arise. July 1938 is a very important time for the Indian-Muslims because it is to be expected, there is nothing left but non-co-operation of the Standard period of a subject.

## NOTICE.

All communications regarding subscription, right of advertisement should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India," 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

(I, respectfully to witness.)  
 Witness my hand and seal this 28th day of April, 1938.  
 M. K. Dasgupta.  
 (Seal)  
 (Signature)  
 (Address)  
 (City)  
 (State)  
 (Country)

## THE DUES OF KHANDER

(By M. K. Ghosh.)

While the Swadeshi movement is going forward by leaps and bounds and Khaddars are being worn enthusiastically as Khitchu is well to consider the best method of promoting khaddars. The smart type in Swadeshi knows that we do not manufacture enough cloth to supply our wants. If therefore we merely use well made cloth, we simply deprive the poor of what they need, or at least, we stress the price of well made cloth. The only way therefore to encourage Swadeshi is to manufacture more cloth. This cannot grow like mushrooms. We must, therefore, fall back upon handlooms and handspun yarn. Yarn has never perhaps been so low in price today and with our marketing technique profits out of pure air, therefore, who manufactures a yard of yarn, helps his producer and cheapens its price.

How to spin yarn and weave cloth is then the question. I know from personal experience that it is not possible to find the market with hand-spun yarn and handwoven cloth if the standard cloth comes to be recognised as fit for wear. The cloth is called Khadda or Upper India. It is called Khadda in the Bombay Presidency. Thanks to Sarka Doss, the late owner, that it is possible to make one yard out of Khaddar. One thought, however, could have sprang into my mind during the National Week, by visiting Khaddar Bari and Khaddar Bazaar. And the idea is this: instead of putting in the Khaddar bars, I must, I thought, it was impossible. They thought women who had never worn anything but the finest silk or the finest linen. Khaddar could not possibly hold the weight of heavy Khaddar. She is asked all sorts and was in fact asked or has enquired in her Khaddar Bari that she has finished with this. "If you do not feel satisfied or that even of yards, you may go anywhere and to my family and you will find it would be well with you." It was with some such words that her great uncle, Shri. Saradivathi Tagore, blessed her when he saw her in her Khaddar Bari. I wish this would be advised to other ladies that even of the most educated people of India depend on their own cloth or Khaddar. This is the cloth I venture to contribute to the national revival of India, for as she may change the conditions—growth of the economic movement during which she is, alive.

To use Khaddar in every more extensive than the First Home Minister, for its excellence. Khaddar supports to say those who were starving. It supports women who have been ravaged from a life of shame or women who, because they would not go out to work, remained idle, and quarrelled among themselves for want of occupation. Khaddar therefore lives and abides it. It has an individuality that it. The weaver is able to trace it all the pieces of it as was done in the report of a woman, late Mrs. If our hearts were not deflected we would prefer Khaddar to study in an even dress. We cannot show, let those who are not using

it verify, if they will, to the truth of my statements.

The Khaddar is now being studied at the Statyagrah Ashram. And I have associated a work which is beyond the capacity of the spinners at my disposal. I therefore ask the readers of "Young India" to come to the rescue by introducing Khaddar in their own homes.

Needless to say, the Statyagrah makes no profits from it. Any surplus left is devoted to supplying the loss incurred in the initial stages or in reducing the price of Khaddar even well from districts where the cost is heavier than elsewhere, for the cost is not the same all over. In collecting yarn I am obliged to pay enough to support them and for the present.

Khaddar can be used for making undercoats, even done with reduced prices for the outer costume. But even these is not confined to use it for personal wear, it can be used for making caps, towels, square handkerchiefs, umbrellas, bedclothes, bed-covers, carpet mats, cushions, covers for furniture, etc. I am having it dyed curley-red in Swadeshi dye. It does however wear durable and looks as if they were it as well for simple or costume-making or sportswear. I would advise those who wish to support Khaddar to get the yarn and the equipment to send to the Khaddar Department, Statyagrah Ashram, Calcutta.

## RATES

## MILL YARN WARP &amp; WEFT KHADD

Double warp and double weft. H. A. P.

Width 22 inches per yd. 0-8-0

" 24 " " " 0-8-0

" 26 " " " 0-8-0

## MILL YARN WARP &amp; HAND SPUN WEFT KHADD

Width 27 1/2"-Double warp per yd. 0-8-0

" 30 " " " 0-8-0

" 32 " " " 0-8-0

Hand Spun " " 0-8-0

Red Coloured " " 0-8-0

## HAND SPUN WARP &amp; WEFT

Khad 24" per yd. 0-8-0

" 27 " " 0-8-0

For market Khad add 0-8-0 to the above rates.

INTERNATIONAL PREFERENCE  
AND

## FISCAL AUTONOMY.

Discussions will be based on the report of the Committee appointed among the last sessions of the Imperial Council to investigate the trade situation of imports into and exports from India and to report upon the advisability or otherwise of adopting for our custom tariff a system of preference in favour of goods of the Empire region. The Committee was also requested to consider and report on the best method of accelerating the future fiscal policy of India, consistent with the main question of tariff in connection with and independent upon the fiscal policy to be adopted elsewhere.

by the Government of India. Naturally, therefore, when the question of the all-outstanding, all-outstanding and highly controversial question of the future of our fiscal affairs was in fact raised, referred to a ready-made, ill-equipped and not sufficiently representative committee, without adequate means and data at its disposal, to examine the theory questions and arrive at some definite conclusions, public apprehensions were aroused, there were protests from the Indian commercial community and the report of the Committee was greeted with heated breath and mixed feelings of confusion and fear. Thanks, however, to the announcement of its own weaknesses, the Committee made the only sane and acceptable recommendation, viz., the appointment of a 'policy' and 'representative' commission which would take a chance in various parts of the country, free of the economic constraints—flow impediments and exporters, producers and wholesale buyers, and free persons entitled to speak on behalf of the consumers—and examine the whole question of the future fiscal policy of India."

The question of our fiscal policy is one of the most theory questions on which little or no opportunity has, in the past, been given to the people of this country of discussion and of giving their mature judgment. In fact it would be an exaggeration to say that so far we have enjoyed no measure of fiscal freedom, and that our fiscal policy has all along been dictated from Whitehall more to the interests of Britain rather than to our own. Whitehall's idea of freedom has been left to us. It has been appropriated by the Government of India who, as a rule, have refused to elicit an iota of public opinion to influence their decisions and policy, and have always shown their readiness to say to the bones of their high masters: "The check position, so to say, has been maintained. With the advent of the present scheme, we are prepared to do anything but what that something is, so far as we are left. That something remains unchanged and vague. Here are the actual recommendations."

Nothing is more likely to estrange the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall to the approval of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt, but there ought to be no wonder if in the future it equally exists. India's protest to the Imperial Conference against the dearth of negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire, her agitation without power to legislate freely in her own constitution. A resolution submitted to the speakers can only be passed only by the grace of India in the Government of India to do these three vital arrangements which were first fitted to India's needs as an integral part of the British Empire. It cannot be passed by Statute without leaving the ultimate power of Parliament to control the economic system of India, and without limiting the power of veto which rests on the Crown, and neither of these limitations holds a place in any of the Statutes in the British Empire. It can only therefore be treated by an acknowledgment of a compromise. Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India,

for the sake of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa.

"In the course of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should see to it as possible to send commissioners on the subject who the Government of India and its legislative organs approve, and they think that this commission when it does take place should be invited to refer, among the interested and eligible, all the Empire to any final arrangements within the Empire in which the Empire's Government is a party."

But we see these words have been differently interpreted by different responsible persons. Lord Curzon, as mentioned in the House of Lords, in the debate on the Government of India Bill, stated that India had been given "virtual full fiscal autonomy." Lord Bledsoe in his speech at Bombay, in reply to the address presented to him on behalf of the Wholesale India Labour Association, said that "with regard to fiscal matters, India would have the same right of regulating her policy as all other dominions within the Empire," in other words, we had been given virtual full fiscal autonomy. The Hon'ble Sir George Murray, member for commerce and industry here, stated sometime ago to Bombay that something approaching fiscal autonomy had been given. With these three different versions of the one and the same recommendation, the Government of India was approached last summer, to settle the original and explain the real nature, scope and meaning of the recommendations. But the present day almost comprising reply of the Government was, "There are no recommendations of Lord Bledsoe's Committee. You look into them and put your own construction." In view of all this, it is surprising that the country have at last passed, its real power of controlling its own trade via India, it committed itself to and subjected upon any policy involving further responsibility, risks and dangers.

Again, even after we are disintegrated out of this world we will find that the question of Imperial Preference is by itself uncomplexed and intricate as the other one. This question had been carefully examined during Lord Curzon's viceroyalty, and the conclusions arrived at are fairly hardy to us. They were that without any species of preference, India enjoyed an exceptionally large measure of the advantages of the free exchange of exports and imports, that India had something but not much to offer to the Empire; that she had little to gain in money, and that she had a great deal—through the risk of profit!—done by her foreign customers which might through the balance of trade—so risk. We have in domestic these conclusions successfully, to justify any deviation from the original policy. We have in power that the situation, and the reverse of what they were in Curzon's day, not to justify the adoption of the policy of Imperial Preference.

(To be continued)

L. A.

### THE PREMIER'S SPEECH.

The English and the English on a left and official report of the Premier's speech which he recently made when he received the Khilafat delegation. Mr Lloyd George's speech is more definite and therefore more dangerous among them. He, the Premier, reply to the delegation. He says he does not quite understand what you mean from the somewhat passages on which he has based his own pledge only two years ago. He declares that Turkey must pay the penalty of defeat. This determination to punish Turkey does not become one which constitutes a preference had, in order to appease Muslim soldiers, promised that the British Government had no designs on Turkey and that Mr Lloyd George's Government would never think of punishing the Sultan. In the analysis of the Turkish Committee Mr Lloyd George has expressed his belief that the majority of the population of Turkey did not really want to quarrel with Great Britain and that their only wish was to see the country. In spite of this conviction and in spite of Mr Lloyd George's promise, he went to punish Turkey and punish it in the name of justice.

He expounds the principle of self-determination and you show the evidence of punishing Turkey at the conclusion was after another. While justifying his attitude he does not exclude even those and this states the reader must believe that very thing he had mentioned on his pledge at performance Turkish. Now we are told by him that both the Turkish army and the Greek army agree in pointing out that the Mohammedan population in Thrace is a homogeneous community. Mr Lloyd George speaking at the Madras Khilafat Conference has challenged the truth of this statement. The Prime Minister is a young statesman and the example of Singapore where, he says, we had a most successful arrangement by a very important community in the whole of the question of Singapore and it was found that considerable majority was non-Turkish. Who will believe the so-called "homogeneous community" arrangements said it is dangerous that thousands of Mohammedans have been massacred and hundreds of thousands have been driven away from their hearths and homes. Strongly enough Mr Lloyd George, believe in the necessity of a religious question by a supposedly appointed committee in Singapore on the most unimpeachable and up-to-date report, whereas it would not accept Mr Mahomed Ali's proposal for an impartial commission to inquire into dangerous matters. I should like to see a real and impartial commission for him even to conclude that the Turkish Government is incapable of preventing the subject. And he proceeds to suggest foreign intervention as a ruling over Asia Minor in the interests of civilization. There he says at the root of the subject is dependence. The proposal of appointing impartial commission is distinctly makes the treatment would not be other strong powers.

This statement of the Premier's sincerity is only a standing of the Premier's intention

through the Muslim side of the Colophate. The Premier's intention in treating the Turkish question becomes greater when he then rightly handles the Khilafat question. There had been occasions when the British have used to their advantage the Muslim side of answering the English's spiritual power with temporal power. Now the only occasion is treated as a controversial question by the great statesman.

Will this raise the reputation of Great Britain or should it lose this reputation by them who fought against Turkey with full faith in British honesty? Have you not given gratitude to those who treated Mr Lloyd George, there last the afternoon for England to show his care to maintain—a mistake in or some Turkish territories which is sure to lead to show all over the world and a wonder over the hearts of the Mohammedans which will reduce the pledged honour of Britain. The Prime Minister has made an error in error. This nation was regarded the latest temperature of British diplomacy.

### MR GANDHI'S SPEECH.

The following is a true rendering of Mr Gandhi's address to the well-known of addressed on the occasion of the second anniversary of the struggle for self-rule in 1918, before the well-known and the well-known—

This is the second anniversary of the period of struggle for justice. I feel in a sorry mood for the well-known and the well-known. I feel in a sorry mood for the well-known because the dream of the well-known was not and the name which by them is some arrangement was not. I should not wish victory for the well-known by any means.

Last year before Gandhiji's speech the last anniversary by his promise. Because they had now every thing they had happened and they have almost naturally the state of India. I am sure that you are a very successful person in India. You are a very successful person in India. You are a very successful person in India.

It would have been of less use to call on well-known and I wish you to be very successful in a better manner if I wanted to mention of the fact that the well-known played in the event of the April of last year. During that month I was arrested on the matter of Government. There is a mistake that it was a wrong manner that made the well-known into the matter of Government and thought of 1918 are deeply involved in it. You are the worthy of your situation. You have a message to the effect that you are arrested, you have stopped, you are a student. You felt that you were his hands with the well-known. All this has led to you to be for him. But I would again ask in consideration of the experience of your last for him. For me, we were very successful by showing that others were concerned on the matter. It is impossible for me to describe to you the experience because the deep great had the well-known when we had of the experience in addressed. I am sure that you had a message for India from millions of voices. Well-known world is successful, words and India would have to take considerable money a working man was to read them again by means of distribution of the laws of the land. It is with that you could not be any great mistake of nature between ourselves you are

reference to largely increase the supply for which it is intended. When I began to give the advantages and the disadvantages I will never mean to quote unquoted authorities. My impression now is that the world can never be propagated by cheap violence. There will be no so the parties of three years have had to provide honest law persons and there is an avowal to offer and the other class who are there remaining and the others are doing violence. A man cannot conduct his life and succeed in his business on the same time as to be honest to both business and politics. The same time and just as well protected as required only where you have been able to protect the persons, as in the majority law were distributed amongst other countries throughout the world, England and voluntary members of the law of the land, Japan, just as in above can be said to be good against countries who having been exposed to them has succeeded in making them as they can be said to have succeeded upon when among different cases but we have succeeded in some thing ourselves. We looked for you in the fact that my earnest prayer is for all that on this important day you will recall the principles of April first and make a last determination never to repeat them.

I shall now say a few words about the condition as general of the mill industry, in which they need to show a great deal. We cannot become rich by merely getting more wages, we are becoming wealthy the old as well. An engine has not benefited by life to you exactly for the purpose of securing for you better wages. The object is to show you, that you may get enough to make you happy, to make you truly religious, that you may observe the sacred laws of ethics, that you may grow up but make such as drink, gambling, etc. that you may make good use of your earnings, that you may keep your homes clean and that you may educate your children.

Your economic condition has improved. There is room for yet more improvement. It is not like glass or iron which is manufactured with the machinery or by using machine processes. The fact is the only one clearly. In the main an eternal conflict has not yet happened and the other party stands in the other as the natural enemy. That spirit seems to have entered India also, and if it finds a permanent lodgment, it would be the end of our industry and of our power. If both parties were a power that such a dependence upon the other there will be both cause for quarrel.

( To be continued )

### IMPERIAL PREFERENCE COMMISSION'S REPORT

The report of the Commission on the subject of Imperial Preference has been published together with a brief commentary which states that the recommendations made by the Commission respecting a world wide modification of the Government of India and that their desirability will be established as soon as possible.

The following is the report:—

In accordance with our terms of reference we have examined the trade statistics of imports into and exports from India between here and here had before us relating to the imports into the United Kingdom and other principal parts of the British Empire of various articles which India produces in which there is a likelihood of her profiting to the same extent. We think

in this report a copy of a memorandum which has been laid before us on the statements showing the value of the duty at present levied on the imports of those articles into the United Kingdom and the principal foreign countries for the years 1912 and 1913. We first consider the question whether the application to the Indian markets of such a system of preference as favour of such as the Empire might be likely to involve any danger of retaliation by countries outside the Empire in respect of our export trade. In so far as we are able to judge, we are unanimously of opinion that, in view of the demand for raw materials, there is no danger to be feared on this score and that the opportunities of India's Commerce to benefit in respect of this particular aspect of the question would in the present circumstances be secured.

### THE FINANCIAL ASPECT.

Having disposed of the aspect of the question, we considered generally in what directions, and in what directions gain would likely to result from the adoption of a system of preference in our imports trade, it seemed to us not clear that if we are to receive from our industrial system the financial resources which we require, the adoption of a system of imperial preference would entail the raising of the present import duties upon raw materials. This would necessarily result in raising in some extent the price of imported commodities to the consumer and from this aspect would be likely to be opposed. Looking to the profit side the number of commodities in our import trade which might be expected to benefit by an extended market to which the Empire appeared to be well situated. Our general conclusion is that India is neither likely to gain nor to lose appreciably in the balance by the adoption of a consistent preference in our import trade.

### TAMPA COMMITTEE RECOMMENDED

Though thousands are pronounced in favour of it, we feel that we are not able to give an authoritative opinion on the subject and we cannot afford such an opinion may be obtained through the recommendations which we make below. By our terms of reference we were asked to report as to the best method of conducting the future trade policy of India. We think that this can only be effectively carried out by means of a commission with power to take evidence in various parts of the Empire from all the various countries, from exporters and importers producers and manufacturers and from persons entitled to speak in behalf of the consumers. In this connection we think it right to draw attention to the fact that local opinions were specially excluded from the purview of the Indian Industrial Commission and it seems to us desirable that the members of the Commission should be followed by the appointment as early as convenient of an equally strong and representative commission to examine the whole question of the future trade policy of India.

(Signed) H. E. Woods, A. L. Day, Sirs Park St., South Quay, Cambridge, G. H. Chatterjee, P. T. Saha, G. S. Bhatia, Charles H. Hall, A. Mack, Siddiqui Ak-Khan, W. E. Cross, Esq., P. Mitra.

### SIR SAMUEL BONE

I agree that I could substitute for the words "in the general circumstances" in the last line of paragraph 2 the words "as long as existing conditions continue" to signify meaning that

D. S. Bhatia



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

Year 1920 Vol. II, No. 24. MUMBAI, WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1920. Price One Anna Plus Post

## CONTENTS.

	Page.
The Delhi Notification .. .. .	1
Kidnapping at the Border .. .. .	2
Notes .. .. .	3
Articles.	
How to meet Non-cooperation .. .. .	4
Capital Punishment .. .. .	5
---	
Dr. Gandhi's Speech .. .. .	6
Mr. Gandhi's reply .. .. .	7
Anonymous Manifesto .. .. .	7
South African Government .. .. .	8

## THE DELHI NOTIFICATION

### FRESH OPINIONS

The last expressions were in accordance with the Khilafat movement, but considered as Delhi to the steps of a notification under the Sedition. Manifesto had not a preface warning of the Madras Press. We are not surprised at this. We would expect the Government to anticipate every move of the Congress and expect it to. Every the scheme of non-cooperation. Nor can the Government be blamed for it so long it acts wisely and judiciously. But the people must be prepared for the Government even if law, its power, become peaceful and adopt various measures. On persons may accept anywhere any day. The people must prepare for all contingencies. The preparation is simple. They must not have their hands in any amount of violence. They must not be angry. They must not play into the hands of mouth of violence and answer Government moderate with violence. No one should act on his own responsibility. It should be remembered that civil disobedience is not to be offered, at any rate at this stage, in connection with the Khilafat movement. Now as regards the law has not yet commenced. Every Government order must be strictly obeyed, all rules and laws faithfully observed. They and then only in the no operation likely to succeed. All the laws of war are applicable to this great struggle. An army moves silently, calmly and deliberately. We must act on its own responsibility. Disruption in the workshop of success. No trust is to be with the Khilafat army of peace. Its members

will be sent and written only when there is no recourse to the face of the greatest provocation. The Government is not bound by any rule of non-violence. Indeed, the last resort of a Government is violence. The leaders must be prepared for provocations, unscrupulous indignities, etc. Others must be ready to take their place. First, when we have proved ourselves by going through the process of purification, will history come, and tell them.

## KIDNAPPING AT THE BORDER

The recent instance of kidnapping a European public relations on the North West Border shows that they are no respecter of persons. The Abductions of Altabek has however published from the correspondence interesting details of kidnapping of Madras General Madras from the N. W. Border have also been coming to Dr. Gandhi, complaining of members of his families being less kidnapped and released after heavy payments. One man from here told him that his people were stopped to pay Rs 1,000 or more. The Delhi complaints have also been questioning the ability of Madras-Madras army of such things could happen on the Border. We all our desire to receive relief from the departments complained of, we had to see how Madras-Madras army can be blamed for the continuance of the mischief. The Mahasandhan of India have to a rule as much as as little reference to the Madras over some law-breaking tribes who have been known to carry away Mahasandhan almost as frequently as Madras. In the last instance it is the office of the Government to protect the Border villages from the free-lancers. Secondly, it is for the Madras themselves to be successful enough, to combine together for neutralizing the attacks of depredation. Thirdly, both the Madras and the Mahasandhan living in these Border villages should open communications with the tribemen and induce them to take a better, promising them pecuniary help for a temporary period if they are likely to share, having been used for preparation to live simply on depredation. And lastly, the seriously expelled of these Mahasandhan who have any influence over or connection with the tribesmen to warn them from their thoughtless habits. If all the remedies are conscientiously adopted we have no doubt that the evil will be brought under control, if it is not entirely eradicated.

## Notes.

**The Armenian Mandate**—The Allies have been professing to be on a pilgrimage of peace. The programme of this pilgrimage was to begin with observing freedom for weak countries from the tyranny of foreign rulers. The next step was to hand over to more mandatory Power the work of strengthening these weak countries to stand on their own legs. The Allies mounted in the list of such weak and struggling countries the case of Armenia. It was founded on one-sided evidence that the Turkic rule was tyrannical and that Armenians should enter an association with the Ottoman Empire. As a compromise with this arbitrary decision the Indian Statesman proposed that Armenians should remain as one of the self-governing parts within the Turkish Empire. But the Allied ministers refused to accept any such compromise and began to vindicate the Turkish rule in general on the strength of the one-sided report about the Armenian case. Mr. Balfour is going to the root of the matter asked for an impartial, fresh investigation into the whole matter.

Immediately after this proposal of Mr. Balfour, it seems the intention of taking the second step in regard to Armenia, viz., that of choosing a government. Armenia has refused to undertake the responsibility of a trustee. The Council of the League of Nations has reported to the Supreme Council that it is difficult to find a mandatory Power to guide Armenia. Armenia itself is reported to be lacking the need of a trustee. This difficulty in solving the Armenian problem has brought an opportunity for the Allies to pause and reconsider their first step which they had taken so hastily. They may require time if they go in for impartial investigations before arriving at any final decision. But such a course of action does not bring peace to Armenia and its neighbours. Such a non-decisionism alone will advance the cause of peace.

**A challenge**—Whenever we reproduce from the Independent an Ottoman Correspondent on the alleged massacre of 20,000 Armenians by the Turkish Republic we give a note to the number of the massacre, we have not had before us, until now, any official or semi-official version by the allied powers as to the cause and nature of the massacre. We are thus deprived of the smallest opportunity to judge as to which of the two versions could be more probable and true unless we quickly assimilate the bare statements of our Premier which he made on the floor of the House of Commons but on which he declined to throw further light, in the interests of all (?) concerned. We should have done even that had we not hurried the preparation and presentation of the allied powers against Turkey. Further, their information is likely to have been inspired by more interested parties than themselves. In any case the two versions are likely to be so divergently conflicting that there would be little with which to arrive at a sound and unbiased judgment.

The Turkish version which we have before us runs and the sincerity were there and not the Armenians. If the veracity of that announcement remained unchallenged, Indian Statesmen may be justified in raising upon it. Then, it would seem not an "Armenian massacre" but a "Turk massacre."

**The Turkish Treaty**—The Turkish treaty will be out on the 30 of May 11 as stated in promise for the internationalisation of the Straits, the occupation of Gallipoli by the Allies, the abandonment of Allied mandates in Constantinople and the appointment of a Commission of Control over Turkish finances. The Sea Race Conference has entrusted Britain with Mandates for Mesopotamia and Palestine and France with the Mandate for Syria. As regards Smyrna the intention to be reversed unless the Turkish sovereignty over Smyrna will be indicated by the fact that the population will not be entitled to send delegates to the Greek Parliament but at the end of five years the local Smyrna Parliament will have the right of voting in favour of union with Greece and in such a event Turkish sovereignty will mean Turkish sovereignty will be confined to the area within the Chatalpa line. With regard to Rear Front's position there is no doubt that the Mandates of Britain and France together has military title also and title.

We have given above the terms of the Turkish treaty as indicated in Balfour's messages. These reports are incomplete and all of them are not equally substantiated. But if these terms are true, they are a challenge to the Allies demands. Turkish sovereignty is confined to the Chatalpa line. This means that the Big Three of the Supreme Council have cut off Thrace from Turkish dominion. This is a distinct breach of the pledge given by one of these Three, viz. the Premier of the British Empire. To remain within the Chatalpa line and, we are afraid, as a dependent of the Allies, is for the Allies abandoning position connected with the Straits agreement. Such a vindicated position of the Turks is virtually a success of the bag and baggage kind.

It is not yet known how the Supreme Council has changed of the rock and returned back of Ann Balfour. If Mr. Lloyd George's words recently reported in this respect have received the Allied sanction—is it probable—nothing further a common sense is expected. The doctrine in the case of Smyrna will be satisfying to some, though the Allies seem to have made by their arrangements the effort attempt to please all the parties concerned. Mr. Lloyd George, in his reply to the Khalil Delegation, had talked about the careful investigations by an impartial committee and had added—'The great majority of the population unambiguously prefer Greek rule to Turkish rule, as I understand.' But the Geneva postscript to carry out his understanding till a period of five years.

What we mean in the question of mandate, the Allied Powers' motives seem not more distinctly.

The Amir's claim of independence was used as a difficulty against keeping Turkish sovereignty. This was maintained in the name of self-determination and by pointing out parallels at Tripoli and other provinces. When the local matters came, the allies have wanted to draw back upon ourselves. Britain is giving the mandate over Mesopotamia and Palestine and France has the mandate over Syria. The Arab delegates complained their vote lately would express their disappointment at the Supreme Council's decision with regard to the Arab Mandate countries, which, it declares, is contrary to the principle of self-determination.

So what little news has arrived about the Turkish treaty, is uniformly depicting the Muslims have found sufficient ground to honour Russia says they the Allies. Russia has recognized the freedom of Khiva and Bokhara, the Muslim world, as it is, the Amir of Afghanistan said in his speech will feel grateful towards Russia except of all the resources shared about its anarchy and disorder, whereas the whole Muslim world will regard the action of the other European nations who have allied with each other to carry out a joint economic and extension of Turkey in the name of self-determination and partly in the guise of the interest of civilization.

The terms of the Turkish treaty are not only a breach of the President's pledge, not only a sin against the principle of self-determination, but they also show a reckless indifference of the Allied Powers towards the Koranic injunctions. The terms point out that Mr Lloyd George's unshowered claim of Khilafat have prevailed on the Council like Mr. Lloyd George other statement also at San Remo have compared Caliphate with Popedom and opposed the Koranic idea of uniting spiritual power with temporal power. These suggested statements were too much provoked by indignation and so they refused to remove any enlightenment on the question of Khilafat from the Deputation. They could have corrected themselves had they heard Mr Mahomed Ali on this point. Speaking at the Eton Hall meeting Mr. Mahomed Ali distinguished between Popedom and Caliphate and clearly explained what Caliphate means. He said

"Islam is represented and not national. The basis of Islam is sympathy in a common faith on life and common values . . . And it has no centre. The personal centre in the religion of America. The Khilafat is the Commander of the Faithful and his duties must be shared by all Muslims, so long and so long only, as they are not at variance with the Commandments of God and the Principles of the Prophet. But even there is no insurmountable distance between things temporal and things spiritual, the Khilafat is something more than a Pope and nearer to "Viceregency". But it is also less than the Pope for he is not infallible. His persons in caliphate should be our dearest kin. And

we have depored him more than our own. But so long as he retains only the whole India demands we must support him. He and no other ruler is the Defender of our Faith."

These few words could have corrected the mis-understandings rooted in the minds of those that met at San Remo, if they were in earnest for a just solution. But Mr. Mahomed Ali's deputation was not given any hearing by the Peace Conference. They were told that the Peace Conference has already heard the official delegates of India on this question. But the wrong notions the Allies still entertain about Caliphate are a sufficient indication of the effects of the work of the official delegates. The result of these wrong notions is the present settlement and the next settlement will excite the world. They have not what they do.

**Critical Situation In E. Africa.**—At the time of our going to press, the *London Chronicle* published the following from the Hon. Mr. Abubakkar Feroze, a. s. s., British East Africa and Uganda:—

I have received the following telegram from Mr. Jivraj, London, who heads the Indian deputation from East Africa.

"Interview with Kaiser on 18th regarding East African provinces unsatisfactory. Kaiser non-committal. Five million paid strong protest anti-Indian interests. See telegram to "Chronicle" Press. In every thing possible your help to Matter should be brought before Council. Situation very critical. Colonial Office anxious reach decision before matter gets publicity. Strong protest from India therefore essential. Particulars posting."

I have also received the following telegram from the President of the Indian Congress at Nairobi.

"Jivraj talks positive Indian critical, impatience. Both you speak protesting England. Have suggested Aga Khan accompany.— President Congress."

All will understand how seriously serious the position is and it goes from the communication that despite the sympathetic attitude of Mr. Hastings the attitude adopted by Lord Milner makes it impossible assistance for us in India to come very strongly in case if we do all want to have our feeling there.

I reserve my comments on the telegram and the action that can be effectively taken to address our purpose for about two days more, pending the result of my negotiations with certain responsible quarters.

**Shah Furmanand.**—Our readers will be delighted to hear that Shah Furmanand, whose case it may be remembered, had been drawn with to the columns of Young India, has been released.

## Young India.

Announced, Wednesday, 26th May, 1920.

### HOW TO WORK NON-CO-OPERATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Perhaps the best way of answering the fears and criticisms as to non-co-operation is to elaborate more fully the substance of non-co-operation. The writer aims to imagine that the organisers propose to give effect to the whole scheme at once. The fact however is that the organisers must first do this, progressively four stages. The first is the giving up of titles and resignation of honorary posts. If there is no response or if the response is partial or not effective, recourse will be had to the second stage. The second stage involves such previous arrangements. Certainly not a single person will be called out unless he is either capable of supporting himself and his dependents or the United Committee is able to bear the burden. All the classes of servants will not be called out at once and never will any premium be put upon a single servant to withdraw himself from the Government service. Nor will a single private employe be treated for the simple reason that the movement is not anti-English. It is not anti-Governor or Co-operation is to be withdrawn because the people want not to part in a woe—a broken pledge—a violation of deep religious convictions. Naturally, the movement will receive a check if there is any undue inducement brought to bear upon any Government servant or if any richman is used or encouraged by any member of the United Committee. The second stage must be entirely successful, if the response is at all so an adequate one. For no Government—much less the Indian Government—can withhold if the people want to work it. The withdrawal therefore of the police and the military—the third stage—is a distinct goal. The organisers however wanted to be fair, open and above suspicion. They did not want to keep back from the Government or the public a single step they had in contemplation even as a remote contingency. The fourth is a suspension of duties it still must receive. The organisers recognise that suspension of general taxation is brought with the greatest danger. It is likely to bring a negative check in conflict with the policy. They are therefore not likely to embark upon it, unless they see it so with the assurance that there will be no violence offered by the people.

I think as I have already done that non-co-operation is not unattended with risk, but the risk of suspension in the face of a given issue is infinitely greater than the danger of violence arising from organised non-co-operation. To do nothing is to invite violence for a certainty.

It is easy enough to pass resolutions or write articles condemning non-co-operation. But what is any task to restrain the fury of a people, provoked

by a deep sense of wrong. I urge those who talk or write against non-co-operation to distance from their claims and go down to the people, learn their feelings and write, if they have the heart, against non-co-operation. They will find, as I have found, that the only way to avoid violence is to enable them to give such expression to their feelings as to escape violence. I have heard nothing save non-co-operation. It is a logical and humane. It is the inherent right of a subject to refuse to assist a government that will not listen to him.

Non-co-operation is a voluntary movement and only consent of the feeling is genuine and strong enough to make people suffer for its cause. If the religious sentiment of the Mahomedans is deeply hurt and if the Hindu Christians neighbourly regard towards their Muslim brethren, they will both want us not too great for achieving the end. Non-co-operation will not only be an effective remedy but will also be an effective test of the sincerity of the Hindu class and the Hindu professions of brotherhood.

There is however one formidable argument urged by friends against my joining the United movement. They say that if I become one, a friend of the English and an adherent of the British constitution, I am bound with those who are today filled with nothing but animosity against the English. I am sorry to have to mention that the ordinary Mahomedan entertains today an affection for Englishmen. He generates, not without some cause, that they have not played the game. But if I am friendly toward Englishmen, then at least towards my countrymen, the Mahomedans. And in such they have a greater claim upon my attention than Englishmen. My personal religion however wishes me to serve my countrymen without hating Englishmen or for that matter anybody else. What I am not prepared to do is my blood-brother. I would not do to an Englishman. I would not injure him to gain a kingdom. But I would withdraw co-operation from him if it became necessary, as I had withdrawn from my own brother (now deceased) when it became necessary. I leave the Empire by refusing to participate in its wrong. William Lloyd offered public papers for British reverses of the first of the Boer war because he considered that the nation to which he belonged was engaged in an unrighteous war. The present Prime Minister asked Mr. Lloyd to appoint that war and did everything he could to obstruct his own Government in its prosecution. And today if I have thrown in my lot with the Mahomedans a large number of whom have an friendly feelings towards the British, I have now so clearly and so freely of the British, and with the object of joining justice and of thereby showing the incapacity of the British constitution to respond to every honest determination: when it is coupled with suffering. I hope by my witness with the Mahomedans to achieve a thousand and to obtain justice in the hereafter with the method of Satyagrah and to show its efficacy over all other methods,

to secure Mahatma's friendship by the British and thereby interest him, and last but not least to transform all well-wishers for the British and their constituents which in spite of its reputation has weakened many a state. I may fail in achieving any of the ends I can but attempt. God alone can grant success. It will not be denied that the work is all worthy. I write London and England to you, as in a full-hearted manner in describing the burden the Mahatmas of India are carrying. There is admittedly a just fight. The Young, the Secretary of State, the Duke of Devonshire Lord Bledisloe have refused to it. True has agreed to make good the railway. People with a just cause are never satisfied with a mere patch. They have been known to die for it. Are a high-spirited people like the Mahatmas expected to do less?

## IMPERIAL PREFERENCE

OR

### FISCAL AUTONOMY.

(Continued from our 1st issue.)

The Committee on Imperial Preference, working perhaps all this, intended to give "an authoritative opinion on the subject of Imperial Preference" assuming that only the Committee they were going to be asked to give such an opinion. We should have found the Committee, after having said this, not to have asked any further opinion, especially of countries and persons which by their own admission they were not entitled to give advice as "persons called in as consultants." They are led, by a number of us, along the path to raise the very data on which they are asked to make a decision. But as we requested, these "persons of distinguished standing and an independent legislative voice" is to be taken to put forward preliminary proposals. As has the "consultation" been in the nature of a debate and as such we may not consult in them to discuss and test them.

In the first instance the Committee state that they examined the trade returns for India and the statistics of the United Kingdom and the Dominion and they came to the conclusion that "India is unlikely to gain more to her advantage in the balance by the adoption of a moderate preference in our import duties." This statement, whether as it is vague, indefinite, undefined and uncollectible terms, is well substantiated on the basis even of the imperfect data supplied. In the first place every statement made by the only determining voice of the question through statistics, play a prime part in influencing the decision. There are a number of other points relating to industrial and commercial problems which are affected by Imperial Preference and which have to be carefully considered before arriving at any definite conclusions. Taking the statistics, however, the conclusions of the dispatch of Lord Curzon's Government cannot be disregarded, as we have it on the authority of the Hon'ble member for Sussex and Industry in the Govern-

ment of India that "in its several statements the position has not greatly changed. . . Indeed the conclusions are so slight that they would not seem probable to vitiate the general conclusion reached in 1904 that India can have little to gain from a scheme of Imperial Preference." Then, what are the conditions that result in a modification of the conclusions arrived at in 1904 and a departure from the policy so ably upheld and defended since then? Only the other day, Mr. Kinnear stood up in the House of Commons to defend the old policy. We are told by the Committee that there is "no danger to be feared" on the score of retaliation." But says Lord Curzon in his dispatch of 1905, "The danger to India is especially by foreign nations even if extremely unsuccessful in its contest and the results would be so disastrous, the Government would not be justified in relinquishing its old policy etc." The Committee remark that "in view of the demand of our raw materials the protective aspect of the question would in the present circumstances be saved. As if there was no demand of our raw materials this and as if retaliation has only one meaning and one limit. The Committee forget that there is a political bearing also of the question which is as important as the economical and that foreign countries which may be adversely affected, either directly or indirectly by our preferential tariffs, are otherwise entitled to a limited other valid scope than retaliation as a measure of self-defence. Even here as for the foreign imports into India are concerned if the foreign nations do not retaliate by an increase more the Indian government is still a sufferer on account of the adoption of Imperial Preference which would certainly affect however slight as our foreign imports than are levied in it."

Then we are told by the Committee that "as far as the Dominion and Colonies are concerned it is probable adversely the case as in 1905. They have not very much to gain from a preferential tariff in India." Are we to believe that the recent scheme granted to all the members of the British Empire, in the case of India and others, was intended to give a hint to India and not an advantage to the colonies? And what have the colonies to give now or what have they done to deserve that of India? Perhaps they have exhibited a little more of their interest in the Indian welfare amongst them—not in their welfare but in the systematic and more consistent of the Indian economy from the welfare of their Dominion.

From the economical point of view we do not know what some Imperial Preference may take in England and the colonies and what effects their policy may have on India. We have yet to learn whether we have with the new British Empire, enough cause in our fiscal policy to protect ourselves against any possible injury. The "protectionist conclusions" of the Committee are altogether unconvincing. The Committee have applied the results obtainable now,

when the policy of free trade has been so full operation, in the unknown conditions that may obtain under the new policy of preference and have judged the consequences of that policy under those uncertain conditions. This is the real and chief failure of their whole position.

The path and substance of our position is that the Committee have left it to the discretion of the new Government either to continue or to modify the chief argument of the dispatch of 1930 "That whereas preference India already enjoys a large, probably an exceptionally large measure of the advantages of free exchange of imports and exports." We must remember that as long as our position, both as regards our manufacturers and labourers on the one hand and the determination of our trade policy on the other, is not made exactly corresponding to that of Great Britain and the Colonies the policy of Imperial Preference cannot work with equity and justice.

L. A.

### MR. GANDHI'S SPEECH.

*(Continued from our last issue.)*  
A LAYMAN'S DEGREE.

I do not propose to discuss the duty of the capitalist. If the labourer shall want to understand his rights and responsibilities and arrange himself to fit your needs, both your own and the things are essential both the demands and the means adapted to achieve them must be just and clear. It is an unalterable demand which makes every man take advantage of the capitalist's position. But it is an unalterable demand when the labourer asks for enough wages to enable him to maintain himself and to educate his children decently. To work yours without resorting to violence and by an appeal to the principles of the capitalist by education is a lawful means.

#### UNIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS.

In order then to achieve the end you must have Unions & Organisations has already been made. I want that the well-to-do on every department will have their Unions and every one should independently observe the rules they may be framed by them. You will then approach the well-to-do on every year Unions and if the day comes of the worker do not realize you will appear to understand him. It is a matter of substance that both parties have accepted the principle of arbitration. I hope that that principle will be fully developed and that justice will be done to become a responsibility. I know that strikes are an inherent right of the workman for the purpose of meeting justice but they must be considered a means consistently the capitalists accept the principle of arbitration. Wages are improved and there is every possibility of a permanent improvement. But there is a great deal to be achieved by the labourer. The well-to-do must be in work not twelve hours or more. Those who have to work so many hours every one have an hour left for mental or moral betterment. Their activities therefore must be confined to that of the hour. It is our duty to manage the world and get in every day we take we must guard ourselves against changing our substance.

The well-to-do tell us that the well-to-do are busy, they do not give full time to their work and they are

conscientious. This is not an original statement and application. There is no well-to-do who are not working twelve hours per day. But I must distinctly hope that when the labourer is reduced to ten the labourer will put in twelve and almost the same amount of work as a twelve hours. Experience in hours of labour has brought about happy results in England. When man-made laws in England themselves with the consent of the labourer and they will not and with them will see the independence of our country. I would therefore urge the well-to-do to reduce the hours of labour to ten and urge the well-to-do to give serious work in ten as they have been doing in twelve.

#### THE USE OF STRIKES.

It is our time to consider the use we should make of the increasing wages and the hours saved. It would be a good thing to the flying part of the five to use the excess in wages in the long sleep and the hours saved from the gambling den. This money received, it is clear should be devoted to education of our children, and the best way to get education in both these matters the well-to-do are unable to make possible. They are upon sleep, entertainment for the working man, where they can get pure acids and worthless refreshment. They can open reading rooms and provide bookish amusements and games for them. They should make healthy amusements, the ground for drink and gambling will have them. The Unions also should arrange similar things. They will be better employed in the living means of improvement for which there is fighting, the capitalist.

#### DUTY OF LABOUR.

If it is a sign of national degeneration when little children are removed from schools and are employed in various ways. The system whereby children are possibly offered to be soldiers has children. At least after the age of sixteen they must be kept in schools. Similarly where children must be gradually weaned from milk labour. Men and women are parents in life and supplementary each of the other they become good housewives only by dividing their labour, and a man must be free to be fully occupied in looking after his household and children. But where both husband and wife have to labour for some means to make the world more humane degraded. It is labour's business living on his capital.

#### DEVELOPING THE MORAL FACULTY.

And just as it is necessary for the labourer to develop their minds by constant education and to educate their children as it is necessary to develop the moral faculty in them. Development of the moral faculty means that of the religious man. The world has not quarrel with those who have a true faith in God and who understand the true sense of religion. And if it does such men turn away the wrath of their adversaries by their goodness. Religion here does not mean merely offering one's service or going to the temple. It is a means knowledge of one's self and of the rights of one's self and to a person that it becomes a woman unless he knows the art of bearing as does he fail to know how will unless he complies with the law rules. Good enough than not that that rule of the moral discipline. The better discipline of truth. He who does not know what it is to speak the truth or tell a lie was not a virtuous. The moral is not to appear ordinary life who ignores virtue, a person of virtue, is not fit to live in the world. For the world is as war with him and he has to live on perpetual fight of the world. We all are bound by chains of love. There is an enemy

thing is contemplated here, unless which nothing could have existed. Students tell us that neither the presence of the witness before us, nor the same that occupies the place of witness would resemble it, present and we would come to meet, and even at that it is known here as that matter is such as there to be all things come and all things go, that witness is not always, witness being a Love. We speak of witness Father and son, between brother and sister, husband and friend, but we have to learn to see that there coming all their lives, and in the use of it comes our knowledge of God. When there is love there is life, indeed, health or destruction. I hope that, Annapurna will help you to have that quiet life of love and I tell you if you recognize her love towards you, to recognize it by feeling in your own presence that is our love towards the whole of humanity. The good rule is that we have to recognize our presence. It is called *brahmacharya* or chastity. I do not use it here merely in the accepted sense under the name of celibacy, when, who, although he may be a celibate, may be living a double life as a married man, otherwise, it is not only a variety of celibacy. He who is capable of knowing himself who knows himself completely, recognizes all his presence. He who remains still, is not in the world, there is also *brahmacharya*, as we see that, a true *Shi* in a true Brahmin.

It is a branch of *brahmacharya* to have spiritualistic language or divine words. It is fundamental of the language whether God comes instead of us, or God, the name of God, and in with the other name. He alone can be considered the true man who having subjected his powers becomes perfectly self possessed. We are told in this who is not long but have understood and in quickly brought down. But not who knows, as the man brings the natural order, independent words, but those of reading his destination. Love is also a man who cannot see his presence made by the, of his spirit in his presence. He alone is a real man, truth. He alone becomes capable of knowing God. It is my request that you will not expect this benefits as it they were spiritual means. I ask you to believe that we shall arrange here and will not have known the value of observing these things. Will it have had you are the most of my own experience. My request of you is that simply to my best. It is you and I, outside of your own presence. I hope directly to present myself before you. When through your wages were spiritualized and you had no work to be a quarter of the time you are in my own, or unaccompanied, you did not have the value of your speech, if Brahmins as you expect others and you the same in your presence. We must have more wages, we must have less work, because we must have less, when, when, when, when, and a clean job, and we must have better wages and less work in the world than, both are required for the beautiful conditions. But if that be not the right to be followed, it would be a life to struggle and get better wages and reduce the hours of labour. May God grant you well Annapurna who never to witness it is not.

### SAN FERN SECULARIST

Mr. Currier's View.

Mr. H. E. Currier expresses the following opinion on the subject of the San Fern Conference.—The subject regarding the chairman of the Conference at San Fern is most interesting. The discussion is bound to develop through the Mahatmas and I hope

however, that the Mahatmas' justice, will witness in discussion are given us to judge. The names involved are tremendous. The greater self-criticism in three lines, distinctly necessary. Self-criticism is, I think, necessary, the only remedy existing herein to give the spiritual experience to the man, which that is being made out for my heart. The way to be isolated, I know, every day full of drama, but I am certain that it is possible to reach greater love as Allah is that point itself in its last form. I know that the temptation to narrow witness with witness is almost irresistible, yet, I feel certain that the highest witness that is, as well as only witness is to work and they will not start to give the present hope of life, whereas, the completely peaceful withdrawal of an aggression must inevitably result in a return of my antagonist that the former might only regarding Turkey and that can be discussed as to be unjust and a breach of the witness presence made by the Holy Spirit. In these the distance and operations, I can only say, in all handling, you will surely take the simplest of witness, if you succeed in defining the witness of your operations and witness witness or by some definite means of strong action, which must be more than a mere present, or work work, that stand to it must bring about the desired end.

### ARMENIAN MASSACRE

AND OTHER MERE OF IT

The following communication was received on March 26th 1914, by the Ottoman Government in regard to the events in Cilicia—

At the time when the history of Turkey is in the balance, serious and violent persons have spread malicious news, with the object of rendering the Turkish system odious in the eyes of Europe, and of undermining the duration of the Peace Conference unanimously to Turkey, that 18000 Armenians have been massacred. The communication asserts that no aggression was committed on Christian population besides the millions which were profaned in the region of Mesopotamia as a result of massacre of Mesopotamia by Armenians. Here is an official report: "When the British occupied the place, the French Military Authorities involved in the local government a great number of Armenians, French, comprised exclusively of Christians, made frequent recourse to the Mahatma parties where the Armenian priests gave themselves to several acts of aggression, with the object of weakening the convictions of the Mesopotamian population. The French Authorities themselves found it necessary to take severe measures against the authors of these heinous Armenian proceedings in Mesopotamia, as well as in various villages of the empire, subjected in every kind of violence against the Mesopotamian population and in spite of the peaceful operations produced on the Mesopotamian population by the above measures, the Mesopotamians refused from any hostile manifestation.

Influenced by the Armenians, who made the French believe that the Turks were committing an attack against the French troops or a massacre of Christians, the French Military Agent ordered,

without any evidence of the real opinions, the real aims or aspirations, the Prefect and the English on the French Coast, or with the real condition of the town. At the same time, the real Agent would be the Governmental residence, where he conducted the transactions of the administration of the country.

Amely presented by these high handed measures, a rebellion, or, a number of rebellions of French, with the Committee of the town at their head, set on at the Governmental residence to end the French Government to restore a delegation appointed by them to lay their complaint and wishes.

In case of these rebellions having returned from every hostile communication, the Administration of the town with other and neighbouring, on their own the Governmental residence. The word returned without offering any resistance, but the Government failed of them up and surrounded them. The crowd then defended themselves with stones, as they had no arms. It was only afterwards, when the Government both military and civil attacked them, that the Mamelukes began to offer resistance in self-defence. Immediately the Mameluke quarters were bombarded. Several of these persons were killed, and Mamelukes by bombards perished as a result.

For a time the struggle continued in the streets, and the Mameluke quarters became completely the scene of anarchy. Similar attacks were directed against Messed-Roude and Arnie houses, a small number of people meet in the cases of their rebellions.

The fact is to observe, that after the final occupation of the town, quiet was restored in the town, when the Government gave protection from those whom they had attacked with so much severity. The French and the Armenians returned into the neighbourhood of Mafek and when they returned to their homes, they recommended the bombardment of the town and destroyed the bombardment of the town. It is a result of this bombardment that a few Christian quarters were destroyed.

However, a great number of Mameluke villages reported of being attacked in the distance were surrounded and because the object of all kinds of violence and cruelty at the hands of the Armenians who entered their women and children. During these events, the inhabitants of Mafek surrounded from every part, and out of their communication, led to suffer from starvation, and, as a result, a great number of their died. It is to be observed that of the 30,000 Armenians who inhabited the region, more than half surrounded the country, and withdrew to British-India, so that when the French entered the domain of these Armenians from there might be attacked in a manner on the part of the Mamelukes.

In order to throw light upon the matter, the Ottoman Government has asked for a special inquiry into the events by a mixed Commission.

So much has been made of these events, in which the Europeans were the first victims.

## THE AFRICAN COMMISSION.

### PETITION FROM CAPE INDIA.

At the sitting of the Assize Court at Capetown on Tuesday March 28, Mr. Cecil Baxter gave evidence in

behalf of the Cape British Indian Union, formed out of an amalgamation of the South Indian Association and the Cape British League. He presented a memorandum from the Union, praying for the safeguarding of the various rights which the Indian community at present enjoyed in the Cape Province, and particularly the right to property held out to them.

The Union further submitted in the memorandum that the law should not differentiate between European and Indian having the right to trade, nor should it be possible in the administration of the law and regulations to differentiate between such traders solely on the ground that the latter were Indians. The latter also contended that the law and regulations should be impartially administered.

The Union asked for the protection by an Act of Parliament that the reason for the refusal to grant such a remedy should be proved. It asked for "British justice," which always furnished a remedy for the discussion of the history of the subject. The granting of such reasons, the Union claimed, would lead to more satisfactory and less contentious in the methods and administration of the several municipalities. Arbitrary refusal to transfer business would result in the loss of the latter and to the detriment of the town. It was also asked that the applicant should be heard before the resolution was adopted. In arguing the right of appeal on points of law and fact, the Union stated that the remedy was one of right.

Mr. Baxter argued that the matter was not an individual one. Connected with it was the Empire to which the Indians belong. The Union contended that he (Mr. Baxter) was speaker, just as the whole body of South Africa was speaker—the representative of the country by Indians. The number of Indians in the Cape Province was between six and seven thousand. Surely Acts, Ordinances and regulations were made to be read and enforced to keep at least such a small number. What the Cape British Indian Union sought to do, as indicated in the petition, was to urge upon the Commission to make no recommendations which would have the effect of taking away from the Indians in the Cape Province the rights they had already. The Union did not wish for Indians to enjoy themselves in discrimination throughout the world. As to the Indian law standard of living, Mr. Baxter pointed out that the law, which constituted their law, was not so much as to pass it which was more than European paid for their father. The existing and better existing law was described a total, and as to the Cape Province Indians were in possession of trading and other rights between persons, was to be done, and goods supplied to them, by European methods and movements. It was asked to attempt to do Indians of rights now enjoyed. The only law given was to apply all existing regulations with impartiality.

In reply to the Chairman the witness said that the difficulties in the way of the transfer of business were not so great now as they had been. In view of the kind of case of the municipalities the Union did not say before us that the granting of business should be taken from them and placed in the hands of the Magistrates, but they wished to ask for some means of protection in the event of wrongs being done.

Mr. William Lucas, Registrar of Deeds, Capetown, said that it would be impossible to prevent the Commission with evidence in regard to property registered by Indians. The fact, however, that since the beginning of the present year approximately many marriage bonds had passed through having Indian names showed that Indians were purchasing property.

(From the Times of India.)



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17618

New Series  
No. 11, No. 12

ANNEAPURAM, WEDNESDAY, 22ND APRIL, 1946.

Price: One Anna  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS

	Page
Orders in Drives .. .. .	1
For Lovers of Khande .. .. .	1
<hr/>	
Letter to .. .. .	
India's afloat on a Politician .. .. .	2
Khadi .. .. .	2
"I + Process of Spinning" .. .. .	2
The Crisis .. .. .	2
<hr/>	
What is Ideal Khadi? .. .. .	7
India in Africa .. .. .	2

## DISTRESS IN GUJARA.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Gujarat speaks of the emptying of the homes of being out of the greatest plagues of paganism— viz. Jagannath Puri— appears to be a God-creature— viz. by the arms which India is polishing with a good amount of material. We know— kinds of things. For most of us, it is a mere go physical expression. But being a matter of modern— civilization it has not produced the modern type of workers and, therefore, to body— more— when we a people of the— we are happy or a happy if a nation— person— Gujara tried was very trying a— I have seen the problem. He has for the last few weeks been telling us that there is great— only a— human in the land. In a little village— including 20 houses— containing all the— and— means, recently, it— release, he says— still a want of— assistance. It— together— 4— have— taken— place— away— to— secure— as— I have— abandoned— the— village— and— those— who— are— left— are— more— and— less. They— have— a— mother— that— not— dying. It— seems— being— so— richly— and— well— and— have— their— houses— and— are— are— being— on— grass— and— leaves. I was— and— prepared— to— believe— the— words— of— the— man. I— felt— that— before— making— a— public— appeal— there— should— be— some— written— information— to— be— placed— before— the— people. I— therefore— approached— the— last— secretary— of— India— Ministry— for— leading— the— Assisted— Indian— services— the— Bureau— for— the— work— cannot— be— questioned, but— he— has— quoted— it— and— for— years— by— with— kind— of— encouragement— my— request— was— readily— granted— and— the— following— is— the— substance— of— what— he— has— to— say— about— a— worker— may— to— the— Poor— District— of— Gujara. "I— have— been— travelling— to— the— villages— for— the— last— 2— days. I— am— very— sorry— to— have— to— tell— you— that— Gujara— while— I— was— in— the— help— of— I— believe— that— Gujara— was— one— of— the— greatest— of— India— because— Sub-

as— we— provided— a— large— quantity— of— rice— but— also— I— today— I— feel— that— the— people— of— the— affected— districts— have— to— get— their— rice— from— Calcutta, Bombay— etc. The— country— had— a— double— violation— of— rice— and— food. It— is— said— that— during— the— last— six— months— over— 1,000— people— must— have— died— of— starvation. I— have— already— visited— nearly— 15— villages. Of— these— I— are— not— telling— but— every— individual— simply— lives— starvation— people— are— still— dying. An— old— man— died— in— my— very— presence. He— was— using— those— pills— had— given— for— relief. A— doctor— has— just— returned— from— a— village— telling— me— that— he— saw— an— old— man— who— was— dying— of— starvation. On— starvation— you— cannot— remedy— health— of— patients. You— see, wherever— you— go, every— village— to— some— extent. I— have— sent— you— the— following— telegram—

I— have— visited— already— 15— villages. I— am— still— travelling— Gujara— have— died— of— starvation. Recently— the— Government— have— begun— to— distribute— relief— but— it— is— insufficient. Please— send— five— thousand— rupees— at— once— along— with— from— 25— to— 30— thousand— rupees— will— be— required.

According— to— the— Census— Code, 20— tons— of— grain— have— to— be— given— to— those— who— are— asked— for— work— but— only— 20— tons— are— being— given— per— head. The— relief— was— announced— on— the— 15th— April. Nearly— 4,000— men— have— already— returned. The— quantity— will, I— hear— be— shortly— increased— to— 30— tons.

The— Gujara— people— are— very— poor. The— Honore— the— Lieutenant— Governor— sometime— ago— visited— the— affected— part— but— more— than— 4,000— people— were— found— able— to— obtain— partial— relief. No— further— work— was— yet— begun— upon.

Mr. Thacker's— letter— speaks— for— itself. I— hope— that— the— cry— of— distress— coming— from— Gujara— will— not— be— heard— in— vain— and— those— who— can— will— not— fail— to— contribute— their— quota.

## FOR LOVERS OF KHADI.

Since— the— appearance— of— the— article— in— Young— India— dated— 25th— April— last, on— "The— Uses— of— Khadi", the— message— of— this— department— has— been— inundated— with— letters— requesting— orders— or— supplies. The— readers— will— be— pleased— to— know— that— the— work— of— the— shop— has— been— taken— up— there. Therefore, who— have— sent— orders, will— receive— any— delay— that— may— come— in— supplying— the— Khadi— ordered. Now— supplies— have— begun— to— come— in— already— but— the— would—be— purchasers— should— remember— that— no— standard— quality— of— Khadi— has— yet— been— ordered. They— should— know— that— the— whole— of— the— legis-

opening which had all but died out as being to most pressing work for thousands of women who were otherwise doing nothing, sewing, mending, and for the young ones who had left all their own domestic, household occupations. Good, therefore, the whole of the industry has been organised and the taste of the country developed, and the work maintained, it is impossible to fix a standard quality improvements in cut, pattern, and texture could be expected from week to week if not from day to day. Parsons of Khadiar, therefore, would do well not to send her patterns, but to take what Khadiar they need, and use it for the many purposes pointed out in the article in question, and may even find that they regularly may discover even the old prices may not stand for a new variety or a new work. The one thing they may be sure of is that they will be called upon to pay nothing more than the actual cost of the raw material and labour put upon it. Mr. Gandhi writes us to tell that with reference to the dye, he was misled into believing that it was a Swedish dye. It has now turned out that even the simple red dye was a foreign thing and not Swedish. Effort is now being made to find out cheap and effective Swedish dyes. Those, however, who have taken the Swedish dye need not be troubled any the further discovery. This, because of those who sell dyes, the work are confined only to the cotton, wool and silk as the raw may be being Swedish. They do not extend to the dye.

## Young India.

Announced, Wednesday, 12th May, 1906

### NEITHER A SAINT NOR A POLITICIAN

(By M. N. Gandhi)

A kind friend has sent me the following cutting from the April number of the "Sant and State" —

"Mr. Gandhi has the reputation of a saint but it seems that the politician in him often dominates his demeanor. He has been making great use of heralds and there can be no getting that under his domestic demand to become a powerful political weapon for serving the whole and not the individual to a single quarter of the day. The herald is not without its disadvantages in a teaching dress, and there seems however great cause not to wait for many in the Gandhi spirit that they be serving the higher interests of others, but to be prepared to communicate the doctrine of Jai Hind to all in the most direct manner possible. It is a large number into which our Government was betrayed, but it is the duty of all Hindus to be ready to do so and to communicate the truth by means of a single of peace, to help the whole and explain to show the souls of those who did without knowing why? The world is full of politicians and politicians who, in the name of patriotism, poison the inner conscience of man and, as a result, we have seen our Hindu and such themselves slaughter on the Jai Hind to a double. Shall we not try for a large number such as India, and

China passed, and bring the world to breathe and get yet together? Mr. Gandhi would be inclined to be the spirit of such a movement, but politicians are looking him to limit the way of the movement and bring under. He may get into the larger number of meeting 'to work'.

I have given the whole of the quotation as a rule I do not return all items of an or any methods except when thereby I acknowledge a mistake or colors will further the principle, even if I have a double reason for not doing the extreme. Oh, not only do I hope further to extend the principle I hold dear, but I want to state my regard for the author of the article whom I know and whom I have admired for many years for the singular beauty of his character. The writer expects to see in me a politician, whereas he expected me to be a saint. Now I think that the word "saint" should be a kind of personal life. It is a word which is to be lightly applied to anybody, much less to one like myself who chooses only to be a humble worker after truth, knows his limitations, makes mistakes, never hesitates to admit them when he makes them, and freely to learn that he, like a student in making experiments about some 'of the physical sciences' of life, but cannot even claim to be a scientist because he has shown no tangible proof of scientific accuracy in his methods in such tangible results of his experiments as modern science demands. But though by declining membership I disappoint the writer's expectations, I would have him to give up his regrets by answering him that the politician in me has never intended a single doctrine of peace, and if I were to take part in politics, it is only because politics, towards me to do like the rest of a work from which we cannot get out, or under how much we have. I will therefore to work with the marks, as I have been doing with more or less success continuously since 1884, unconsciously, as I have now discovered even more working years of discipline. Quite selfishly, as I wish to live in peace on the basis of a believing vision having read me, I have been experimenting with myself and my friends by communicating religion into politics. Let me explain what I mean by religion. It is not the Hindu religion which I certainly prize above all other religions, but the religion which is common to all religions, which brings our very nature, which binds us indissolubly to the truth within and truth outside. It is the permanent element in human nature which counts no man has good as other to find full expression and which leaves the rest utterly useless and it has found itself, known in Meher and appreciated the true correspondence between the Meher and itself.

It was in that religious spirit that I came upon herald. I wanted to show that it is not a knowledge of history that would give India consciousness of herself, or that would find the scattered together. The herald discovered the whole of India



that Turkish rule should be imposed upon the Arabs against their will, you could get, tomorrow, tomorrow and really perhaps demand one which required the national aggression of one people by another. When we examine the progress in the history of the war to the Indian Mohammedans and the Mohammedan religion would be imposed, that could never have meant their temporal sovereignty which retained the principles of self-determination, would be upheld. We could not have said by and by and so the Turks conquer the Arabs (for the Arabs would certainly fight against them) without greatly betraying the Arabs or whom we have given pledges. Now we know that the Arab leadership in the Turks was the enemy to European aggression. So here, during the war we created a psychosis of the Arab mind. Why do the Turks to get weaker ally, but the history had started long before the war. The non-Turkish Mohammedan subjects of the Sultan or general wanted to get rid of the rule. It is the Indian Mohammedans who have an impression of their rule who want to convert to an ally. As a matter of fact, the idea of my conversion of Turkish rule to ally in Arabia seems to come from all possibilities that in future, it would like denouncing a conversion of the Holy Roman Empire. I cannot conceive what sense of sense could bring it about. The Indian Mohammedans certainly could not march into Arabia themselves and conquer the Arabs for the British. And no amount of agitation and creation in India would ever induce England to put back Turkish rule in Arabia. In this matter it is not English imperialism which the Indian Mohammedans are so opposed, but the aim of English liberal and humanitarian opinion, the aim of the better opinion of England, which was self-determination to go forward in India. Supposing the Indian Mohammedans could start up an movement to rid India as to remove the connection between India and the British Crown, and they would not be any nearer to their purpose. For to-day they do have considerable influence on British policy-making. Even if in the matter of the Turkish question their influence has not been sufficient to turn the scale against the very heavy weights on the other side, it has weighed in the scale. But apart from the British connection, the Indian Mohammedans would have no influence at all outside India. They would get credit for such a world picture that the Mahomedan Jew of China. I think it is likely apart from the pressure of an American the otherwise, I could say nothing that the influence of the Indian Mohammedans may or may not tend to keep the Sultan in Constantinople. For I think whether they will gain any advantage beyond, so. For a Turkey not free in the Turkish part of Asia-Minor, Constantinople would be a very unimportant capital. I think its reconstruction would mean that it would be the national gravitation of keeping up a phantom of the old Ottoman Empire. But if the Indian Mohammedans want the Sultan to leave the place in Constantinople, I think the movement goes already by the Young Turks and would be to stand on his remaining there and I think he will remain there, in spite of America."

This is an extract from the letter of an English man regarding a party in Great Britain, in a letter to India. It is a typical letter, when taken, in the past and put in such general language that which is dangerous in its intention to be

open by the very generalness. For it is just this attitude based upon confidence or false information which has ruled, since a man in the British line. The opportunity, the circumstances the opportunity and often more the history that have kept our modern generation, unconsciously turned inward and who want to see nothing, but just to avoid them there are always interested groups which because it is to serve their ends by means that or that. And the honest Englishman willing to vote for justice has, swayed by conflicting promises and discredited by dishonest promises, often ends by becoming an instrument of injustice.

The writer of the other quoted above has built up a convincing argument on religious data. He has especially shown that the Mohammedan aim, as it has been presented to him, is a narrow one. In India, where it is not quite so, it is shown that about the Khilafat English friends about the other part of the Indian Mohammedan claim. But they plead helplessness and tell us that the Government of India and Mr. Montagu have done all it was humanly possible for them to do. And if now the progressive government does Indian Mohammedans should urge themselves to it. This unscrupulous use of things would not be possible except under the modern rule, and pretensions of all respect, his people.

Let us for a moment examine the case as it has been envisaged by the writer. His suggestion Indian Mohammedans want Turkish rule in Arabia instead of the aggression of the Arabs themselves and that if the Arabs do not want Turkish rule, the wrong against, as their religious institutions can be permitted to associate with anti-determination of the Arabs when India herself has been pleading for that very thing. Now the fact is that the Mohammedans, as is known to everybody who has at all studied the case, have never asked for Turkish rule in Arabia in opposition to the Arabs. On the contrary, they have said that they have no objection of removing Arabian self-rule to the Arabs. They want Khilafat control of the Holy Places of Islam. In other words they ask for nothing more than what was guaranteed by Mr. Lloyd George and in the strength of which guarantee Mohammedan soldiers spill their blood in behalf of the Allied Powers. All the elaborate arguments therefore and the urgent reasoning of the above writer fall to pieces based as they are upon a case that has never existed. I have thrown myself down and read into the question between British pledges about it, justice, and religious purposes towards I can imagine the possibility of a blind and historical religious movement making in opposition is pure justice. I would then read the history and fight for the latter. Now would I would urge British given deliberately to support to suggest, unless it has happened with England in the past of the more, British Mohammedans that have to be a useful but nothing

only on the part of a nation that profess faith in the righteousness.

It is unnecessary for me to examine the question suggested by the English Herald as how India would have been had she been an independent power. It is unnecessary because Indian independence and her that matter India was fighting for a cause that is absolutely just, a cause in all of which they are involving the whole-hearted support of the British people. I would never so venture to suggest that this is a cause in which more sympathy will not suffice. It is a cause which demands support that is strong enough to bring about substantial peace.

### IN PROCESS OF RESPOND.

(By M. J. Gandhi)

The writer of "Gandhi Talks to Me" "Times of India" has attempted to challenge the statement made in my Khilafat article regarding unconditional pledge, and as long as since Mr. Rajagadh Gaidh has spoken on November 10, 1934. When I wrote the article, I had in mind Mr. Rajagadh's speech. I am sorry that he ever made that speech. For, in my humble opinion, it betrayed to my the best & noblest of thoughts could be think of the Turkish people as apart from the Ottoman Government. And what is the meaning of the death knell of Ottoman Government in Europe, and Asia? It is to see the death knell of Turkish rule and therefore also of the Turkish people as a free and governing race? Is it, again, true historically that the Turkish rule has always been a light that has withered since of the finest regard of the world? And what is the meaning of that statement that followed, viz., "Nothing is further from our thoughts than to undertake to encourage a breach against their belief." If we do have any meaning the question is that Mr. Rajagadh mentioned in his speech should have meant a complete disregard of India Muslim feeling. And if that is the meaning of his speech, we have anything further to support me I would claim that even Mr. Rajagadh's statement is in danger of being set at naught if the confidence of the free Home Governments are to be upheld of the world. But I have my reasons in a somewhat speech made by Mr. Rajagadh's conference two years later when things had altered a more than any stage than in 1934 and when the cost of Indian rule was much greater than in 1934. The pledge would have remained still as it is. He said, "For we are fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Syria, which are predominantly Turkish in race." We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire on the borders of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople. It may every word in the pledge is fulfilled both as letter and as spirit. There would be little left for quarrelling about. So, as far as Mr. Rajagadh's reference can be considered, there is in the Indian Muslim claim, it is supported by the later and more considered declaration of Mr. Lloyd George—a declaration made

irrevocable by fulfilment of the conditions it required viz., the maintenance of the Turkish Mohammedan territory where fought in the very place which is now being partitioned respect of the pledge. But the writer of "Gandhi Talks to Me" Mr. Lloyd George is now in power or keeping his pledge". I hope he is right. But what has already happened goes little proved for my much hope. For, my statement is an outcome of the Khilafat in his own capital will be not only a mockery or fulfiling but it would be adding injury to insult. Either the Turkish Empire is to be maintained in the borders of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople or it is not. If it is, let the Indian Mohammedans find the full place of it, as of the Empire is to be broken up, let the mark of hypocrisy be lifted and India see the truth in its nakedness. To join the Khilafat movement then means to join a movement to keep outside the pledge of a British nation. Surely, such a movement is worth much greater sacrifice than any be involved in non-co-operation.

### THE CHOICE.

OF OTHER CONSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE NON-CO-OPERATION.

After a careful reading and a systematic analysis of the resolutions and ideas expressed by the leader of Akhbaria in the issue of May 4, on the question of Khilafat, we find that our beloved non-co-operation has moved a step forward as a representation in our own spirit. Referring to the general programme against the remedy of non-co-operation supported by Mr. Gandhi, we would associate with and endorse whole heartedly every word of our contemporary. We have special reasons to do this, as we feel that the logical and systematic endorsement of the leader's remarks are in favour of the adoption of the remedy of non-co-operation.

The Leader's position as announced by itself when resigned to its inevitable course to be this. Our contemporary believes the Khilafat cause is a just cause. It believes in the working of moral law and the victory of right. It believes that the present struggle can be fought more on the moral than on the material plane. What is needed is faith and patience. Hence to violence cannot be completely agree the cause. Self-interest is very difficult when deep convictions are stirred, but it is a good source of moral and spiritual strength and is overruled beyond all human calculations.

### THE REMEDY.

It is opposed to Mr. Gandhi's doctrine of non-co-operation, however, according to it, that it can be more, not violence. "The bulk of the people are not ready to undertake the restricted the march as advised in it." It therefore suggests something "to other recognized constitutional means" in which it has full faith. "The effort that will be needed may involve a great deal of labour and expense, but it will afford the real test of non-co-operation. Non-co-operation of such a nature means " when our contemporary argues for adoption are not defined by it and there

There can be no other "constitutional means" that we can imagine our contemporary to refer to, than those usually specified as, such as strikes, boycotts, protests, deputations, appeals, etc., we shall be justified in saying that these are the "means" our contemporary refers to.

#### A. Non-Resistant Means

Having said this, we shall adopt as our conception of the whole position taken up by our "major party." With the first part there was absolutely no half-fudging. On the contrary we shall take it as the basis of our reasoning in favour of non-co-operation and that this for the achievement of the economic and the Leader's own merely as "other suggested constitutional means" fails far more than of the necessary requirements than does the policy of non-co-operation. Our contemporary will be ready to admit—of it has not usually done so in the article under reference—that there is already deep resentment and dissension among our Indian brethren with the way in which the Allies including England are handling the Khilafat question and approaching its solution in spite of our most abject and continuous repeated appeals and entreaties to the contrary.

Now, believing in the working of certain universal laws, we know that every moving force in this universe has an action and its reaction. If A applies any force to any body, the force enters the object and at the same time reacts on the instrument, as well as on A, if something is moving out of a distance and A wants to move it in his own direction he applies force, by its pressure, physical contact or pull. The resultant motion is A's direction according to the force applied which analysis itself may consist of the force moving in the other direction and its producing a velocity in its opposite direction to A's force and the "distance" in which it is applied. But the total work done by that force measured accurately by the amount of the direct effect it has upon the moving body or an object which the force was applied has also by its counter effect upon the rest of the world. This is true not only in the case of energy as bodies and substances but in the case of such machines as well. In fact the law of Karma propounded by the greatest of our philosophers is not another name for the great law of action and reaction. Such is the truth with this phenomenon, with the great law of conservation and transformation of energy which if interpreted in plain language means that what we call logical deductions and inductions and conclusions are nothing but "material" reactions of one form of things to another by a moral and regular thought-process of transformation of energy. From our thing to another that being so, let us now examine the nature and the effect of the two reactions viz. the forces of non-co-operation and "other suggested constitutional means."

Non-co-operation is no doubt a more "harmful" if that may be our contemporary chooses for it—than the other. But it will be recalled—our type without least hesitation in the manner

to which non-co-operation is prepared to be applied in the present case—on us by the greater evil than upon ourselves than we would be meeting in the "other suggested constitutional means" which our contemporary prefers to look into. The strength of our side is thus more truly on the moral plane than by any protest, appeals, petitions, deputations and what not.

Let us see the direct effect of the two reactions.

The effect of both the reactions is conservation of forces in our hands. That conservation takes place not only in the Allies or in the formation of world opinion but also in ourselves.

We shall grant in the moment that the effect of the remedy of the "other suggested constitutional means," will tell us efficiently and liberally upon the Allies and the world opinion in world non-co-operation—though we could also show that the impulse given by the latter, if worked out in the present form desired, will be far greater than any one can conceive of.

On the other hand let us consider the reaction of the two reactions or forces upon ourselves. And here do we find the departure of the two roads.

The effect of "other suggested forces" produces in us an energy or impulse, not to do which is done in the Allies and in the world opinion by our hands, or also non-co-operation. But the dispersed form of the one which the conserved energy ultimately delivers or transmits in its form shall remain in it, bound to it by the reaction of the law of nature is quite distant from that of the other. In the one case we transform the energy—which is the worst thing when the Lawyer calls it "evil" or "immoral" or "unethical"—into a moral force by our self-wrought willing. There "evil instruments" or whatever our contemporary may call it—does a channel in which to flow and to continue in flowing. In the other case, however these "instruments" are allowed to continue and to grow without any outlet being provided for them.

Nature by the law of force or the other law is raised and ultimately the energy given it is transformed itself into physical force or what is called violence. The question of self-control and discipline in both the cases is a question of the path or the length of course and in the same. It is like us, tempting to reach that point where the transformation or transformation of energy takes place without any harm.

#### CONCLUSION

If there is anything so rarely dangerous in the life of a nation as in the reaction on the part of the leaders of a nation against the masses as a whole or contact with life and superstitions. When it is associated that the nation is not prepared for non-co-operation, it simply means that, that keeps people from amongst those who consider themselves situated and who are ready and to voice the opinion of the people, do not feel like non-co-operation with the

ation as a whole that is on the brink of despair. We are not prepared to give their kind of an opinion that will look up to them for guidance and help. The usual modes of operation, viz. outside system, public meetings and deputations have been tried and are being tried, but unless it is maintained that the way out definitely exists or cannot exist in an unambiguous way in the case of mankind. Thus the personal account operated for a time when treated as a young three-months, and a lady when my daughter that young woman-inventor and her own maintenance without resorting to social opinion that they felt it their duty to thrust the cooperation of the nation into the very present and inevitable channel. The very fact that non-co-operation is recommended as the progressive stage can be a sufficient guarantee for those who fear that non-co-operation may lead to violence. The agitator will begin to do those who enjoy the top of society and who have received recognition at the hands of Government for some services in order to the Empire. It shall be so ordered to the Government of the great determination of the people to voters justice at any cost and no other means to the people as peaceful yet effective agitation. The fact that the leaders are doing their own will keep the masses from violence and will urge them for non-co-operation if the movement has to be carried on to the bitter end. This the movement of three months will give justice to the hands of the other and prevent bad blood between races, and at the same time educate the entire race through of peaceful working on the moral plane. Thus, therefore, who are anxious to guide the way, and the carrying of the nation to the proper channel must recognize that non-co-operation is the only remedy to combat injustice on the one hand and violence on the other.

L. S.

### WHAT IS AN IDEAL-GUARDIAN?

The following is the substance of the paper read by Shri Sri Sri Sri Chandran, on the occasion of the State Congress Annual Conference—

Upon my becoming involved in the English and on my coming in contact with Arya Samajis, new words entered my notice by constant repetition. One of them was *Guardian*. The word was attached to every or the better the impression that it was a responsibility to think that a *Guardian* was necessary for one's evolution. For a time this disregard of an ancient truth did not disturb me. It seemed quite appropriate as there were in those days no readers who carried out the ancient duty which and which word would be accepted as his.

The other word I heard was *Charal*. I was told that that word denoted a school where teaching was accepted after the ancient style and it pleased me but as time went on I was troubled with questions and I asked myself whether it was possible for a *Charal* to exist under circumstances in which the necessity of a word like *Guardian* became a necessary suggestion of the con-

ditions of our time. For *Charal* are no ancient institutions. The *Charal* got on a glimpse of what they were. The idea which was formed by the student for the conduct of such institutions show also that they were remnants of a high order. We understood that their history and knowledge of the real was their chief object. All other sciences were left as accessories. The success between Gopal Kaur and Nand demonstrated the truth of my observation. Nand went to Gopal Kaur in search of *Charal* study. The latter wanted to know what *Charal* Kaur, and Nand told him with great gusto that he knew the Vedas, the Puranas, *Arthashastra*, *Ugri*, *Itihasya*, *Itihasya* etc. But he had not the knowledge of the real, which brought about salvation.

We learn too from the ancient scriptures that the *Charal* knowledge was attainable not by a study of the scriptures merely, important though that part of the student's curriculum was. The *Charal* was, next to that, to be teacher, himself. That meant *Charal* and others to *Appahat* What in the meaning of the thought going to the teacher with a few sticks of wood in his hand. It is clear to me that it is an emblem of the *Charal* which was so near and I am so proud in my heart by many passages from our scriptures. It is as we wish by *Charal* and step by step proceed streams of water to do the *Charal* knowledge by deep and constant service.

But was this all. There was a direct family relationship established between *Charal* and *Charal* of old. The teacher had all the qualities that entailed honor in the people's respect and affection. He was upright, calm, loving to all, learned and just, humble, free from even a suspicion of hypocrisy. Every house was professed by a good program in which the teacher and the teacher met for the blessing of the *Charal* on all his good activities. We learn further from a study of our scriptures that the company of the teacher going to the learned with sticks of wood in hand was that there were no less an ancient name. Personal service of the teacher was sufficient consideration for the gift of knowledge received, and it was at once a sign that the learner was not only to have his mind developed but that he had to engage in varied necessary physical activities such as eating, drinking, washing water, washing cattle etc. To day we are proud of our children having to do these useful things of life which they are studying through we are quite sure that in our palmy days for man's full development his body was trained and developed just as much as his mind. These of this nature are seen even at *Charal* which has come into order. *Charal* *Charal*. I have known there may a *Charal* had cooking his own food and developing himself during the period of learning. And when the body is spent in willing work as it becomes strong and tough in use, and the soul will become clearer. Man thus trained is able to stand erect in the face of heavy odds and opposition, unshaken, the future which is at his

of stone and steel. When a led has to wander as the Dr. a few words, have to take charge of ourselves and follow the example helps them in. Because quick-witted sort of foot and self-dependent. Just for use as regular in a social body, actually observations of truth, relationships are between things mutually one.

Since the question that faces us is, what are our educational colleges according to the standard of our set. In fact, We have that there is as much as there is religious teaching. Several modern academy is to away any place to religious teaching in our set. It seems even go so far as to say that religious teaching is practically harmful. Therefore those who were such teaching for their children, had modern educational institutions to be strictly, centers for their children. It is misconception of the difference between learning and teaching is to be seen plainly. There is not that full mental development, which we would expect in a system of training which includes sound religious education. The majority of students have lost all the conception of even the fundamental truths of Hinduism. There can be no doubt that that an institution where our children can receive a religious training and process, is a great desideratum.

The student is so conditioned, what a Christian should be like. It is clear that our children should receive the same training that is imparted in our schools and colleges, I have no hesitation in saying that Christianism was not a necessary. But we can come here too many of them, if they give us the divine knowledge for which we can ever thank. In paying a Christian, therefore, we shall not be measured if it becomes in a language of its language or because it has a language teacher. In English, Sanskrit etc. But we shall want to know whether a particular Christian has special facilities for imparting religious teaching and for making the teachers to live in the face of that. The religious training is not to be had by learning languages by rote. We have the authority of the man that there that it can only be had by seeing in the face of a true Guru. We want, there are the surroundings of such an institution also to be in keeping with the goal. A journal should be started which, giving encouragement, for those the aim of the teaching word, where the pupils can get good and quiet. I would have them our teacher boys or girls messages (either then by double worded language).

But we have seen that the chief thing is proper teachers and in pupils. We cannot produce a student Christian by advertising by the most gifted teachers and drawing pupils from the masses. I know that to get few teachers we want in the most difficult task of all, but we must recognize that could we get them all our effort must be vain. I know it is very enough to stress the difficulty, it is not equally easy to overcome it. I want to say

certainly to show the way, but by way of recapitulation I would give below the messages of Christian the following three statements —

- (1) Religious knowledge and religious practice must be separate and isolated upon in other Christian.
- (2) There should be no special endeavor to get teachers with the good Christian message by the
- (3) The pupils should see in an industrial training that would benefit India.

I am myself making an experiment. I have put up by in Mr. Gandhi's institution which I have studied American behavior that he is making an attempt to reproduce all the best of our ancient Christian. It is not possible for loads of such difficulties to meet together and create a workable plan of action such as to entirely tests suggested above.

## INDIANS IN AFRICA

By C. F. ANDREWS, Editor

We take the following from the communication which was given to the Associated Press by Mr. C. F. Andrews:—

In Uganda, Bechuanaland, Rhodesia and Nyasaland the Indian situation is good. The Indians are treated in desirable conditions and the average value of Indian industry and commerce is increasing.

Outside British territory I spent a considerable time in Portuguese East Africa. The Portuguese Government has treated Indian residents with every courtesy and consideration. Equal rights have been granted them in practically every sphere of life, and Indian boys can have been appointed to some of the highest positions in the colony. There are no racial distinctions.

### EXPLOSION FRAMED.

In contrast with this, the situation in British East Africa and in the Transvaal has become so serious, owing to such animosity, that an explosion of racial passions is possible at any moment. The most careful and thoughtful attention to the South African Transvaal has seen the Indian position in the Transvaal was far worse than that in 1912-14. I regard the atmosphere of British East Africa as no less highly inflammable. It has been a common belief in the past that accidents could only be started by fire on the ground, but every circumstance of the situation in the spot I am concerned has been most favorable to the contrary. I have seen with my own eyes racial treatment of Indians which fully bears out this opinion.

### A MONTHLY FAULT.

The new Parliament of the South African Union, was hardly half an hour in session in its policy of a Nationalism, was have obtained a general election it could that any other party, are planned in a directly based program. The majority of the Union members of Parliament are likely to vote with them. The South African party, under General Smuts, cannot be relied on to take (as it stated long) the Indian side. Even the Transvaal members, that in the Parliamentary session was every way distinct, were also that in 1912-14. When the coming month would be finished the balance of power has shifted in an anti-Indian direction. The Indian question must be kept out of the next election and, to secure the present continuance may require, the Parliamentary system to keep to be found.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

For Sale  
Vol. II, No. 21

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19th, 1910.

Price One Anna  
Per Copy.

CONTENTS.		Page.
Articles Day By Day	—	—
Notes	—	—
ARTICLES.		
As to Government Approval	—	—
Foreign Debtors	—	—
A Possible Suggestion	—	—
Dances in Orissa	—	—
Letters to E. J. Allen	—	—

## UPADESHI DAT BY DAY.

Readers of Young India will be greatly surprised to learn that the article about "Weather has not only resulted in complete disposal of the stock that had accumulated at the Ahmeds, but it has evoked orders from Maharashtra, the Nijras, and even Allah. This is as it should be. The revival of the ancient cottage industry of India—hand spinning during leisure hours in their own houses by the culture of women, and hand-weaving in smaller communities by men—cannot but produce a sharp and effective revolution in this country and prevent an excess drain of cotton of rayon which had never been felt in India and elsewhere. The savings among the poor millions instead of accumulating them in the hands of a few capitalists. This is not in my least an ideal and most equitable in India. They are there already. They are able to take care of themselves. It is the poor million who used to be killed by loans granted perversely and unaccounted disposition. Setting out a full revival of the hand-spinning and the hand-weaving industry can save them effectively and speedily. It is to be hoped therefore that the demand for Khadih being proved its production will be stimulated in every part and corner of India.

The most wonderful experience, however, of the popularity of Swadeshi has been that of Shreeji Shreeji Chaudhary and Mrs. Mahan, the wife of her own and probably a worker, Bombay. Shreeji Mahan, writing from Lahore whilst preparing to go to Bombay where she had gone to attend the Khadih Conference, the former says, "There does not any party invited with confidence as to what to do and what price give with me—whatsoever was Khadih dress there while addressing the audience at Swadeshi cell, the point of which will not be so well understood, relation to take up the trunk or to wrap up the 'hull' all with clothes made the looking—whether to be much and handsome as of old or to be simple and common only. I have at last

decided to be the latter, but it is taking time and trouble to assimilate the new method." Writing after her experience of Swadeshi, she says, "Last evening took from a private Maharashtra ladies there were two ladies—wife and sister at our place. They took the view for Charles and Swadeshi. In another place there were ten ladies who all took the same view. It was a lady of Ghazi, Lahore, very cultured and cultured, added there is it since the days of the history. I had I see do the Swadeshi and Charles' preparations in particular in these persons. My Swadeshi dress is having its effect. As a meeting called in Bombay by Mrs. Mahan, Mrs. Mahan's idea took the Swadeshi view.

Speaking in the Khadih dress and conference in London on a resolution on Swadeshi, she had given upon the deep poverty of India and her two chief wants—food and raiment, and she said that if we did not know how to manage our own houses and would not make the two ends meet, we would be ill fitted to undertake the management of the national affairs. It was remarkable, she added, that whilst the people were ready to follow in speeches which required from them no action and no sacrifice they were shy of attending meetings where they were told how to do and which show their attachment to their primary duty of attending to Swadeshi at all costs. She asked them to work in the spirit of the late Mahatma, who was not only an advocate of but took part in weaving throughout his life. Khadih cloth, she admitted that return to Khadih was difficult, but all agreed afterwards that as India would never be able to produce the beautiful cloth needed before, until she seriously turned to her ally from China, Japan, France and elsewhere, and was content in the interim to wear cloth made out of coarse yarn, that daughters of India were able to produce in India. The poverty and backwardness had left an opinion in them who reached the actual condition of the country, she appeared to them as the picture in had the way, explaining her statement by quoting:

अच्छेरी-अच्छेरी ही !  
अच्छेरी ही अच्छेरी ही !

The Chaudhary had not much time left to them to test the truth of the above statement in their own house, for they had to prepare dresses for their children on whose marriage was to take place in the 15th month. Poor! Swadeshi India Chaudhary says. "All marriage clothes have been made at Swadeshi with made in Bombay. It is somewhat sorry but excellent stuff. We have equally satisfied all things with."

## Notes.

**English in Bihar—In Bihar and Orissa as in several other provinces, separate representation is given to the Moslems, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians. Besides this, just as Hindus in some other provinces have their own systems of communal representation, so also in the province of Bihar and Orissa, they are not without their own special question in the respect. The English in Bihar are fighting for separate representation being granted to the natives in the Provincial Council. "Most of them 'the English types,' " are the owners of landed property or are in Government employ and a considerable number have worked their way into the forefront of the legal and medical professions. This shows that they are not a people whose voice can be neglected, but they want to make their voice stronger and they seek to achieve this by separate representation. It is argued that if the Moslems in that province, who are stronger by a lot in F. than the English population, have 7 seats, the English should have 11.**

We consider it deplorable that the English who are neither numerically weak, nor otherwise less advanced than their Bihar brethren should erect in separate representation a bulwark against more strength to themselves. If they say not to be blamed for espousing a wrong principle of representation they cannot escape the charge of being short sighted even as far as their own interests are concerned. Their "special interests" for which they cannot identify themselves with other people of the province are that they "have not the same claims to educational advantages and of advances in educational institutions, particularly in medical and engineering institutions, as Anglo-Indians, Hindus and Orissa Jews." The proper course to pursue these educational demands is to agitate them well as co-operation with the Bihar leaders instead of any separatist tendency. Any such tendency will maintain the existing bitterness between the two sections of the province.

The controversy gives rise to another important question. Writing on this subject the *Indian Standard* says: "The Bengali are for the most part provincial, uncommunicative inhabitants of tracts of country which, until recently, have been from which those integral parts of Bengal and have been English-speaking for the most part. So that the real truth is that some parts of Bengalis and central Bengal have been for administrative purposes included in the province of Bihar and Orissa. . . . Out of nearly 22 lakhs of Bengalis in the administrative province of Bihar and Orissa, only 1,20,000 can be spoken of as Bengalis or natives."

The question that thus has been suggested, is, why should these Bengalis in the border districts continue under an unaltered administration? Their natural place ought to be in Bengal, and if they

agree, all administrative purposes should yield to the natural division of the two provinces—Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa.

**Indians in East Africa—**Members reported the memorandums submitted by a joint deputation of the East African Deputation and the Indian Overseas Association to Mr. Hastings and Lord Milner on the question of the position of Indians in East Africa. The deputation was a very strong and influential one and it consisted of Lord Langford and Mr. Charles Roberts ex Under-Secretaries of State for India, Sir J. D. Bate, K. P., Mr. T. J. Somers K. P., Col. Wedgwood K. P., Sir G. Anderson, Sir Krishna Gupta, Sir M. Bhadrasingh, Mr. Pabai and the members of the East African Deputation. Many other influential persons who were unable to attend had expressed their sympathy with the object of the deputation.

The members met the whole case clearly before the Secretary of State for India and the Colonial Secretary, pointed out to them how the Imperial Government who are solely responsible for the administrative policy of East Africa, are to be blamed for allowing the anti-Indian agitation to grow in the Protectorates. The Imperial Government had stubbornly been carrying on the anti-Indian policy that had been freely and willingly adopted by the Government of East Africa. Indians look upon British East Africa, Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika as the territory which had been developed by themselves. They had brought with them a large amount of capital. There was an European settlement which had the "mainstem growth" of the last twenty years. If the Indian population was to leave East Africa to-morrow, the entire territory would immediately fall in power and the entire population reduce to barbarism. Finally they hoped that the British people and the British Government would not allow judgment to go by default and would respond generously to Indian claim to the equal treatment of her colonies as in East Africa and the reversal of the present anti-Indian policy.

Mr. Hastings and Lord Milner are each reported to have had a very sympathetic ear to the representations of the deputation, the latter admitting the mistake of the Imperial Government in not taking up the Indian case earlier which was undoubtedly very strong and which had suffered immeasurably owing to their delay in doing so, however, of Mr. Hastings's sympathetic reply, Mr. Somers's talk to H. H. the Aga Khan, shows that the Indian members are not at all satisfied and they wonder that Lord Milner will yield to the European demand and give up the Indian case. It is hardly necessary to induce public opinion to exert itself on this question and inform the Imperial Government that it will not tolerate the Government controlled by the greedy European capitalists upon the rights of the Indian natives in the East African Protectorates.

## Young India.

Published, Wednesday, 19th May, 1920.

### SOME QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

"I write to thank you for parts of the 15th, 16th, and especially for your request that I should, after reading your writings on "Young India," as non-co-operation, give a full and frank statement of them. I know that your sole desire is to hold out the truth and to act accordingly, and hence I venture to make the following remarks. In the case of May 15th you say that non-co-operation is "not even non-Government." But analysis leads to this conclusion, to wit that the Government is the holder of not merely a part of but of the totality of the non-co-operatively non-Government and while it is true that ultimately make all Government responsible. Again, you say, "It is the natural right of a subject to refuse to assist a government that will not listen to him." Leaving aside the question of the ill-will sentiment of the population, may I ask which Government, at the present time? Has not the Indian Government done all it possibly can in this matter? There is no example to cause the request of India should be, would be for her and just to the extinguishing of it. I hold out the proper course for non-co-operation with the Government of the Allies, including Great Britain, if it be found that the latter has failed properly to support the demand of the Indian Government and people. It seems to me that in all your writings and especially you forget that in the present question both Government and people are at issue, and if any fault be given what they justly seek, how does the question of non-co-operation between Hindustani and England and the Government on all my part? (Involvement as a full-hearted manner that the British Government is doing any wrong etc.) But supposing we had of our object—what then? Are we all to refuse to co-operate and to do what?

1. Why I recommend the consideration of the following points of reader?

- (1) "Why, indeed?" what do you mean by the Treaty with England and
- (2) If they are not in accordance with our experience and recommendations of the Government and the people of India, then every legitimate effort should be made to alter the terms thereof.
- (3) In the future will co-operate with a Government that co-operates with us, and only when it refuses to promise, go in for non-co-operation.

As for I personally see no reason whatsoever for non-co-operation with the Indian Government, and will continue to render the needs and demands of India as a whole there can be no reason. The Indian Government and the Government make mistakes, but so do the British nation in its usual and therefore discussion or rights to have the opportunity and whole-hearted co-operation of every one in India. I hope that you will kindly consider the above and perhaps you will be able to find this for a reply in Young India.

gladly make room for the above letter and request to the suggestion to give a public reply to me with the difficulty expressed by the English Council is expressed by many. Congress generally has, not owing to the determined opposition of men

who will not see the truth as they want to perpetuate an system but because they are able to select in their favour the allegations of those who are anxious to understand a particular issue and take sides after mature judgment. It is only by patient argument with both houses that one is able to strike oneself, correct one's own errors of judgment and not at times to win these terms their cause and bring them over to one's side. The Khilafat question is especially difficult because there are so many sub-issues. It is therefore no wonder that many have more or less difficulty in making up their minds. It is further complicated because the peaceful activity for more direct action has a common connection with it that whatever the difficulty, I am convinced that there is no question so important as that one of us must have unity and peace in India.

My friend objects to my statement that non-co-operation is not anti-Government, because he understands that refusal to serve it and pay its taxes is actually anti-Government. I respectfully dissent from this view. If a brother has fundamental differences with his brother, and association with the latter involves his partaking of what is his opinion as an equal, I hold that it is his brotherly duty to refuse to associate with his brother and sharing his earnings with him. This happens in everyday life. Prithvi did not associate his father when he declined to associate himself with the latter's extravagance. Nor was I ever anti-British when he declared against the Khilafat and the Government, and would have none of them. In such matters it is not the intention that determines the character of a particular act. It is hardly correct to say that the refusal to co-operate with the Government under present circumstances would make all Government responsible. But certainly that such withdrawal would make all equally responsible.

My unqualified conviction that the Government of India having done all it possibly could see no objection could not be applicable to that Government, in my opinion, what it is true that the Government of India has done a great deal, it has not done half so much as it might have done, and might do in some things. My Government has a whole staff from further action beyond protesting, when it appears that the people whom it represents feel as bitterly as do the British Members of the Khilafat question. No amount of sympathy with a dying man can possibly avail. We must have bread or nothing, and what is wanted is that trouble should be removed to bring the wherrying hal to feed the dying man. The Government of India can to day lead the agitation and ask in the name of justice for full withdrawal of the pledged word of a British Member. Has the Government of India engaged by way of protest against the threatened, intended betrayal of trust on the part of Mr. Lloyd George? Why does the Government of India hold itself behind secret dispatches? As a law man

that honest Lord Hardinge committed a constitutional indiscretion, openly sympathized with the South African Fœderis Bantuanes movement and sanctioned the waging of the policy of public indignation in India, though at the same time he incurred the wrath of the then South African Cabinet and some public men in Great Britain. After all, the object that the Government of India has done is in the open allowing to transit and pass the Mahomedan claim. Was that not the best it could have done? Could it have done anything less without involving itself with danger? What Indian Mahomedans and the Indian public expect the Government of India to do at this critical juncture is not the best, but the utmost that it could do. Whatever has been necessary leader resigned even for much smaller causes. Wounded pride brought forth not very long ago the resignation of a Lieutenant Governor. On the Khalifa's question, a second man came down in the hearts of several million Mahomedans as a danger of being wounded. I would therefore advise the English friends and every Englishman in India, and every Hindu, to be moderate or reticent, to confer consultation with the Mahomedans and thereby compel the Government of India to do its duty, and thereby compel His Majesty's Ministers to do theirs.

There has been much talk of violence coming from active non-co-operation. I venture to suggest that the Mahomedans of India, if they had nothing in the shape of non-co-operation in view, would have long ago yielded in moments of despair. I admit that non-co-operation is not sanctioned with danger. But violence is a certainty without, violence is only a possibility with non-co-operation. And it will be a greater possibility if all the important men, English, Hindu and others of the country demonstrate it.

I think that the recommendation made by the friend is being liberally followed by the Mahomedans. Although they practically know the fate, they are waiting for the actual terms of the treaty with Turkey. They are certainly going to try every means at their disposal to have the treaty carried before beginning non-co-operation. And there will certainly be no non-co-operation commenced so long as there is any hope of active co-operation on the part of the Government of India with the Mahomedans, that is, non-co-operation strong enough to secure a revision of the terms should they be found to be in conflict with the pledges of British statesmen. But if all these things fail, can Mahomedans as men of honour who hold their religion dearer than their lives, do anything less than wash their hands clean of the guilt of British Ministers and the Government of India by refusing to co-operate with them? And can Hindus and Englishmen, if they value Mahomedan friendship, and if they admit the full justice of the Mahomedan claim do otherwise than heartily support the Mahomedans by word and deed?

## FRENCH BOOKS.

(By M. E. Gandhi.)

After the foregoing was posted, the long-awaited peace terms regarding Turkey were received. In my humble opinion, they are favourable to the Supreme Cause, to the British cause, and of no small value with deep reverence for Christianity I may say so, a denial of Christ's teachings. Turkey broke down not here with despatches which may reflect to the average deposit of here, and Indian Mahomedans may not be so ignorant. Hardie and of few, openly or read of appreciation of the situation, they refuse to help their Mahomedan brethren in their hour of need. The fact remains that a witness remains of the Prime Minister of England has been seriously broken. I will say nothing about President Wilson's fourteen points, for they seem not to be entirely forgotten as a day's wonder. It is a matter of deep sorrow that the Government of India contemporary offers a full face of the terms with them a fullness of the Lord George's pledge of the January 1914 and yet apologises for their defective nature and appeals to the Mahomedans of India as if to work them. But they would accept the terms with quiet resignation. The fact that with the foregoing is too this to do so anybody. It would have been dignified if the contemporary had fully admitted the Lord George's mistake in having made the promise referred to. It is, therefore, I think, the promise only adds to the affliction caused by its glaring breach. What is the use of the Treaty signed? The position of the Khalifa is one for the Mahomedans and Mahomedans only and that with their feet clean in the matter Government has done its duty, while the Khalifa's dominions are entirely dismantled, his control of the Holy places of Islam shamefully taken away from him and he himself refused to other competence in his own palace which can no longer be called a palace but which can be more fitly described as a prison. No wonder, the Executive fears that the peace, unless terms which must be painful to all Muslims. "Why should it work Muslim satisfaction by sending the Mahomedans of India a message of encouragement and sympathy? Are they expected to feel encouragement in the great rental of the original terms or in a remembrance of the splendid response made by them to the call of the King in the day of the Emperor's need. It all becomes the Executive in talk of the triumph of them which of justice and humanity for which the Allah fought. Indeed, the terms of these-called peace with Turkey if they are to last, will be a statement of human indignity and man-made injustice. To attempt to wash the spirit of a lower and godless man, known as law but in the darkness of man, is a triumph not of humanity but a demonstration of inhumanity. And if Turkey signed the closed line of friendship with Great Britain before the war, Great Britain has certainly made ample reparation for her mistake by having made the largest contribution to the liberation of Turkey. It is therefore therefore when

the Viceroy took occasion that with the conclusion of the new treaty that friendship will quickly take its course and a Turkey expressive full of hope and strength, will stand forth in the future as an important pillar of the Indian Empire. The Viceroy's message admirably concludes, "This thought will, I trust, strengthen you to accept the peace terms with resignation, courage and leniency and to keep your hope fixed towards the Crown bright and undiminished as it has been for so many generations." If Indian loyalty remains undiminished it will certainly act in the most efficient manner in the past of the Government of India to put the best of Indian spirit at, but it will remain as before—the Mahatmas retain their own strength—the strength is the knowledge that they mean to stand and that they have got the power to withstand justice in spite of the opposition offered by Great Britain under a Prime Minister whose confidence power has made a reputation in making promises as to breaking them.

What therefore I demand that there is nothing other in the peace terms as in the Viceroy's message inviting them to accept Mahatmas and Indians in general with confidence or hope. I therefore suggest that there is to come the day as it says: Now is the time for Mahatmas to come ahead and stand, to make their voices and speak though they are, with their feet on land in step in the struggle with unshakable vigour and power in due to India—both India and Mahatmas are set in one man and one nation. His partnership in the cause against the empire which the peace terms represent, she will now come a partner of the treaty and give herself and the Empire at hand, if not the world, a lasting peace. There is no doubt that the struggle would be better sharp and possibly prolonged, but it is worth all the sacrifice that it is likely to cost both. Both the Mahatmas and the British are on their trial. Is the foundation of the Khilafat a matter of concern to the British? And if it is, are they prepared to extend restraint, religiously reform from violence and protest non-violence without meeting the material loss it may entail upon the community? Do the Mahatmas honestly feel for their Mahatma brethren in the event of losing their inheritance to the British crown? The answer to these questions and not the peace terms, will finally decide the fate of the Khilafat.

### A HUMBLE SUGGESTION

Under the above heading Mr. Gandhi has contributed to the columns of *Messenger* an article which has rendering we give below Mr. Gandhi's reply.

I observe that many resolutions have since forwarded to the chosen of the world to divert the reformed message. It must be granted that it is possible to receive some service in the State by entering these councils. But it is my firm belief that many can save the country better by remaining outside. The late Mr. E. D. Morehead said to say that it

was possibly responsible for a true Christian to remain in the British Parliament. Carlyle called it the talking shop. When there are many resolutions, those who have accepted services of the State as an article of faith would do well to stand outside the line, and they will find that they will be better occupied by advancing the electorate and keeping the elected members to their promise of the polls. Even in England, one sees the most effective service rendered by those who keep themselves outside the House of Commons. The real affairs of the English nation are conducted not by the elected members, but by the larger body who really control them. I would in other matters to suggest to the larger body of those whose only mission is to serve India, not to trouble those entering the councils. To the extent of their membership of councils I would respectfully urge they avoid the councils if it is any use at your own which you want to stand there, for it is not a ground elsewhere. In a situation where only national interests are supposed to be considered and where all rights are to be put up against stated social interests, how can you think of serving your own interests directly. You will not wish to require the national cause by making your own with it. I do not know who are the opponents. But I draw my influence from what happens over national social situations. We shall benefit by our people, entering the councils if they are true national social humanity and love of the country, corruption, bribery and greed in the councils they have to handle.

The Reformers are in fact of delirious which mean to be considered, but even so a race with the lowest edge in politics is necessary of hands, or may a more perfect, constitution be founded entirely of it is handled by selfish or cynical counsellors. The real opposition comes of entering the Reformers but would be to stand to the councils only those who wish to serve the Nation. If there hands, even a definite constitution may be worked for the good of the Nation even so an able returns effectively managed different tools and even makes them better.

### DISTRESS IN ODISHA

The following is Mr. Thakur's report on the Distress in Odisha. —

I came here on the 25th April last being met by the Director of Public Health and Fisheries (Gandhi) who directed me to the extent of distress existing in Puri District and the suffering or otherwise of peasants, adopted by Government and public to relieve the same. I was met in the District on the 25th day and have remained today after about 120 miles' road journey, we travel of it by State road and the remaining by village roads. The report is as follows: —

The year 1918-19 was one of general scarcity for all over the whole country, including Odisha. Puri District is not far so different but all distributed famine and in addition to this, by the inability to collect it was the severe famine branches of the Mahatma and which over

the four banks. The District Board in its report has deplored last year for supplying means for the people to enable them to withstand the extraordinarily high prices which went up to 4 Pungal annas per seer. On the top of this what year sees the banks in the month of August last, leaving the inhabitants of Kanchi districts, which formed a portion of the district between that river and the coast and covering a tract about 100 square miles. The water was 18 1/2 in August past and stood for a period of four or five weeks. Not only was the禾米 crop thus washed away, but the禾米 already in field in November last spoiled without crops etc. Thus the cultivators and labouring classes were reduced to a condition bordering on poverty and extreme destitution.

#### Private Reports.

Crops generally in the various taluks and taluqs, due to unseasonable dryness since the Hukamary by Alipata, Nagai and Masulipatam. Besides this, the unseasonable rain on a relatively poor living always on the verge of starvation. Though the public opinion on the issue of Free or not strong and robust, the Government, in May 1910 in a meeting, asked Government to distribute禾米 free. It was in March last that the Hon'ble Mr. Cecil Bealish has brought the subject of Free distribution with a reference to the Bihar Legislative Council by showing pictures of famished people and empty lands and pointing out lands which the afflicted people used as fuel, and by asking for a total grant of Rs. 2,00,000 for their relief. But absolutely nothing was done in the matter of the relief of people by Government. In the meantime some禾米 relief by free distribution of rice was given by the Free Food Committee, and by the members of the Indian National Congress, Public Societies, and the District, in his private capacity and of Hindu Relief Society of Calcutta. An Orphanage and a Hospital for the Orphan have also been, since, opened by the Free Food Committee and which are now functioning. The Secretary of India Society had reported Mr. L. N. Saha with some funds for aiding the non-official Relief Work in the beginning of March last.

#### Government Report.

The Government of Orissa Revenue of last month has advised the Government as a weekly survey was in March last and that although the Government was not prepared, as is represented by the Public and the Press, and is mentioned in the Legislative Council that the famine distress by the Hon'ble Mr. Dalrymple was not as serious. As a result of this difference, the two committees, Official and Non-official, for Relief Work, the Legislative Council of the Province raised the affected area on the 17th of April last. This had a good effect in raising the value of government distress, though much less was made out of it as the people expected. Great sums of rice and cooked food is given to about 2,500 persons from an official and Non-official a Deputy Collector is appointed to assist them for the work. But the quantity of rice sold out in each person is less than that provided in the Province Code, 400 cubs instead of 50 and 100 cubs to males and females respectively and with cooked and salted rice supplied to be opened in relief work in non-official villages. Village works are so necessary for the maintenance of life of the afflicted persons as rice does not for the distressed but the Government. The rice collected by various committees, regularly speaking, 150 sq miles, the number of villages were 600 and the population there is about a half out of a total population of two lakhs in the district. A comparatively large

percentage of the population affected requires more relief than elsewhere in the provinces that of which of land cultivation that are not in need of relief or much smaller than 10-15 per cent.

#### Less or More.

In the same time because less than the work by taking a heavy toll of human lives. From village to village, (and, had in this tract villages have only 20 to 100 houses) has had a few more, ranging from 5 to 4 to 2 persons and in some 15, this to show what of food, liquor, sugar, and sundry necessities of the population have fallen on any day. On this and old persons have succumbed to famine and even people have been seen dead in this vicinity. I have not heard of anything except about deaths of horses by men and women and the children, perhaps to die or wander. If relief by Government was had and was so long deferred, the loss of human life would have been much less. I am not in a position to say accurately what the total loss has been. I have visited the villages in my 3 days' tour and on inquiry in these villages I have been able to gather that about 440 persons died of starvation in these and a few other villages about which I get reliable reports. On the basis of computation I can roughly guess the total loss of life at 1000 in the lowest estimate. I had the satisfaction to see one hundred men dying in my camp at Bhangura in my presence and another in a village about a few hours ago and not removed the attention. My sympathy was a third man dying under similar conditions. These Ministers of the Non-official Relief Committee of Free started in many of these towns with several stations outside a village of 60 houses, which had a heavy mortality as many as 31 from August last. In the village of some only 24 miles off from Puri, as many as 50 to 150 are said to have died in the August food, and walked the roads bare in some as many as 15 houses daily in the morning ground on the day of the year.

#### Private Notices.

In case of a possible distress, some of the preliminary measures of supply and preparation to meet it are the submission of periodical reports by the Bihar Dept. regarding the following items—

- (1) Working of any newly started persons,
- (2) Any unusual instance of mortality, and
- (3) Cases of starvation or severe want.

[File shows 24 of the Bihar Press at Calcutta, 1911.]

In the case of a population of 2150 persons included in a group of villages I found total mortality due to all causes during the last three months of this year at 140 per mile, though there has been no epidemic. In this was sufficient evidence of the existence of extraordinary distress and famine to make of food preparation of any Public report. Again about half of this number was not to have died by starvation only as per statements made by Public Committees who received relief committees. However all public authorities have no objection that they will be held responsible for all deaths by starvation and therefore they show all such deaths as well that in worst level, but to any arbitrary distance, we have, believe or sympathy. As a matter of fact the Province Code requires on them to report cases of war and starvation, and perhaps to save themselves the trouble of reporting they mean to have made about a 100, as I observed in my previous report, that they put off all starvation deaths

or voluntary deaths and thus marked the Government out for public censure. It is a fatal kind of good intention of the past to find voluntary deaths of poor uneducated women by stopping work by action being taken for their protection.

#### THEir DEARER WIVES

Even at the present moment that is due to starvation are not absent in our country. To prevent any further loss of life provisions relief should be given to at least three times the present number, and in every village instead of one low walled village, and village public works should be liberally opened to provide work for able-bodied persons. But provision should also be made for the widows. It is every woman's right to have a strength of 10 or 15 dependants on her as up to her knees in a 20 or 25 dependants in a rural village. In times such as that of famine, to give work to give, before, to get the best of those to enjoy who have died of the famine, to take care of female orphans as to let the people agree on this by a large system of money in work. It is hoped that such English domestic duty and other who have taken on them. Many settlements of Calcutta and the average system collection of Bombay will not find it is to take English style, please, but a few of them can be of value to the world for private charity to meet the practical needs of the widows and orphans.

We trust that Mr. Huddleston's appeal will receive the response it deserves. His 5000 have already been sent to the proper quarters from the collection in Birmingham.

### INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

The following memorandum which was submitted by a joint-delegation of the East African Delegation and the Indian Overseas Association on the problem of Indians in E. Africa has been sent to us by that distinguished friend of India, Mr. H. S. L. Phipps, M.A., Secretary of the Government of India—

#### INTRODUCTION

In the year 1920 it might seem a work of supererogation to insist upon the fact of the serious character of India with the Eastern Dependencies of the African Colonies. The local Administrations of the British East African Provinces and the Magaya Government should be fully aware of all the long relations in that connection, but that they are to change of being regarded as direct from that of the East African of the Government Commission issued last year by the Government of the East African Provinces. The Commission was appointed by the Governor of the Provinces and was presided over by a high officer of the Administration. The Report was signed by him in agreement with the other members of the Commission. In Chapter 2 a historical survey of East Africa is given. It is noticeable that the appearance of the Indian population in India is mentioned in connection with those territories, yet the concluding part contains that this chapter contains not enough reference to India or her people, and the only suggestion that can properly be made by a review of the chapter, together with Chapter 3, is that the omission of any such reference is unfortunate. It will be necessary to a later stage to revert to the suggestions proposed in Chapter 3.

#### INDIANS

Indian trade connections with East and the East African Dependencies about pre-historic times, at any rate, speaks of three continents, and in the Indian East since the middle of last century. From the time of Lord Clarendon, British Indians and the Government of India have taken a very active part in extending British influence in East Africa. It was suggested before the East African Commission, in 1910, by Sir John Kirk, with

probably an unimpaired knowledge of the Provinces, that "but for the Indians on the British side, and for their own. It was entirely through being in possession of the colonies of these Indian merchants that we were enabled to hold on the influence that eventually resulted in our position." One of the main grounds stated for granting the Royal Charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888 by Queen Victoria was that it was calculated to be almost equal to the "commercial and other interests" of the British Indians and that "the possession by British Company of the East Coast Line" would prevent British Indian colonies from "being regarded as hostile and trade with the Government and protection of African Provinces." In the early days of the conquest and partition of the Provinces, Indian soldiers had a very honorable part, and the history of events in East of the outbreak of the last War was repeated there, at the beginning of the last World War, the timely help given by India to men, money, and material to East Africa saved the country from complete destruction and its occupation by the German forces. The national transport business in the Dependencies was provided by Indian recruited and Indian. The main factor in opening up the interior of the country was the construction of the Uganda railway, entirely by Indian labour and enterprise, and, after the war, large quantities of Indian and with considerable loss of life. Since then very large numbers of Indian traders, agriculturists, agriculturists, artisans, and labourers have migrated to the country in the various sections of the local Dependencies, and helping in peace and good relations with British rule. This migration, legal, simple living, and healthy Indian population has rendered considerable service to the country in its industrial and commercial development, and has benefited and benefited in a very large measure of money at the creation of large numbers of substantial and permanent buildings, covering several thousand houses entirely owned by Indians, in the chief towns of the Provinces and also in Uganda. In his book, "My African Journey" (a journey undertaken by him as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies), the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, at present the Secretary of State for War, writes: "So the Indian trader, who, possessing and managing himself in all sorts of places in which no white man could go, or in which no white man could turn a living, has, since that day, also, developed the early beginnings of trade, and opened up the first slender means of communication."

#### THE FUTURE POSITION

By the greater proportion of the skilled and unskilled staff on the Uganda railway and in its workshops consists of Indians, and large numbers of Indian clerks are employed in the Government offices and commercial houses. The creation of buildings throughout the country is carried on by Indian contractors and artisans, and about 80 per cent. of the trade and commerce of the Provinces is carried on by Indians. The present European population of the Provinces is said to be approximately one thousand, including the missionaries. The proportion of officials, military, and missionaries in 1911 slightly more than one-half of the European population was actually engaged in the development of the country. The proportion today is engaged to be about the same. The present Indian population of the Provinces is certainly not less than 25 thousand, and it is estimated that it is over 200,000.

It is thus clear that, apart from the present character of Indian enterprise in East Africa, the Indian people

tion of the Protectorate is undoubtedly greater than the European. The assumed equal is, in practice, far behind upon the lands and possessions of the Protectorate as four-fifths of the white, and it pays a very much larger proportion of the taxation of the country than does the European population. European citizens could fail to vote in the elections there as all members, including those of Alaska, the Protectorate, is, at best, apart from the votes polled on an Indian and not a European Colony. Indeed, Indian law is, and was in a matter of course, administered in East Africa. In the unqualified and determined resolution of Dr. F. Charles Mitchell, in a dispatch appearing in "The Times" of March 18, 1920, says "The chief trouble is almost wholly in the hands of the British as far as the Indian, and in the hands, of Indian, Indian and Japanese goods are cutting their way."

This point was adopted for local European and native requirements. . . . Indians are rapidly passing control of the sheep, hides, and other markets. There are indications in Indian lands to some extent. Dr. Mitchell, being a company, could not have known that Indian lands owned in the Protectorate presented before any British goods were introduced.

#### INDIAN AND INDIAN RELATIONS

In spite, however, of this point claims to compensation to the hands of the colonists, due in their present work in the carrying of the products of workers, objection to the Indians and non-Indian people of the country, and the chief and leading white residents there to, and notwithstanding their assumed preponderance and the temporary superior position of private Indian capital owned in the country, the Indian nations did not adopt a step in the same policy. They did not demand preferential treatment. They did not demand European colonies, nor did they agitate for the imposition of distribution upon such Europeans as were already settled or might be allowed to settle in the Protectorate. On the contrary, they were not afraid of competition, and welcomed and were willing to cooperate on a basis of equality with all who came, whether Indian or European. Some prominent members of the Indian Community were well out of their way to recommend the country for European settlement as well as Indian. In the early days of the British rule in the Protectorate, the relations between Indian Community and the Administration were of a very friendly character. The Crown Office, which at that time was still the Administration, fully recognized the inevitable and inseparable events resulting by India and the Indian in their vicinity along the East Sea, a number of influential Dutch factors from South Africa, connected with the trade in the neighbouring German territory, occupied in the Protectorate, and eventually settled in the same areas as the "Highlands." Their relations brought with them the Indian-Indian people generally directed against colored people, and together with other white settlers, with experience of conditions in South Africa and other well known portions of the Empire's dominions, but entirely ignorant of Indian traditions and customs and of the narrow history of the Protectorate, came to see an open way upon the Indian side with the slight exception of, at various times in the more periods of interference as has been the unhappy fate of their neighbors in South Africa. At least these efforts did not succeed, in the great degree of the other nations who pressed for the results and the control of the Administration from the

Foreign Office to the Colonial Office. His Majesty's Indian subjects in East Africa felt that principal benefits from the Department of Colonial Office administration in East Africa. Without any doubt, to determine how far the Colonial Office was responsible for the change, they were further informed that a distinction should be made at that time to clear the whole character of the Administration—white, before then, had been equal and even wanted to all contents of the Community, but which Government, under the growing influence of the South African immigrants or other colored living under experiment in European-occupied South Africa, changed its policy in so far as possible advantages and preferential treatment to the white nations under the pretext that the Protectorate should come more and more under European influence in the interests of the entire population. In August 1920 the Local Board of the Protectorate recommended that Government should lead in certain specified areas should not be allotted to Indians, but should be reserved for European white men. In transmitting the resolution to the then Secretary of State, Lord Blyth, the Commissioner of Lands recommended that the claims of the Indian Community would not be lightly disregarded, giving that there were in the country long before Europeans had settled there, that had the Indian before the Uganda railway would have been more successful, that most of the working world of the country was in the hands of the Indians, and, finally, that Indians were British subjects. Unfortunately as had happened some months earlier in the case of Indians in South Africa, his Lordship did not give to these powerful recommendations the importance that they merited. In a dispatch to the Governor, dated March 16, 1920, Lord Blyth said: "With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consistent with the views of His Majesty's Government to grant legal restrictions on any section of the Indian Community, but, as a matter of administrative convenience, grants should not be made to Indians in the specified areas." It is contended, in the first place, that the rights and the well-being of His Majesty's Indian subjects might prove on a territory such as South East Africa to have been substantially greater "administrative convenience," but beyond that, it is common knowledge that suggestion of "administrative convenience" was at issue at that time. The European nations wanted to reserve for white of the specified areas, and of the Indian and had part of the Protectorate, by themselves. But that they wanted themselves to develop the country. They stated and will rely entirely upon nature before that purpose but they wanted to live a life apart from and out of contact with the Indian Community, and to control for themselves the areas heavily settled areas, areas to which few have made possible only by Indian migration and labor. The divergence from principle in the heavy protection granted by His Majesty's Government was obvious, and him that took the Indian position less gradually gave him had to work. And whether, in contrast with the recommendation of the United States for the various white settlement, it was generally understood that the benefits were to be reserved for Indian settlement, it is a significant and characteristic of the relations of the white nations that they are to-day regarded in an endeavor to reserve the assets of the Colonial Office in an investment upon the Indian side.

(To be continued.)



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17618

New Series } JOURNAL OF THE YOUNG INDIA SOCIETY, 11, BANGALORE ROAD, MADRAS, INDIA. } From One Anna Per Copy

ARTICLES	CONTENTS	PAGES
January ..	.. ..	.. 1
Editorial ..	.. ..	.. 2
Secretary's Report ..	.. ..	.. 4
A. Hand-Down ..	.. ..	.. 4
Madrasa Madrasa ..	.. ..	.. 4
India's Affairs ..	.. ..	.. 4
Editorial ..	.. ..	.. 4

## INSANITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the course of the discussion of my views on non-cooperation the Editorial Leader asked me to state what I meant by "mass and impulsive action" on the part of the Government in dealing with the Khilafat agitation. The U. K. Government have provided us with a splendid illustration of mass and impulsive action almost, if not altogether, according to reality. I refer to the statement from Winston, of Peck's Agricultural Station, the son of the Hon. the Pradh Mantri Mohan.

Mr. Jaramahal Mohan's deplorable letter to the Superintendent of Police Bangalore is the public work of the hour in connection with the matter under us here. The whole of the Editorial public could have refused, if necessary, to be the victim of an honorable man who was necessary, that Mr. Mohan's power was proceeding with his mother-in-law and his wife and his children partly for reasons of health. Being captured of him, having received an opportunity, through forward and full explanation of his position in Mysore, having the knowledge that the members of the family were with him in Mysore the authorities ought to have accepted Mr. Mohan's word and refrained from taking further action. It should be remembered that Mr. Mohan is his letter to the Superintendent of Police, and "I have no concern with the Afghan delegation and it was an accident that we both happened to be on the same boat. As a matter of fact these persons have had no part in it to a certain extent as I was looking forward to being possessed of the news at present occupied by them. I was of course interested in the delegation as every intelligent person must be. But I had no part in the slightest relation of going out of my way to meet them. We have been here now for the last seventeen days and during this period I have not seen a single member of the delegation even from a distance

You are present at the fact as you told me this morning. This was not enough for the authorities. They had not that needed before. They wanted an assurance that Mr. Jaramahal Mohan would not have any communication with the delegation for we have from the same letter. But although I have no intention what ever of seeing the Afghan or of having any communication with them, I entirely doubt the idea of looking myself down to any extent of extent in the course of the Government, even though such action may not prove effective. It is really a question of principle in business. You will find me, especially my position. And the Government when Mr. Oakes, the Superintendent of Police, expressed appreciation the position by saying to him the order of statement two days after the receipt of the letter. Mr. Mohan was anxious that the Government should have the full facts before them. Therefore told them in the same letter. If the Government choose to take any action on me I can be the person to respond to it. It will be a great consolation to me to go down calmly and have my head by themselves. The confidence of my wife's health is gone, the most marked attention and my mother was marked marked and it is more difficult to live, then stated for. My mother's partner will support my father and my place entirely and even in my country of trouble and anxiety. But I suppose individual circumstances should be considered in the nature of this.

In a well-regulated free society, it is not a high matter of State' as my wife, says when individual welfare is completely required to be sacrificed in corporate welfare. In the instance there was nothing, as far as the path he was aware, to warrant the submission, of being a member from having with and appearing to give mother from her only son and probably when they have means she to look after them and are every time here. I will give account of a very simple type and it can only proceed from a good conscience. The Government know that the power to us are disconcerted and in breach of the pledge of conscience. They know that the Khilafat was not less than deeply in it. They know that the Hindu sympathy is completely with them and they know that the Afghan delegation is also in complete accord with the Indian National League. They are therefore, ahead of my father in

importance being in the position of knowing something of us from the Afghan delegation. The Government here therefore became hyper-sensitive.

But we need not wonder that we have with wisdom I am loath to think that the Government of Sir Herbert Balfour desires to gild the people to violence so that he can repeat the righteousness of the French and terrify the people into silence and submission. But whether it is the intention of that Government to do so or not, the leaders of the Khilafat movement must prepare themselves for more acts of the Russian type. And the way to success lies not in becoming angry but in welcoming such actual repression so that they may, coming to produce any effect upon those against whom they are directed, cease altogether even as a medicine that does not cure a patient is successfully stopped by the administering physician. The accepted punishment is stopped as soon as it fails to produce the effect intended.

But the most shocking instance of modern times from Great Britain, published in Karachi in Punjab and covered by a responsible newspaper, lies in its case of the 12th instant a letter from the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, Jambhedar, a letter of a relating that some respectable men associated with the Khilafat movement were sent to jail through that a respectable Englishman was whipped by the Deputy Commissioner with closed doors and that on his trying out, the Police entered the room and administered further beating to him. In Karachi, at least, the detestation of law, such as it is, was shocked. Mr Jawaharlal Nehru was not physically affected. But in fact, if the allegations of the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee are true, a respectable man has been whipped by a Deputy Commissioner, so far as the public are aware, with outlay some whatsoever concerning such procedure. The Government of Bombay enjoys the reputation of being the most of Government and one may trust that he will make the fullest enquiry into the matter and the other allegations made and punish the rascal of that enquiry. The Bombay Chronicle supports the *Abscondit* statement by giving the version of the same incident narrated by Mr. Shaukat Ali. If the facts set forth are true the offending Deputy Commissioner must be removed. But whether he is removed or not, the day before those who are leading the Khilafat movement a resolution is passed, are they prepared to go through the ordeal of violence? An unbroken treaty of peace if it is being way recited by those who are affected by it, can only be supported by an equally unbroken will. Even if in general are now concerned with the revision of the treaty then with showing consistent sentiment, they will submit to all the treatment that may be meted out to them and yet preserve the policy of non-participation in the treaty. Any form of violence against Government's representatives will the Khilafat movement.

## ENGLAND MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S OPEN LETTER

(By K. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Chamberlain has favoured me with an open letter on the question of questions. The letter has already appeared in the Press. I can appreciate Mr. Chamberlain's position as I would like him and other English men to appreciate mine and that of hundreds of Hindus who feel as I do. Mr. Chamberlain's letter is an attempt to show that Mr. Lloyd George's pledge is not in any way broken by the present terms. I quite agree with him that Mr. Lloyd George's words ought not to be torn from their context to support the Macedonian claim. There are Mr. Lloyd George's words quoted in the recent Vindictive message: 'Now are we fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to depopulate Turkey of the capital, or of the rich and recovered lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race?' Mr. Chamberlain seems to read 'which' as if it means 'if they, whereas I give the passage its natural meaning, namely, that the Prime Minister here in 1915, then the lands referred to by him were predominantly Turkish in race.' And if that is the meaning, I venture to suggest that the pledge has been broken in a most heinous manner, for there is practically nothing left to the Turk of the rich and recovered lands of Asia Minor and Thrace.

I have already given my view of the violation of the pledge in Constantinople. It is so much by the intelligence of men to suggest that the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the lower land of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople has been left undisturbed by the terms of peace. That is the other passage from the speech which I propose Mr. Chamberlain wants me to read together with the one already quoted—

"While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the lower-land of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople, the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being inter-continental, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national condition."

But that means entire removal of Turkish influence, extinction of Turkish community and the introduction of European-Christian influence under the guise of Mandates! Here the Mandates of Armenia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine has been conceded, or in the other arrangement being expounded upon them by Powers conscious of their own own weakness—rather, than of power of their arms! If for one would raise by any legitimate means the spirit of independence in the lower Asia, but I doubt to think what will happen to them, under the influence of exploitation of their country by the greedy capitalists protected by the mandatory Powers. If the plan is to be fulfilled, let these places have full self-government with autonomy to be obtained with Turkey or has been suggested by the Plan of Jeddah. Let there be all the necessary protection

taking from Turkey about the internal Turkish affairs of the Arabs. Not to remove that necessity, to deprive the Khalif of the workmanship of the Holy Places is to render Khilafat a mockery which no Mohammedan can possibly look upon with equanimity. I am not alone in my interpretation of the pledge. The Right Hon'ble Anwar Ali calls the present terms a brand of faith. Mr. Charles Roberts mentions the British public that the Indian Mohammedan sentiment regarding the Turkish Treaty is based upon the French Minister's pledge "regarding Thrace, Georgia, Aegean and Turkish lands in Asia Minor, reported on Feb. 28 last with deliberation by Mr Lloyd George. Mr. Roberts holds that the pledge must be treated as a whole, not as having only regarding Constantinople but also having as regards Thrace and Asia Minor. He describes the pledge as having upon the nation as a whole and its branch in any part as a given brand of faith on the part of the Deir-i Kaibar. He demands that if there were circumstances apply to the change of brand of faith it ought to be given, and adds the French Minister may regard his own work lightly if he chooses, but he has no right to break a pledge given on behalf of the nation. He concludes that it is impossible that such a pledge should not have been kept with integrity and to the end." He adds: "I have reason to believe that these views are fully shared by prominent members of the Cabinet."

I wonder if Mr. Currier knows what is going on today in England. Mr. Philbrick writes in *Free Agency* "No impartial international agency into the whole question of the Armenian massacre has been constituted, no simple investigation has elapsed since the last dinner of amity with Turkey. The Turkish Government has acted for such enquiry. For the Armenian representation and the Armenian justice office is here of such a duty, desiring that the British and Japanese reports are quite sufficient to condemn the Turk. In other words the judgment should be given on the case for prosecution when the inter-alled commission which is constituted the independent agents in Shaysir last year, under report indistinguishable to Greek claims. Therefore, that report has not been published here in England, though in other countries it has long been public property." He then goes on to show how money is being collected by Americans and Greek financiers in order to popularize their commission. "The commission of those ignorants and narrow minded in thought with initial degree in the British work and purchase of a Government and people which make money depends to last on the ground of policy and foreign policy of that—a self-reliance."

I have reproduced the above extract in order to show that the present Greek policy has been affected by poor people of an unscrupulous nature. Turkey which was dominant over and within regions of Asia Africa and Europe in the 17th century, under the terms of the treaty, says the London Convention, has dwindled down to little more than 1,000 square miles. It says "All European Turkey shall be incorporated peacefully between the Balkans and the Taurus. Commercial intercourse

in that area, and but for its alliance with Germany, Turkey could have been accused of retaining at least fifty thousand square miles of the Eastern Balkans." I do not know whether the London Convention is generally shared in it by way of punishment that Turkey is undergoing the things, or is it because justice demands it if Turkey had not made the mistake of joining Germany, would the principle of nationality have been still applied to Armenia, Asia, Kazakhstan and Palestine?

Let me now remind those who think with Mr. Currier that the promise was not made by Mr. Lloyd George to the people of India on anticipation of the supply of resources continuing in defending his own statement, Mr. Lloyd George is expected to be read:

"The effect of the statement is later was that receiving what is apparently from that very moment. They were not all Mohammedan but there were many Mohammedan amongst them. Now we are told that was an offer to Turkey. But they rejected it, and therefore we were absolutely free. It was not. It is too often forgotten that we are the greatest Mohammedan power in the world and that one-fourth of the population of the British Empire is Mohammedan. There have been no more legal advocates to the throne and no more effective and loyal supporters of the Empire in the hour of trial. We gave a solemn pledge and they accepted it. They are shocked by the prospect of our withdrawing it."

Who shall interpret that pledge and how? How did the Government of India ever consent? Did it or did it not unconditionally support the claim for the control of the Holy Places and Islam teaching in the Khalif. Did the heavy work of India require that the whole of Government of India should be taken away unconditionally with it as pledge from the sphere of influence of its Khalif, and push over to the Arab or Moslem Power? Why does the Government of India cooperate with the Indian Muhammadan if the terms are all they should be: no work for the pledge. I would like to guess myself a great being understood that I stand or fall absolutely by Mr. Lloyd George's declaration. I have already used the above promise as an answer with it. It is an important qualification.

Mr. Currier seems to suggest that my goal is something more than merely an average justice on the Khalif. If so, he is right. Attainment of justice is undoubtedly the correct thing, and if I found that I was wrong in my conception of justice on the occasion, I hope I shall take the strange opportunity to retract my steps. But by helping the Muhammadan of India in a different manner on their behalf I want to say that friendship between, if I may say the Muhammadan with me I hope to have them distant from the downward path along which the Prime Minister seems to me to be taking me. I hope also to show to India and the East we at large that great a certain amount of regard, for self-interest, justice can be secured by peaceful and otherwise means with out coming in increasing bitterness between English and Indian. No, whatever may be the temporary effect of my methods, I know enough of them to feel certain that they show are distant from being failures. They are contacted with failed conditions or a truth.

## SAVAREK BROTHERS

(By H. K. Ghosh.)

It is my earnest desire as this time that as far as possible my notes by letterpress between my people and those who are responsible for my Government should be discontinued. Let those who are their superiors for political purposes & I believe their duty in the past respect it in the future. Let us become possible for those who are charged with the main business as peaceful and orderly Government to get rid of the extravagance which they have had to such a narrow expression. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore direct my theory to express in my name and on my behalf my Royal almsness in political offences in the fullest measure which on no judgment is compatible with the public safety. I desire then to stand it on this condition to persons who, for officers against the laws to render any special or emergency legislation, are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this theory will be justified by the future conduct of those cases of arrests and that all my people will as always themselves as to render it unnecessary. Any further for such officers together.—The Royal Proclamation.

The Proclamation from which the above extract has been copied was published in December last. Thanks to the action of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, many of those who were undergoing imprisonment at the time have received the benefit of the Royal almsness. But there are some notable "political offenders" who have not yet been discharged. Among these I count Savarek brothers. They are political offenders in the same sense as I am, in instance, who have been discharged in the Punjab. And yet these two brothers have not received their liberty although two months have gone by after the publication of the Proclamation.

The General Director of Prisons, the officer of the law, was born in 1878, and received an ordinary education. He took a prominent part in the Rev. Hindu movement at Ranchi in 1909. He was sentenced to transportation for life with prohibition of property under sections 121, 121A, 124A, and 124B on the 15th day of June 1909, and is now serving his sentence in the Andamans. He has therefore had eleven years of imprisonment.

Section 121 is the famous section which was introduced during the Punjab trials and refers to "seditious" was against the King. The sentence passed by the Magistrate for life with forfeiture of property 1914 is a much more serious. This relates to section 121A, relates to promotion of unity between classes by words either spoken or written" or otherwise. It is clear therefore that all the offences charged against the Savarek (person) were of a political nature. He had done no violence. He was arrested, had two daughters who are dead, and his wife died about eight months ago.

The other brother was born in 1884, and is better known for his career in London. His conventional attempt to escape the custody of the police in his journey through a port-hole in French waters, are still fresh in the public mind. He was educated at the Ferguson College, Bombay, of a London and became a barrister. He is the author of the proscribed history of the Sepoy Revolt of 1857. He was tried in 1913, and received the same sentence as his brother in 1914. He was charged also in 1911 with abetment of murder. He was of violence was proved against him earlier. He too was tried, had a son in 1909. His wife is still alive.

Both these brothers have declared their political opinions and both have stated that they do not entertain any revolutionary aims and that if they were set free they would like to work under the Ruler's act, for they consider that the Ruler's main aim is to work themselves as to be achieve political responsibility for India. They both state unambiguously that they do not desire independence from the British constitution. On the contrary they feel that India's destiny can be best worked out in connection with the British. Nobody has questioned their honesty or their honesty, and in my opinion the published expression of their views ought to be taken as an free value. What a man, I think, I may fairly state that the rule of violence has, at the present moment, no following in India. Now the only reason for still further restricting the liberty of the two brothers, not only to "change to public safety," for, the theory has been changed by His Majesty to express the Royal almsness to political offenders in the fullest manner which in his judgment is compatible with public safety. I hold therefore that unless there is sufficient proof that the discharge of the two brothers who have already suffered long terms of imprisonment, who have had considerable body-weight and who have declared their political opinions, can be proved to be a danger to the State, the theory is bound to give them their liberty. The obligation to discharge them, on the one condition of public safety being fulfilled, is in the theory a political capacity not as a superior as it was for the Judges in their political capacity to impose on the two brothers the maximum penalty allowed by law. If they are to be kept under detention any longer a full statement justifying it is due to the public.

There can be no better and no worse than that of His Government who, thanks to the Punjab Government has after a long term of imprisonment received his discharge. He need not be distinguished from that of Savarek brothers in the sense that His Government pleaded almsness to his sentence. So far as the Government are concerned, all were alike guilty because all were arrested. And the Royal almsness is due not merely to doubtful cases but equally to all cases of offences proved up to the limit. The conditions are that the officers must be political and the exercise of Royal almsness

should not, in the opinion of the Viceroy, undergo public display. There is no question about the law there being political offences, and so far the public are aware there is no danger to public safety. It seems to me curious in the Viceroy's Council in connection with such cases the reply given was that they were under consideration. But their brother has reserved from the Bombay Government simply to the effect that no further material regarding them will be received and Mr. Montagu has stated in the House of Commons that in the opinion of the Government of India they must be released. The case here is exactly the reverse of that. The public are entitled to know the precise grounds upon which the liberty of the brother is being retained in spite of the Royal Proclamation which to them is as good as a royal edict having the force of law.

### A HARD CASE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have received the following telegram from the husband of Messrs. Dugga and Bhatnagar.

"Dugga and Bhatnagar under various transfer Actuations, Dugga suffering herein and given twice ten years. Was sentenced upon Bhatnagar was forty and therefore should not be sent Andaman under Act 10000 of 1911.

The reader will remember that there were the case of one whose behalf appeals were made to the Privy Council in common with others whose appeals were rejected on technical grounds. The Hon'ble Justice Moulvi Jinnah has analysed the case and shown that they are no more guilty than the others who have been discharged. But several who were originally sentenced to death had their sentences commuted to imprisonment and are now out free. Why is it a right disadvantage there two from the others? Let the best of the appeal be? If they had not appealed or rather a plea had been taken out of pity had not taken up their case, might not these against terrorism who they would not have escaped the hangman's noose? If the Local Government of the Punjab has been showing a generous disposition in releasing many who suffered between April and June last year, although he had the opportunity, after the dismissal of the appeal, to hang Messrs. Dugga and Bhatnagar, M. K. the Viceroy, it is equally true, has commuted the sentence of death to one of imprisonment. But I venture to submit that if the Royal Proclamation is to be given effect to in the Indian masses, Messrs. Dugga and Bhatnagar are entitled to their liberty. They are no more guilty in the date than Lord Hardensford, Pursh Bhandarkar, Datta Chaudhri and several that discharged company. But for the time being, strong as the case is for their discharge, I am pleading not for a complete release but for keeping them in the Punjab and if they have been sent away already for bringing them back, if for nothing else, out of consideration for the masses of those poor men. Let not the public think that the acts of the Government of the day are dictated only by fear and superstition and by high and high principles of justice.

### LINGUISTIC RESTRICTION

The first Karnataka Conference is over. It was unique in that that the Karnataka speaking language disregarded the provincial differences and met in a conference because they spoke the language. Mr. Srinivas Srinivas, the chairman of the Conference, suggested that the day must come when a reindustrialization of provinces will have to be made as early as possible according to the chief languages spoken by the people of India. Indeed it is natural that daily it must appear more and more to be a national necessity. It will not only not constitute a barrier to our national unity but the better will appear to be a possibility achievable only through the people speaking the same languages being grouped together and enabled to reach the highest state they are capable of reaching. No national purpose is being served to-day by the Kannada speaking people being distributed into those provinces, being their own respective circumstances, nor are the Andhra better served, or do they better serve the nation because of the process of the disintegration they have undergone. Are the Tamils a source of strength to India because they are not understood? It should be remembered that decisions were made by the majority to answer what they considered the political necessity of the hour, not for the welfare of India as a whole. But it is not that the English language were all these provinces and are great unifying forces. The statements uttered upon liberty proclamation. A few thousand graduates do not make the nation and cannot unify India even as the few Latin-speaking soldiers of Europe cannot unify Europe, or for that matter the French-speaking diplomats of Europe. If a common language of supervision has to be found for India it must be a medium spoken by the largest number and ready to be learnt by the rest. Such medium is unacceptably Hindustani.

Even the Dravidian people of Madras, far more ready than English. Such being was an offence, it has been now demonstrated during the eighteen months that the Hindi proposals has gone on in the presidency of Madras, have been able to learn enough Hindustani to be able to understand and read it. The capacity to speak is a more matter of practice. It cannot be otherwise, because any one who goes through the Tamil or the Telugu vocabulary can ascertain himself that both these Dravidian languages have borrowed largely from the parent stock.

The Karnataka Conference, however, has shown that whatever may be the color of evidence dissonance and opinion on the point, the public view is completely in favour of linguistic re-territorialization. We freely grant that a popular vote is no test of the soundness of a proposition. But it is true that the people demand linguistic re-territorialization and if there be no moral evil in it, will it not be better for all India to unite in achieving quickly the end that has got to be reached even day or night?

The Executive Committee also emphasized the necessity for developing the vernacular and giving them an official medium of expression in the provincial legislatures. This proposition necessarily follows English education, and if the chief aim is to make a fair show, it must have a much wider field than the English educated Indians offer. There are thousands of people, however, good and loyal, headed by persons who are best fitted for the necessity of having to speak English in legislatures will get themselves elected. As it is, they do not do so simply because they would be barred by the proceedings of the councils without in any way benefiting themselves or the councils.

This very reform was placed before the Government of India last year by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government. Considering the propriety of one leading debater in one council the Government of India did not seem to say so much. Their reasoning was very more satisfactory than their conduct's. They in their despatch of March 2, 1894, said—

"The question is by no means free from practical difficulty. Assuming that in future there are three groups as Council, (1) the official members, (2) the chief members and (3) the representatives of the Indian educated classes, it will practically be only the third of these who will enjoy the advantage of a direct knowledge of both languages, and it is possible at least that they may be tempted to turn with a prejudice to their advantage at various ways which it would be easy to suggest. It seems to us difficult, however, to provide a formal remedy and we think that the matter must be wisely left for the Government to deal with."

The natural conclusion to be drawn from the above reasoning is that the interests of India imperatively demand that the benefits of institutions should leave the vernaculars of the provinces they educate either those that the whole of the elected members should know English well enough to take an intelligent part in the council debates and cope with the able Englishmen whom they have to face. With English as the medium, the Indian members start with heavy handicaps. We find very few have any real education and a full reveal of the vernacular and possession of Hindustani as the general medium, are saving much quieter than most of us imagine.

### THE AFRICAN COMMISSION

The evidence submitted to the South African Commission on behalf of the Indians of the Cape Province shows that their chief grievance is against the power awarded to the Legislative Boards, of refusing licenses without assigning any reasons. This power was retained, on most reliable authority, to have been used indiscriminately against Indians. It is hoped the Commission will serve as a witness which will be acceptable to both the European and Indian communities which have been living on unequal terms on the whole.

The whole agitation centres round the Transvaal where the Anti-Asiatic railway is at its highest.

The notorious Anti-Asiatic League which was reported some time back to have decided to boycott the Commission, is, as will be seen from a summary of the evidence published below, putting its own weight of influence and force at our command.

Over Mr. Hay had even the audacity to say, "In John the Indian times of England when he comes as the Englishman's presence, in South Africa he wants his hat and his shoes. He should either be told to take off his hat or his shoes to show his respect." And he further adds, "Indians should be chased out of the country." We have spared our readers' patience of such unseasonal stuff and commented below from the *Times* of India only such portions of the evidence as are necessary to enlighten on the subject of the enquiry. Extracts from the evidence of the two-headed and justice-loving European residents who have come forward to give their honest views before the Commission are also given by way of contrast against the Informations of the Anti-Asiatic League. It would give relief to all our readers to know that even in such hostile quarters—we can count upon the help of those who would not sell their consciences to more material prospects of a white Colony. We trust the Commission will give the importance to the evidence of such persons while seeking their recommendations.

### EVIDENCE.

When the evidence of the *St. Albans* Asiatic Council came at Johannesburg was commenced on April 3, Mr. Advocate Louis Barendse appeared on behalf of the *St. Albans* League. The Commission had to visit some of the towns suggested by Mr. Barendse.

#### Mr. TROTTER'S STATEMENT.

The first witness called was Captain Percy Trotter Testator who said he had had thirty years' experience of Asiatics in the Transvaal and African general experience in *St. Albans*. He considered that no person should be entrusted to run the work of the Transvaal but the position should not be confined to Asiatics from India. He thought that the immigration of the best class of Indians would be to the benefit of the country. If Indian workers were allowed to come in moderate numbers, it would tend to bring down the cost of living in *St. Albans*.

#### FRANCIS INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT.

On April 7, Mr. Francis, Principal Investigation Officer and Registrar of Immigrants at Pretoria, said in his evidence that in 1893 there were 750 male Indian adults over 16 years of age, in Pretoria. He did not know of any appreciable increase in that number. He had never heard any Indian express any determination to leave the country for good. The witness' impression was that the way the last two or three years the tendency had been for Indians to bring their families into the Transvaal.

#### Mr. W. HERRON'S EVIDENCE.

Mr. William Heron stated that for years he had been the first in being acquainted with Indians in any number from the coast to the inland of Natal. As stock farmers he has had most extraordinarily good work in Natal. His experience led him to believe that if Indian farmers were admitted the whole community would suffer. There was an other method of introducing vegetables and fruit and sheep a small trade generally among the poorer classes than through the Indians. When he was President of the

Minutes of Committee on February 27 that Chamber had stated by the Indians to being members who served the public interests of the country. The Chamber changed their attitude later. The Indian country commissioner was pronounced innocent by several his statements were. The sense of opposition to the Indians was being rising. Mr. Chamberlain White was employed as Indian agent in Darjeeling. Writers advocated an open door to the Indians as a distinct advantage to South Africa. The Indians had the best percentage in gold of any section of the economy. (See "Frontier" Magazine).

On April 11, at Johannesburg, Mr. L. J. Phillips, of Johannesburg, Chairman of the N. African League, is his address, and also by invitation of the President of the Transvaal in 1929 in America was presented to receive the Johannesburg. That resolution had the power of law, and it had been by a majority. Mr. Phillips explained that the resolution by, for the present, proposed that with the 1000 Government by 1000 of the non-Indian citizens of the law. In course of subsequent meetings there had been a resolution presented to the Assembly to disregard the law. Writers said that the terms of the agreement entered into between General Smuts and Chamberlain were made known to the Indian community but were deliberately withheld from the Whites. The former distinguished the pledges of their representatives. Had the 1000 to represent concerned, and the terms of the agreement to the Legislature, so the representatives offering that would have agreed that was not. Then the question is, it existed between 1911 and 1913 would not have been. The passage of 1913 should prevent, and it had been supported by Indians, writers would accept from some Indian. The Commission. Finally, had the act on the "White South African" deal with Mr. Phillips, then the Indian law, to enter Johannesburg from other areas to apply for business in defiance of the Transvaal's laws. Mr. Phillips' appearance was made for two times on January 1914 and 1915 and at those appearances was from Phillips' the resolution of the Transvaal was. Mr. Phillips stated that he was representing before the Commission not only the views but the determination of the people that South Africa should remain a country for White people.

The White people of the Transvaal, continued the writer, do not and cannot treat the Indian community if Indians were given an vote they could a good deal they were given nothing they would take a good deal. Because of that, said Mr. Phillips, "we do not, it is not to say thousands of White men in the Transvaal say that the Indians have ever treated themselves since 1914. They have proved that they do not intend to say or accept. They have shown up to us that even our legislators will never be efficient until because we demand that there shall be no possibility of a majority. Mr. Phillips explained that the Union Parliament, which intended it, had passed to say that the right to vote in the Transvaal had threatened the Transvaal. Reference given to the Commission as a result of the committee given by the Prime Minister in October, 1919, that the granting of African-voting had had been deliberately withheld. This had caused him to look upon the Commission with deep scorn.

#### Frontier Magazine.

At the sitting on April 1930, the Transvaal South African Indian Association, represented by Mr. F. K. T. Koenig, E. G., and representing the great body of Indians in the Transvaal, submitted a long, considered opinion. Pre-

sent difficulties having been enumerated, the following suggestions were made:—

(1) The repeal of law 2, 1916, which is described as partly class legislation, and a measure which has caused no little embarrassment to both the present and past South African Governments and the Indian community.

(2) The amendment of Sections 110 and 121 of Act 20 of 1908 so far as they require restrictions regarding acceptance of professional services upon Indians resident in the Transvaal.

(3) Amendment of those Sections of Act 24 of 1908 which adversely affect the Indian population of the Transvaal, so as to conform to Act of 1926 extended as herein specified on Jan 2.

(4) Amendment of various Ordinances in which there were being given no points of law and fact on a subject of a law.

(5) Repeal of the Statutory Act 11 of 1919.

(6) That for the purpose of uniformity, accepted Indians be placed on an equal footing with those holding any teacher's certificate.

Then, the paper passed on the statement of their own, the Indians explained that this was presented under the Local Government Ordinances which dealt with the granting of a vote to trade by municipalities, and the statement said that the majority of Municipal Councils were composed of white leaders, were engaged in making their own vote. On the point of illegal entrance by the Transvaal the statement indicated that the law was leading to not direct entrance, and stated that the Indian population was on the Transvaal. One of the lines was the Indian population, it showed, was 25,000 but that figure had been reduced to 20,000 in 1921 and was now between 15,000 and 18,000.

#### Government Opinion.

In view of the evidence which had been advanced to support a policy of segregation the Indians stated that they were opposed to such a policy which would in effect treat them as second-class and compel them to live by a law which would make their position no matter what they were called.

Much evidence had been before the Commission as regard to what it might be the Indian representation of the Transvaal, and on this point the South African Association said that its members were prepared to recommend no 1 members to legislatures regarding the principle of common goals and wage on an equitable basis for all races of Indians. But when Indian writers had confirmed it means the same wage as their European fellows a very open that it was against the dignity of the white people to tolerate a reduced wage. However, a writer said in that of a newspaper. In regard to acceptance of teacher's certificates, the Indian, it was pointed out, did not suppose of his own accord that a reasonable profit to maintain himself and his dependent, without taking an undue advantage of the remaining public, on the basis of all professions. The Indian principle of acceptance of teacher's certificates a public service, the writer had a line to the present. Hence particularly in country districts a "Man," said the statement, "who will himself to support his mental cultivation and become."

The speaker, present of the Indians, it was to go, is treated by the distribution of the which he suffers, he cannot obtain a certificate in a suitable and respectable manner and all avenues of advancement are closed to him. The children are denied the right to attend Government schools, as "coloured children" and have prevented from enjoying life by various forms of restriction and public discrimination in other respects.

## INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

(Continued from our last issue.)

After reviewing the relations between Europeans and Indians, the memorandum continues:—

When the War broke out the Indian Community was severely required and it loyally responded to the call of its constitutional obligations. Their services were obtained on the understanding that such status was to be recognized, and accordingly, under the Government and the East India Bill then added by the agreement. Racial differences, besides of an administrative, as well as of a legislative, character have followed, and, until today the situation is such as to agitate the people of India, who are reading with the greatest anxiety whatever the major history of the Indian population of South Africa, for which, in a very large extent, they hold the Majesty's Government responsible, as to be expressed in East Africa, with the few possibilities of jurisdiction, and where the administration is not, as in South Africa, that of a subject owing allegiance to a responsible government, but of a Protectorate directly controlled by The Majesty's Government, who must lose the full responsibility for all the consequences of the original and subsequent of the present racial policy which they have authorized or permitted.

A reference was made above to Chapter 3 of the Report of the Executive Committee. The Commission approved by the local Government did not include a single Indian representative, and by way of protest an Indian resolution was introduced, and probably an audience hearing upon the Indian situation was produced before the Commission. Yet in that chapter the Commission, without expressing indignation of any kind, delivered an attack upon the constitutional methods and the private morality of the Indian Community, of such a character as it is impossible for any self-respecting and high-spirited people to see without indignation. These allegations, of a most offensive type, have been made with the very clear object of creating an atmosphere of prejudice against the Indian members of the population. European and Christian civilization has been deliberately involved and associated with Eastern and non-Christian civilization in the statements of the latter, and in the alleged interests of the native population, and recommendations have been made that the Protectorate should be treated, together with adjacent territories, as a quasi-Dominion, and that power should be handed over to the small oligarchy of white settlers, whose views need no elucidation in the light of the Declaration of the Indian question of the Convention of Associations of East Africa (the most important non-official body of Europeans in the country, which is often known as "The White Man's Parliament"), that their object was to change the whole character of the country and its population by the engrafting of Indian civilization and the gradual elimination of the Indian population. The Indian Community has felt that such a campaign, undertaken ostensibly on behalf of the native population, by the white settlers, is hypocritical in the extreme. Those who are best acquainted with local conditions and who are well versed in the laws of the Convention of Associations and the Report of the Executive Committee, are wiser in opinion as to the character of the motives of the European settlers.

The present agitation is strongly reminiscent of similar campaigns conducted at various times in different parts

of South Africa, professing in the interests of white and/or by whites imposing further disabilities upon the existing Indian population. The Indian Community in East Africa has loyally received the suggestions that have been made against it, and it challenges impartial investigation. It desires to take steps to make its counter-charge, but it is content to quote the opinion of the well-known representatives of the Indian people themselves. Mr. G. E. Andrews, who was specially deputed by the Imperial Indian Overseas Association of Bombay to investigate the situation in East Africa recently, made a special point of meeting the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice of Uganda, two Members of the Native Parliament. This is what Sir Apollo Egere, Prime Minister, and Mr. Sankar Kapaya, the Chief Justice, say in a letter to Mr. Andrews: "With reference to our meeting with you in our Native Parliament this morning, we beg to express our warmest appreciation on the following two points which were particularly: (a) We do want the Indians to remain in our country, so we consider that their being here would improve our country, and would do us harm in the long run. Besides, we find these are good people. We would, of course, like better Indians. (b) We do not want our country to be handed to any other Protectorate, for we consider that of this we have done it would greatly interfere with our Uganda Treaty, 1890, and our customs. We have other reasons besides. Therefore, we would very much like that Protectorate to remain as it is." Mr. Cook, the well-known East African medical expert, has publicly condemned the conduct of the Native Indian regarding Indian morality. In the light of the Declaration of Indemnity, it is clear that the sole motive for the hostile attitude of the European Colonists has in policy and race prejudice and race prejudice. It is significant, too, that the Convention of Associations has deliberately sought to raise the question of religious prejudice and to destroy the religious solidarity for which the British Administration is supposed to stand, as the word "Christianity" does not appear in the original draft of the Declaration of the Convention, inserted in its members. It is however, on account of the Majesty's Government that in East Africa is present, specially say lines of religious belief or discrimination. The diverging attitudes of the European settlers towards the Indian colonies and dependencies should also be noted before we close, but the Majesty's Government should maintain a consistent and uniform opinion, based upon facts and evidence, for a general demand for change in the Administration that will of great effect, or completely alter its character, with minimum compensation for the disaffected Indian population. It is to be regretted that the fact that there are a number of officials of all ranks in the country who are anxious to administer it sympathetically and impartially. Yet they are not liked by the hostile members of the bulk of the European population, white, besides a vast white element, and which threatens them whenever they show a disposition to be impartial and just administrators. These officials of the character are well known, and it is strongly felt that the Majesty's Government ought to discharge severely the obligations to whom they are heavily prejudiced, and which are thought, with reason, should be the Empire.

(to be continued.)



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17618

New Series Vol. II, No. 22	ANNEAUX, PARLEMENT, JOYE 1861, 1862.	From One Anna Per Copy.
-------------------------------	--------------------------------------	----------------------------

CONTENTS.		Page
Notes	—	1
<b>ANNEX.</b>		
Editorial	—	2
The P. P. Letter	—	3
Editorial in P. P.	—	4
Our Editor's Letter	—	4
Editorial in French	—	5

## Notes.

**Verminous in Councils.**—In the context of business in the present legislative assembly a thought that exists as to how and how rules regarding the members to address the assembly in English, will be given about according to a rule, has been to keep to English exclusively and we have had the very spectacle of members unable to express their thoughts with accuracy or a better language expressing themselves but without making an effort to assert their rights, as we appeal to the President. To be permitted to speak in their own vernacular. That there is neither class nor limitation to using one's own vernacular in the Council has been shown by men of each ability and learning as for instance Mr. P. K. Krishna Rao the Honble Mr. B. Narayana Iyer who, if they had the choice, would prefer to speak in their respective vernaculars. But a corrupt usage has led to those to them.

The new rules framed for the guidance of the returned Assembly, however, partly remove this bar and expressly permit the principle of allowing members in the second discussion. But the circumstances pointed to us made possible and strong that it may hardly meet the exigencies created by the new rule which provides a language and more direct representation of rural areas. Naturally a larger proportion of members, not well or at all conversant with the English language, is expected.

The new rules while providing for such members to express their views, however, place them at the disadvantage of not knowing the views of those members who may be declared by the President

to be "found" or may have the reputation to be "speakers" in English. For, the rule lays down that "any member who is not found in English may address the Council in any recognized vernacular of the province, provided that the President may call on any member to report in any language in which he is known to be proficient." (Clause 100.)

What is wanted is a free option and encouragement to members to use the recognized vernacular of their provinces or that most of the members would desire most of the benefit of the debate. Only those will our Councils show their fullest confidence. And that we should be doing this by making the option of our vernacular in the language of their, or at least in the case of most of the provinces, or else. In all the provinces except the United Provinces, the "local vernacular" vernacular or vernaculars are understood by nearly to nearly the present of their respective populations, by names, Hindi and Urdu in U. P., Hindi in C. P., Pasur and Urdu in the Punjab, Bengali in Bengal and Tamil in Madras. The few European and Anglo-Indian members of the respective Councils are expected to be conversant with the recognized vernacular or vernaculars of their provinces. There is, however, the difficulty of finding people mostly unacquainted with each other's language. Some restrictions may be justified in a Council assembled of such variety. But this again brings us to the question of the collection of our provinces on linguistic basis, which we have already dealt with in our last issue.

**Editorial.**—The note of Khudhar on the quality mentioned in our issue of 12th April, is over. The Manager, Khudhar Department, who has been issuing orders from several provinces for and issue, however, to request the publishers to state to them either whether they are particular in having the Khudhar or having Khudhar and not to insist on a particular quality. The Manager is not yet ready with a steady stock. And it is the note quoted in our issue of 12th April, are not particular on.

The orders for eggs should not be in great numbers and length of the eggs.

## Young India.

Announced, Wednesday, 2nd June, 1906.

### EMILYAT.

#### FRANCIS QUERRELL'S ADDRESS.

(By M. E. Gossals.)

I have been overwhelmed with public addresses and private advice and even newspaper letters telling me exactly what I should do. Some are impatient that I do not show immediate and extensive non-co-operation, others tell me what term I am doing the country by showing it knowingly in a temper of violence to either side. It is difficult for me to deal with the wishes of the orifices, but I would summarize some of the objections and endeavor to answer them to the best of my ability. There are in addition to these I have already answered:-

(1) Turkish claim is immoral or unjust and how can I, a lover of truth and justice, support it?

(2) Even if the claim be just in theory, the Turk is hopelessly incapable, weak and cruel. He does not deserve any assistance?

(3) Even if Turkey deserves all that is charged for her, why should I land India in an international struggle?

(4) It is no part of the Indian Mahomedans' business to meddle in the affair. If they do not say political assistance, they have tried, they have failed and they should stop all still. If it is a religious matter with them, it cannot appeal to the Hindu masses in the measure it is put, and if they see Hindu might not be chiefly identified with Mahomedans in their religious quarrel with Christians.

(5) In any case should I advocate non-co-operation which is an extreme form of nothing but a rebellion, an unwise and painful way to go.

(6) Moreover, my experience of last year made clear to me that it is beyond the capacity of any single human being to control the forces of violence that are going forward in the land.

(7) Non-co-operation is futile because people will either respond in right earnest, and resolve that night afterwards not to sell to whom that the state of helplessness we are now in.

(8) Non-co-operation will bring about satisfaction of all sides activities, even working of the National, and thus set back the clock of progress.

(9) However just my system may be, those of the Mahomedans already revolted.

I shall now answer the objections in the order in which they are stated.

(1) In my opinion the Turkish claim is not only not immoral and unjust, but it is highly equitable, if only because Turkey wants to recover what is her own. And the Mahomedan manifesto has definitely declared that whatever guarantee may be necessary to be taken for the protection of non-Muslim and non-Turkish races, should be taken so as to give the Christians those and the Arabs their self-government under the Turkish suzerainty.

(2) I do not believe the Turk to be weak, incapable or cruel. He is certainly disorganized and probably without good government. He has been obliged to fight against heavy odds. The argument of weakness, incapacity and cruelty are often heard quoted in connection with those from whom power is sought to be taken away. About the steps, measures a proper government has been asked for, but never granted, and in any case nothing can be taken against oppression.

(3) I have already stated that if I were not interested in the Indian Mahomedans, I would not interest myself in the welfare of the Turks any more than I am in that of the Hindustani or the Parsee. But I am bound as an Indian to share the sufferings and trials of fellow-Indians. If I deem the Mahomedans to be my brother, it is my duty to help him in his hour of peril to the best of my ability, if his cause commands itself to me as just.

(4) The North adheres to the ancient Hindu ideal of non-interference with the Mahomedans. It is therefore a matter of religious opinion, it is a religious matter for my Mahomedan brother to be pleased or not with me and I should therefore proceed with him along the whole road so long as the means employed by him are as honorable as his end. I would regulate the Mahomedan feeling I must except his statement that the Khilafat is with him a religious question in the sense that it leads him to reach the goal even at the cost of his own life.

(5) I do not consider non-co-operation to be a rebellion, because, it is free from violence. In a larger sense all opposition to a Government measure is a rebellion. In that sense, rebellion in a just cause, is a duty, the extent of opposition being determined by the measure of the injustice done and felt.

(6) My experience of last year shows me that despite all precautions in some parts of India, the country was entirely under control, that the influence of Sayyidnaba was probably far too good and that where violence did break out there were local causes that directly contributed to it. At the same time I admit that even the violence that did take place on the part of the people and the spirit of lawlessness that was indubitably shown in some parts should have remained under check. I have made ample acknowledgment of the misadventures I then made. But all the painful experiences that I then passed did not in any way shake my belief in Sayyidnaba or in the possibility of that settlement here being worked in India. People prominent in being so in this time to send the members of the party, but I must refuse to be deterred from a clear course because it may be obstructed by violence totally unwarmed and capable of extraordinary efforts that are being made to prevent it. At the same time I must make my position clear. Nothing can possibly prevent a Sayyidnaba from doing his duty because of the fears of the authorities. I would wish, if necessary, a million lives as long as they are voluntary and

feras and are famous, spiteful nations. It is the mistake of the people that matter in a Satyagraha campaign. Mistakes, even (usually) meant to be corrected from the strong and the powerful, and the moment of victory has come when there is no room to the weak. Day of the power. I believe voluntary, dignified and quiet submission. I believe voluntary, dignified and quiet submission to the will of the authority that has put itself in the wrong. The moment of success has passed in holding every English life and the life of every officer serving the Government, as well as those of our own dear ones. All the wonderful experiences I have gained now during a very full year. I do not know whether has increased me that 40 years. I do not know whether has increased me that there is no gift or process in that of life. I make bold to say that the moment the English have felt that although they are in India in a legal manner, their lives are protected against harm on behalf of the millions of people of destruction who are at their disposal, but because before India to take the lives of those who they may decide to be guilty in the wrong. That moment will see a transformation in the English empire in its relation to India, and that moment will also be the moment when all the destructives and the things that is to be had in India will begin to end. I know that this is a far-off time. That moment will be in the air through the air to see the light and to set up to it and it is more than enough when I give submission to the outward world. I have thought to prevent conversation with English friends that it is because of my constant preaching of the gospel of non-violence and my having somewhat demonstrated its practical utility that in the hours of violence, without voluntarily it is in accordance with the Khilafat movement, have remained under complete control.

By force a religion would pass the amount of justice is hardly worth considering. If people do not respond to the movement of non-co-operation, it would be a pity, but that can be no reason for a refusal not to try. It would be to me a demonstration that the present position of helplessness is not based on any moral strength or knowledge, but it is hope born of ignorance and superstition.

If non-co-operation is taken up to success, it must bring about a cessation of all other activities including the Indian, but I believe in that through the necessity that it will set back the whole of progress. On the contrary, I consider non-co-operation to be such a powerful and pure instrument, that if it is employed in an earnest spirit, it will be the making that the Kingdom of God and everything else following as a matter of course. People will have then reached their true power. They would have heard the voice of discipline, self-control, just action, non-violence, organization and everything else that goes to make a nation great and good, and not merely great.

(3) I do not know that I have a right to arrogate greater priority for myself than for our Mussalman brethren. But I do believe that they do not believe

in my doctrine of non-violence to the full extent. For them it is a weapon of the weak, an expedient. They consider non-co-operation without violence to be the only thing open to them in the way of direct action. I know that if some of them could offer successful violence, they would do so. But they are convinced that honestly speaking it is an impossibility. For them, therefore, non-co-operation is a matter not merely of duty but also of revenge. Whereas I take up non-co-operation against the Government as I have actually taken it up in protest against members of my own family, I can claim very high regard for the British authorities. I have not only no animosity against Englishmen but I regard such in English character as worthy of my admiration. I cannot envy or my friends. It is against my religion to regard any one as an enemy. I maintain similar sentiments with respect to Mahomedans. I find their aims to be just and pure. Although therefore their view-point is different from mine. I do not hesitate to associate with them and invite them to give my method a trial, for, I believe that the use of a pure weapon even from unrighteous motives does not lead to produce wrong good, even as the killing of truth, if only because for the time being it is the best policy, at least so far as the good.

## THE MUSLIM STRIKE.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Mr. Mansel Doctor is an M. A., LL. B. of the Bombay University and a Director-at-law. He has been practicing in Fiji for nearly 120 years. India was startled with the information that during the time the Indian strike broke out he was returned by the Fiji Government without trial or investigation known to the public. He was soon afterwards prepared by him just before his return to his father-in-law, Dr. F. J. White of Suva, for six months in the Indian press. A portion of these notes is being published in the current issue and is given as an insight into the methods of the Fiji Government. It may be said that Mr. Doctor's is a uncoloured procedure. I am not prepared to dispute the suggestion. It has been already made to me in private. But the procedure leaves on the face of it the stamp of truth. It is not necessary to the experience of living in other parts of the world. It is clearly for the Government of India to take this matter up and find out the reality. Mr. Mansel Doctor suggests a Royal Commission for inquiry. He asks for free play and no favour. The charges brought up by him cannot be passed by a high-handed Indian. The honour of our countrymen, especially our women, in Fiji, is at stake. There is another suggestion made by Mr. Mansel Doctor, which ought to be immediately taken up by the Government of India, viz., to provide transport for those Indians who wish to leave Fiji. It should be remembered that the regular steamer service, that carried labour-indentured system was abolished as one of the first measures. Mr. Mansel Doctor has proposed and for transport but, for convenience. This might really be done as soon as the indentured were cancelled.

## INDIANS IN FIJI.

(By Mr. Manohar N. Joshi.)

Since my arrival here in Fiji I have strenuously laboured to have an end put to the system of indentured labour which was slavery in disguise. Eventually the system covered the seas six years on the 2nd of January last, when all the remaining indentured were released by the Fiji Government, presumably at the cost of the revenues of India.

The emancipation of indentured and all Indian labourers as an equal footing and they all began to realise painfully how their lives had economically, morally, socially and politically been influenced by their arrival and stay in Fiji under that monstrous system. The landmarks of social life formed a sort of check-board to weave the web of physical life rigid there, and their depressed and ruined condition became more patent under the stress of 100 and 200 p. c. rise in the prices of the necessaries of life without a rise in their wages. The work of a steady household of a wife working at the loom, procuring necessaries and natural children, diet and regular and liberality in general can be grossly injured in the indentured system.

People who had fasted their indentured had been for years in receipt of two shillings-a-day wages for unskilled labour before the War, and they have continued receiving that until a few weeks ago when a proposal was asked only for some labourers.

The labourers had approached the Indian Imperial Association of which I am President, to represent their grievances to Government. Indian Association wrote to the Government recommending legislation for a minimum wage for labourers expressing our readiness to prove that case. The Government paid no heed to our representations and the Indigene Department had hitherto followed a policy of bluff, browbeating and despised threatening towards those who have been clamouring for better pay. The local newspaper—an only paper—passed a campaign of malicious misrepresentation against me and my Association at the instigation of a number of colonial-born Indians who are known to Government and whose conduct is influenced by their masters in England. The Indian people in Fiji had felt very much that the Government presided over by Lord Lugard was after one Pagan Chia's had with his permission, when any number of Koroanua and other Indians who have done similar things here and even been wanted. But at the general Indian Conference held in December 1916 at the Town Hall, all sections of Indian opinion in and around Suva, Nasa and Nawa, attended in great numbers and with the acceptance of half-a-dozen Indian Orators and a number of their European patrons, the meeting was a great united step towards Indian organisation, and the labourers invited me to two of their meetings where I was enthusiastically received. I then left for Levuka and subsequently for Suva, where I found that some Indian labourers in Suva were on strike. All sorts of rumours were told and the campaign of mis-

representation by the Suva Press had the desired result of making every white person highly indignant or ill-disposed towards me. As though the Indian element in the district was so important that the The Europeans did not care about going to war—because of this with me, and the District Commissioner who is also the Magistrate, being a Theosophist and a good type of Coloured gentleman, was sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. In face of some opposition, after some hesitation, he attended and presided over a large and representative gathering of Indians on the 2nd Monday in January when the Indian Association was formed with voluntary participation in important Indian settlements. Ever I was, as expected, unanimously chosen as President of the Association which was now formed, and Mr. H. D. Billing, District Commissioner, placed his name at our disposal at present and proposed to visit our accounts. This in the same gentleman had given vague assurances to Mr. C. F. Andrews and to the schools he created. The establishment of the Indian Press and those who have been cut out from Australia at Mr. Andrews' instance to work independently (and the latter lady professionally as well) they amongst Indian women and children in Fiji-derived great help and sympathy from the Englishmen, the fair of whom are not as frequently met with (as little Crown Colonies as they) as one may think.

I was hardly on the way to settle in Suva district when a number of men from Suva informing me that the Indian strike in Suva had led to the appointment of a commission of enquiry into the matter of living wages, reasonable amount of overtime etc. before and after the War. A special bench came to Suva to fetch me to Suva. It was not to be expected that the Government would place me on the Commission and the Agent-General of Immigration had decided on convincing Indians that I might be more useful as counsel to lead cases on behalf of the Indian labourers who they show Mr. S. Ghosh, an experienced and patriotic Indian interpreter, to be on the Commission. I mean to, Suva, and great number of Indians joined me to see me offering to help with the evidence. Some of the members of the Indian Imperial Association had been so threatened as I treated by their European employers and others, and for their consequent advice to strikers had become an unpopular amongst Indians, that they themselves kept out of the labour movement, I also pointed those who had cherished strong feeling against them and I held one meeting at Marvatha and another on the Oval at ground in Suva and the next day in Nasa. It was wonderful how the strikers were of one mind and what is more, absolutely peaceful, as far as that the Inspector-General of Constabulary, Col. Dalrymple, telegraphed to Inspector, Fute Suva, to order down from his station to the Indian meeting and convey to me his message of thanks and appreciation of the quiet and solitary way in which the meetings had been conducted. It is worthy of note that the labour

movement was contemporaneously signified by the formation and support of the Indian women's association at Dacca, who pressed my wife to be its President. The moral support rendered by the Association during my absence in the said year was a powerful factor in the constant demand of mine for a wageless minimum to enable a person to live in decency and comfort under the present high cost of living. When I came to Dacca, I appreciated their work but wanted people of both sexes in public as well as in private against the use of force to prevent work-minded persons from returning to work. But none of the women could not bear smoke and vapours and wanted a well-ventilated room. My Indian Christian or European Special Constables interfering with their meetings or their movements. I went past and here that without the least ceremony for design of the Pige Government because Bailey and called in the tail of their railway-coaching of the Eastern railway and others and the Dehra Dugga men. They deserted the Indians by taking away their sticks and the military special Constables and ready Europeans established a reign of terror in Dacca. The Pige Government have never displayed any tact in such situations. They did not desert these Europeans from their duties of special constables against whom the Inspector-General of Civil Military heard authentic and genuine complaints from peaceful Indians. The police then when began to act under the instructions of half the dozen Indian Christians, and the "Raiders of Indian Police" (With the exception of Mr. Mallon, used to be to be taught. These European constables evaded, threatened, abused, ill-treated, assaulted and others persecuted. The women could not even report under these circumstances. They held meetings privately and the last one was the last one in the house of Miss Baughey, to whom almost a European special constable walked roughly over the women sitting and used profane language which led to a quarrel and then violence, was told the hour night of their women being treated in a cowardly manner, rushed with the sticks of European boys & ladies to the rescue. The police withheld her help and the European Dugga and the Military command, and Pige police with others. A constable who was not against these women looked of pouring oil on troubled water, some responsible persons are reported to have probably considered a function that there were women to be killed women including my wife, and strong rumours spread through the English and French of Dacca, Dacca and Dacca that she had already been murdered the leader of women. Those who started such tales, whether they be in the Constabulary or vice or outside, whether white or brown, are the real responsible before God for subsequent pain and bloodshed which took place in several instances. I am openly told by the Mayor of Dacca, the Hon. H. M. S. H. G. that I was at the bottom of the white trouble. But I am sure I was away weeks before the trouble started, the

accidental cause of which was the order to do work for 2 hours instead of 4 as before, and the contagion spread to other cities. I was away at Dacca when the riots were provoked. After I came back, I went to the Civil Police Station in Pige on appointment to interview women who were under arrest, but I was refused permission to see them on the morning, and while I waited, I was kept out of Inspector Swallow's office where confidential matters were being reported or advised upon by the Indian Christians and their Dugga, who could have any man or woman locked up, any man's house and premises freely entered and searched, any person of the street stopped, any sleeping passengers or inmates of boarding houses or private houses examined. A special constable-white man with a blacked beard used filthy language to me. I did not know whether I should wait for the arrival of the Inspector-General. In the meanwhile, Inspector Swallow appeared to be annoyed at my persistence and clearly told me that I was hindering his work. I therefore accompanied him to go out, when of the gate the special constable lifted the frame of my glass from left ear, another white man made hold of my right shoulder and in spite of Inspector Swallow's warning gave me a blow on the back of my head, which did not hurt me, however. The Inspector-General has now advised me to remain peacefully a prisoner in my own house as he will not have me interfered with by the white rulers. There are many others in my position in this respect. I want to know what that he has given all the permission whenever I want to go out but the same officer, either of his own or under pressure, applied for and obtained special legislation which gave a strike all Kerkent, Acca and other separate legislation in India put together. You must have your locality without a permit to move about, not more than one person can meet at your residence, not more than four go with you, you are taken on work with you. The European officers and others with rifles and bayonets and machine-guns, and my white men, Pige or half-bred, can do you anything. English rule in India could not have been worse. Women are beaten and tortured in streets and badly against my wife at me, and men and women are supposed to commit and violate their obligations under the regulatory acts of the law, and refused water to drink and kept on fire or on foot.

Men are dead or dying great many whom none in India, few are lying abandoned in the back-lanes have passed through the streets of Dacca, and others through the bodies of others. The German rule of the white man's government under the British flag cannot last much longer. Our eyes are now filled, we naturally believe "the Gods confound the intelligences of those whom they destroy" which through a translation from some Greek source seems to be the name at Tullidus.

Labour must either be obtained by long wage or prostrate sleep as before, or food and clothing etc. with minimal wages or a piece of land to cultivate, or to be stopped back in India, or to be shot down or gaoled.

## ORDER IN COUNCIL.

The following is one of the orders referred to in the foregoing—

Made on the Twelfth Day of February, 1919, at Government House, Simla. The 11th day of February 1919 (A-8.)

C. K. BHOWLA,

Governor.

Private.

His Excellency the Governor in Council.

Whereas it is provided by the Public Safety in Times of Civil Disturbance Ordinance 1919, that whenever the Governor in Council shall be satisfied that a state of civil commotion which threatens the public safety or so far as is likely to arise in the Colony or in any part thereof, he may (with or without the sanction of the Legislature) for the safety of the colonies or out of sections 2 of the Public Safety in Times of Civil Disturbance Ordinance—

And whereas I and my Executive Council are well satisfied that such a state of commotion which threatens the public safety exists in the Colony

Now I do hereby with the advice of my Executive Council make the following Regulations, that is to say—

## ASSEMBLY IN DISORDER.

1. No larger number than five persons shall assemble together in any street or public square or within the limits of Simla or in any other place within or (except a dwelling house) in any town by day or by night for any purpose whatsoever within the written provisions of the Legislative Council of the Governor, and any such assembly of more than five persons shall be deemed to be an unlawful assembly and will be dealt with accordingly, and any member of the P. G. Council who is found to have taken any such assembly, may have his name removed.

## ASSEMBLY IN DISORDER.

2. No larger number than seven persons shall assemble together in any dwelling house within or without the limits of Simla at any time by day or by night for any purpose whatsoever within the written provisions of the Legislative Council of the Governor, and any such assembly of more than seven persons shall be deemed to be an unlawful assembly and will be dealt with accordingly, and any member of the P. G. Council who is found to have taken any such dwelling house and depend on any such assembly as aforesaid, may have his name removed.

## EXCEPTIONS.

3. The provisions of the above Regulations shall not apply to persons of wholly or partly European descent, nor to Sikhs, Parsees, Mohammedans, Chinese, or Japanese.

Made by the Governor-in-Council under section 2 of the Public Safety in Times of Civil Disturbance Ordinance 1919, the 25th day of February, 1919.

## OUR MADRAS LETTER.

## KHELAFAH

The press and platform controversies over the non-co-operation programme are well to full swing. The Hon. Mr. Shreevar Shastri has written an article in the Column wherein he urges the difference between the Government of India and the Government of Great Britain, and pleads that the former from which it is proposed to withdraw co-operation has done all it could, a position which Mr. Gandhi has not already in dealing with a letter from an English friend, pointing out that the duty of the Government of India in this grave situation did not end with representation and protest, and that it should have resigned if the demand would not prevail.

The most thought-provoking and valuable part of Mr. Shastri's article is that wherein he states that "we in India are not responsible at all, not even for the actions of the Government of India," and that therefore we are to be seen a party to the wrong. There are two distinct kinds of responsibility between a people and its government,—one moral and unchangeable, depending on the essential nature of the government, the other depending on the form of the Constitution. The latter requires ability in what Mr. Shastri refers to as the latter as the more important. Every Government is responsible to the people it governs and vice versa, if only they are demanded and are prepared to put in practice the principle of non-co-operation. No government, in its most despotic, can govern an unwilling people if they but proceed to withdraw their active co-operation. True inherent power of the people is effective that will flow not depend on the law of the Constitution but on the essential inter-dependence of people and government. It follows that if a people knowing that their government is doing wrong seriously resolutely support that government without renouncing the wrong by withdrawing their co-operation, they are parties to the wrong.

Mr. Shastri's conclusions of the points in the direction of the latter India as regards to the Khilafah, are in essence enough to make out that the claim on us for which a very just and desirable, in spite of its weight and enormous dangers that the necessity of the present Muslim feeling in India is established in the Middle East, which on the matter a positive act taken up even by Government of India or the Treaty is obvious that as a matter of fact the present feeling is intense.

Mr. Shastri does not put forward an argument seriously exposed in certain quarters, which really amounts to a whole in surrender before the heavy force of opinion, viz. that because in the Punjab, the extensive cultural and religious work and work on numbers of innocent people, and a number require not to be prejudiced, and so on, and so on, however of possible otherwise should be incorporated, because it may lead to a serious withdrawal of force on the part of the withdrawal.

New India in its meeting on the terms of the Treaty suggests an alternative remedy, that the Indian Khilafah should help to form a confederation of Muslim States, a suggestion which does not appeal to us, and which while ignoring the inter-dependence of India and Muslim in India, would seek to keep the latter away to developments in foreign lands as the only hope.

While these controversies are going on the newspapers, any discussion of the feeling in the country may not be enough to cause the present unity. Mohammedan sentiment over the Treaty is much more widespread, and much deeper and stronger than the loss of British and territory which have only within twelve years ago and contained could it definitely found a hope for a more effective outlet. If no peaceful channel is found for the discharge of a love and respect sympathy, we must be prepared

posed for a long period of violence and repression.  
LADKOUS.

The Oil Companies Strike is settled.

The strike in the Madras Mill has now been on for 4 weeks and still continues. 4800 men are out of work, and so far Mr. Joseph has barely held them from despair and crime. The men were locked out because the women workers who were essential struck work, which again was due to their choosing a woman overseer in place of a man who, they allege, molests them. That the Labour Commission, a Government office of the highest rank, specially appointed to protect labourers, settle disputes, and help labour organisations, should be unable to end this situation shows the need the adequate legislation at least to protect female factory labour. If this law will not protect female labour in factories, the only solution is to keep women away from factories, and to feed them, house and educate them though they may not pay as well as factory employment, will save their souls of labour. There comes the neglected spinning wheel whose double promise is to clothe the naked and save the labour of the lady.

#### CONGRESS PARTY

The Congress Committee of Madras has resolved and is rapidly proceeding to convert itself into an election organisation, taking into being and pledging to support what it has named the "Congress party." It may be an advantage to Madrasians to win the name of an old and respected organisation like the Congress. The idea in the same way is defeated by years of the opposition to and the practical evasion from the Congress of a large number of Moderates. But even and above the name and support of struggle, it would be a respectable step to convert the Congress and the Government organisations themselves into stabilising organisations. The logical conclusion of the resolution of the Madras Committee is reached in the necessary decision not to be Free by way of the responsible officers as follows:—

"I would suggest that the coming District Conferences, e. g., the Madras, Bangalore and the Tanjore Conferences, should take up this question and deliberately put forward the required number of Congress candidates. It is imperative that the coming Provincial Conference at Tanjore should either draw nominations for a complete list of Congress candidates for election to its local and district legislatures, for all the Tamil and Malabar Districts of our Presidency. With a view to enable the Provincial Conference to perform this duty satisfactorily, I wish all District Congress Committees and their affiliated associations to better themselves about the matter at once, to interview likely candidates and to make their recommendations in time to the Secretaries of the Provincial Conference. The Congress Committees will have to consider themselves into election officers, collect large party funds, etc., etc."

The complete list of candidates' meet, it is presumed, pass the Reception Committee and the Subjects Committee, and then go before the full Conference. It is easy to see what forces will be brought to play through all the successive stages of these proceedings. Provincial and District Confer-

ences clear or prepossess. The more elements of the assembly, the committees and that of its Subjects and Reception Committees—whose chief business will be the selection of candidates from among the same party, will be determined by the force of competing prepossessions, and their ambitions and expectations. The beneficial effect, of such a state of things on the part of the business of the Conference can easily be imagined.

If as a result of the Subjects Committee or Conference report upon the "Congress" resolutions selected out of several applicants for any constituency happens to be defeated, are we all prepared to accept the implication of such a scheme of work, that the Congress had in respect by that constituency? If the logic of the proposal is applied to its end, we should require a special session of the Congress to elect candidates for the Indian Legislature on the same basis.

It is extremely doubtful whether on the absence of a resolution of the Indian National Congress or the Madras Provincial Conference, maintaining this important departure from the traditional plan of Congress work, the wholesale conversion of Congress and its constituent organisations into an election party-organisation is justified. There have been elections over considerable areas where candidates in the Councils, but the work of election and supporting candidates was done by private individuals by the Indian National Congress or by any Provincial Conference.

#### HINDUSTANI.

Hindustani work is going on. But there is a fall in demand of the summer season of schools and courts. There is a growing demand throughout the provinces for competent teachers, but the supply is not adequate. While it is the duty of the South to help the language of all-India and ultimately to pay for it, it is not a human nature to be expected that at least in the beginning the South will be induced to pay for the introduction of a language alienated with the North. The question of funds for supporting an adequate number of teachers has therefore to be solved by the necessary grant of the Hindustani-speaking North, for some time to come. The Hindi language Committee should consider the practicability of sending the services of South Indian Hindustani whose mother-tongue is Hindustani. Young men of the community can easily learn the Nagari script in Madras itself, and a very short stay in Allahabad or Benares would complete their training and enable them to return to South India to teach Hindustani, such as would cost a few and even admissions of Persian and Pashto words, and which leaving the script optional, is bound to be the common second language of all India, Hindi and Hindustani. This proposal if carried out would further cement the bond between Hindi and Hindustani in South India, besides making it cheaper to maintain Hindustani teachers in that province. It would clear up such ignorance and misunderstanding about the distinction between Urdu and Hindi, and bring before the eye one more reason why the Southern States should learn Hindustani.

18th May 1925.

## DISTRESS IN ORISSA

The following is the summary report submitted by Mr. Thakker to the people's Finance Relief Committee, Poona.—

While the Government Relief and Relief work was being carried on the 1926 famine in Orissa along the coast of both sides, up to Bimpala, 15 miles from Poona, to some extent conditions had been ameliorated by that evening. Out of report now follows.—

1. On the 19th, we stopped for a hour at Talabou Narajinga, 8 miles from here and repaired there. There were no deaths reported there at all, but we saw few families that reported considerable distress. We gave relief for rice (in fact for 10 days) to those families in the village from Bimpala and we brought rice from the village for one old man, who was too weak to walk to Poona. We gave some rice and some clothes, and with a very kind man as the only one who knew how to take the relief, we went on to Poona. We found a very large number of human cases in great extremity and the number of children in L. P. hospital grew there from 15 to 18. We then visited Bimpala and Bimpalpur on the same day. At Bimpalpur there was the worst lot (perhaps) of malnutritioned children and adults in human relief, many were weak and in the house. In Bimpalpur we found 7 families that reported considerable relief and we brought and gave them rice about 4 man's daily family. We also found that there have been two recent cholera deaths one on April 6, and the other on April 17, both in the same family, in addition two children was reported to have taken place 7 weeks ago. We also found that in the town of Chabindra Narai Palla, the rate of mortality for the last 10 months was as high as 100 per 1000, which is nearly three times the normal. The people reported that the rice price here was both needed now and in the rainy season it would be a great boon. The Sub-Inspector of Police has got the address of No. 12 by name and postal name, but he has not spoken yet out of it, though he could have told more news in great abundance.

2. On the 21st at about 2 a. m. we reached Satyaji, 10 miles from Poona, having travelled during the night. We made our quarters there in the afternoon, about among the 15th when the week which takes people to Bimpala began to begin. We met about 10 people of the village who fully reminded their experience. We collected 15 families for immediate relief, when we gave rice and clothes. Bimpala (only) that evening being considerable in that village (and promised to send from Poona Rs. 1 lakh, as we could not do it) was not advanced. We were told that a number of districts had taken place, due to starvation and 14 names were given of a population of 200 houses or 1000 souls and some of these were visited from Chabindra's house, whereas, of course, they were all referred to the Government.

3. Bimpala and neighbouring villages receive plenty of (perhaps) and some good drinking water, but they all suffer from want of rice. There was supply in one all from Bimpala, Bimpala, Bimpala, Bimpala. There was not a piece of money left to be had for rice or for money. Bimpala

had no rice, one year old and half of women, being had at the high rate of 4 annas per rupee. They would be there rather a job at that place, as the shopkeepers of the village must be given all facilities for getting rice from Bimpala, which is their nearest market. The Collector may be specially requested to look into this matter, as the majority of the people have money to buy rice with, but no rice is obtainable anywhere.

4. The fact that we met with, on our journey from L. P. and 10 families in Bimpala, Bimpalpur and Bimpala respectively, which were in need of immediate relief, had we collected as by each family as had members quite time needed will show of house and other community or other other cases of starvation, and to prove the necessity of Government granaries relief as a liberal scale in every village in the area. Up to now no relief has been started by Government here, and the Collector may be requested to start a low rate of money in various places of money to relieve distress and starving people in their own villages, as per amount of the Finance Relief Committee, to prevent it from being.

5. There is no room of any kind given in this part of the district. Work is needed, and a couple of small works in Bimpalpur. There will probably be some for those who work a day of about 1000 in the city of money, but with the other side of the coin, it is from Bimpala to Bimpala, may be very small. To give relief of 1000 in 1000 is a very good thing and collection of money from the, but cases of starvation will be doubly bad.

6. We received the evening travelling 10 miles in three days.

We also reported thoroughly in a fourth village. There only 10 miles from Poona, and some other several hundred families were reported. We have got a list of 12 names, including a total of about 100 families there.

If proof was still needed, the following from Mr. Thakker shows the necessity there was for him to go to the coast of Orissa and render some help. The response to the call for relief-appeals has been generous and spontaneous in this last public had by the Government, which would show a further extension of Rs. 2,000 has been forwarded to Poona, thus bringing the total to Rs. 10,000. Through the Hon'ble Finance Minister, Thakker's a loan of Rs. 10,000 has been granted without interest to the Government in order to enable it to begin relief work before the end of the rainy season in the well-to-do, but after owing to the coming up of prices by grainy distress. No objection, however, has been made in making on the fact received from the Hon'ble High School, Poona, that the kind of charity money to be the special privilege of the Government. This fact has, in a unique instance expressed by the Government, it is a loan to which the students, other employees, and the school boys contribute whatever and wherever they can. No single contribution, however, can be less than ten annas. The Government in no way pressed, but they are in every way encouraged to make contributions out of the pocket and other contributions may receive. Relieving rates have been found for the proper management of this fund and the distribution. It was an ample supply of material by every well-managed school. (See T. 1.)



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. S. Ghosh.)

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 22

AMRERDAR, PARAGAN, APRIL 18, 1920

Price One Anna  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS.

	Page
District in Orissa .. .. .	1
Progress of Swadeshi .. .. .	7
<b>Articles.</b>	
Political Prospects .. .. .	2
Subsistence Distress .. .. .	3
Language .. .. .	4
"Band of Bani" .. .. .	5
Our Malwa Letter .. .. .	6
What should the Viceroy do! .. .. .	6
Infants in East Africa .. .. .	7

## DISTRESS IN ORISSA.

Subscriptions continue to come in steadily. More letters will be required. We hope to publish next week an abstract of the subscriptions received to date by the treasurer. Mr. Thakur in his latest letter says that relief will have to be given up to the month of October, 1919, up to the time that the new crop of rice is ready. Five hundred people are starving help at the present moment. Women are given 30 tolas of rice, children 20 tolas. Calculating on that basis roughly, weekly dole must require will be required, and more will be necessary if the number of persons requiring help increases as it is likely to. It is suggested that a special office will be appointed by the Government to take charge of the relief work.

## PROGRESS OF SWADESHI.

Two events of importance happened during the past week in connection with the Swadeshi movement. An important case was opened at Bombay by Mr. Ghosh on the 14th instant at the place where last year he had opened the Khadi Swadeshi Bhandar. The latter has been taken over by the East Swadeshi Stores. Experience of the past year showed that a forward step was necessary if the movement of Swadeshi was to be placed before the public. The stores of last year was intended to cater to those who had taken the first Swadeshi pledge. It remained the victory to the use of cloth woven in India from Indian cotton, wool or silk. Doubtless though this was, it did not stimulate production in a direct manner and the Swadeshi contemplated greater production and thus the complete Swadeshi. The production at the present moment could only maintain Khadi in Khadi, a necessary step which

could not of home-grown yarn. It could not happen until the use of Khadi became popular and more widespread. The opening of a store making such Khadi available was therefore necessary, if the many uses of Khadi had to be popularized. Hence, Khadi Swadeshi Bhandar and Yashwantrao Chavan came to the rescue and undertook to open such a store. It is called the Khadi Bhandar and will cater only for those who want to make use of Khadi. It will demonstrate the possible uses of Khadi, Woolen, good specimens of finished and dyed Khadi which could be obtained for making, shirts, trousers, suits, dresses, curtains, etc., are made exhibited. The store therefore marks a definite step in advance and will not only supply the wants of those who have taken the first pledge but will now make it possible to introduce the pure Khadi contemplated last year by Mr. Ghosh in the exclusive use of only home-grown and hand-spun yarn. The new store will maintain Khadi made of hand-spun yarn because it is not yet possible to get an adequate supply of home-grown yarn and to get weavers who would care to make the extra trouble involved in weaving home-spun yarn. The majority of them have lost the meaning they had of using home-grown yarn and producing the definite benefit of it. At the opening ceremony Mr. Ghosh was accompanied by Shri Ramji Sarda Devi Chaudhary who was dressed in her Khadi saree and blouse. Mr. Ghosh in his speech at the opening ceremony referred to the movement of the District of Gandhinagar whose independent industry had popularized the use of home-grown cotton yarn. He said that he was glad to see the Khadi Bhandar and its success. He was able to show that there was now set on the rough looking Swadeshi thread made by the poor handloomer than in the modern yards turned out in large factories. Mr. Ghosh said that he would not be satisfied until India recognized the true art in the home-grown. When a because India could like the Swadeshi thread of world, like the better, richer higher price than the mill-made articles thus making it possible to double the rate to the one now paying for home-grown yarn.

The next day Mr. Ghosh travelled to Madras with Shri Ramji Sarda Devi Chaudhary and Mr. Raja Dhanrajaram of Madras to open a similar store. People had assembled from all the neighboring villages. There were several hundred handloomers present.

ment. The opening ceremony was performed in the following manner: Mr. Ghandi, addressing the big audience and that he had great hopes in the future of India. He would not be satisfied until the State was able to open up to become a leading export and a distributer of goods for all the cloth manufactured in the villages of India. There was no reason why the Managers of the State should have to go to Bombay for their supply. The speaker knew that the means of loans were quite capable of opening sufficient also for the whole of the India population and that too during their leisure hours. He hoped that the metropolitan area of the district would supply these women folk with spinning wheels and draw cotton for the purpose of spinning. We need not get yearly about 2 lbs. per head for cloth. If the seven lakhs of the population of India produced only 10.5 worth of cloth per head they would be paying into their pockets 18 lakhs of rupees per year and the money according to his plan would be distributed and amongst the rich few but amongst the poor many. This Swadeshi movement therefore, among other things, constituted an economic fund. The speaker explained the fact that the Swadeshi movement could go on only if the new states that were being opened everywhere keep the fundamental law in view and that they should not become competing agencies with other states but that they should stimulate production and in that way send out a stimulus to the hearts of the people, distribute action without pass and check up on each other here. This was how the last India Company Agents passed a looking in India. There was all the greater reason why to revitalize our Indian industries, we should apply the same organizing ability and industry and common sense as the last India Company's Agents. He hoped that the new states would working against the movement, which was thought with great great possibilities for the country.

## Young India

Abraham Lincoln, 14 June 1862.

### POLITICAL FREEMANSHIP

[By M. K. Gandhi.]

It is necessary to have a better leadership which has to be given to the masses and to the rulers than by the service of the masses. Regularly there seems to be some great acts of national government, the official class in India before which the forces of the great Swadeshi movement fall prostrate and I unconsciously become a movement of all agencies which are possible and which they would be advanced of progressing. In no other way is it possible for me to understand the majority report of the Hunter Committee, the dispatch of the Government of India and the reply thereto of the Secretary of State to the India. Despite of the exceptional progress of a nature of the Press in the presence of the movement, it might be said that on the

whole the public was prepared to trust it especially as it contained three Indian members who would surely be deemed to be independent. The first vote taken in the committee was delivered by the arrival of Lord Hunter's committee to accept the very moderate and reasonable demand of the Congress Committee that the imprisoned English leaders might be allowed to appear before it to witness concern. Any doubt that might have been left in the mind of any person has been dispelled by the report of the majority of that committee. The result has justified the attitude of the Congress Committee. The evidence collected by it shows what Lord Hunter's committee properly desired itself.

The minority report stands out like an oasis in a desert. The Indian members deserve the congratulations of their countrymen for having dared to do their duty in the face of every odds. I wish that they had refused to accede to themselves even to a modified measure with the consideration of the great disturbances here of Satyagrah. The defeat given to the British and on the 20th March was hardly to be used for commencing a great national movement which is admittedly and manifestly intended to restrain the violent tendencies of mobs and to replace arbitrary lawlessness by strict discipline of authority, when it has defeated all this to support. On the 20th March and the 20th April had not even been started. Almost every great popular demonstration has been later in attended all the world over by a certain amount of violence. The demonstration of 20th March and 20th April would have been held under any other name or under that of Satyagrah. I hold that without the advent of the spirit of virility and selflessness, the disturbances would have taken a much more violent form than it did even at Delhi. It was only the wonderfully quick acceptance by the people of the principle of Satyagrah that effectively checked the spread of violence throughout the length and breadth of India. And even today it is not the memory of the high faculty of General Dyer that is keeping the moderate section among the people from breaking forth into violence. We hold that Satyagrah has gained on the people—it may be even against their will—in striking the forces of disorder and violence. But I must not share the credit as a defence of Satyagrah against unjust attacks. It has gained a foothold in India, it will survive much fiercer attacks than the one made by the majority of the Hunter Committee and elsewhere, supported by the majority. And the majority report has defeated only in this domain and moment in every other time would have been nothing but praise for it. Also all Satyagrah is a new experiment in political field. And a hardy experiment in that way popular disorder would have been predominant.

The university pronounced adverse judgment upon the report and the dispatches sent upon her were gradual revolution. Look at the march

heartily balanced defence of every official act of in-  
 honestly except where condemnation would not be  
 avoided through the important admissions made by  
 the actor themselves, but, as the special pleading  
 intended to defend General Dyer was against  
 himself, look at the very glorification of Sir Michael  
 O'Dwyer although it was his agent that executed  
 every act of criminality on the part of the sub-  
 ordinate; look at the deliberate refusal to examine  
 his wild career before the events of April! The  
 tale was an open book of which the committee  
 ought to have taken judicial notice instead of  
 intercepting everything that the officers had to say,  
 the Committee's obvious duty was to see that it  
 had out the real cause of the disorders. It ought  
 to have gone out of its way to search out  
 the weaknesses of the system. Instead of  
 patently going into it the hard areas of official do-  
 mesticity, the Committee shied of itself to be guided  
 with criminal leniency by mere official evidence. The  
 report and the despatch as my brother's opinion  
 manifests an attempt to console official lawlessness.  
 The main aim and half-hearted condemnation re-  
 sounded upon General Dyer's madness and the  
 notorious crawling order only deepen the disappoint-  
 ment of the reader as he goes through page after  
 page of thinly disguised official whitewash. I said  
 however, sincerely attempt to delineate the essen-  
 tials of the report or the despatch which have  
 been so justly censured by the whole national press.  
 Whether of the mistake or the avoidance was  
 the point to consider is how to break down the  
 barriers—be the barriers ever so numerous—compe-  
 sation to uphold official necessity. A scandal in the  
 conduct cannot be tolerated by the nation if it is  
 to preserve its self-respect and become a true part-  
 ner in the Empire. The All-India Congress Com-  
 mittee has reached upon convening a special ses-  
 sion of the Congress for the purpose of considering  
 among other things, the situation arising from the  
 report. In my opinion the time has arrived when  
 we must turn solely upon more petitions to Par-  
 liament for effective action. Petitions will have  
 value, when the nation has behind it the power to  
 enforce its will. What power does have we? When  
 we are finally of opinion that gross wrong has  
 been done and when after an appeal to the high-  
 est authority we fail to secure redress, there must  
 be some power available to us for undoing the  
 wrong. It is true that in the vast majority of cases  
 it is the duty of a subject to submit to wrongs on  
 failure of the usual procedure so long as they are  
 not affecting his vital being. But every nation and  
 every individual has the right, and it is their duty  
 to rise against an established wrong. I do not  
 believe in armed struggle. They were ready-made  
 that the demands ought to be made. They are a  
 token of the spirit of revenge and vengeance  
 and anger. The method of violence cannot be  
 good in the long run. Violence the effect  
 of the armed struggle of the allied powers against  
 Germany. Have they not become even like the

German, as the latter have been deprived to us by  
 name!

We have better method. Unlike that of  
 violence it seriously involves the system of re-  
 form and progress, but it requires also resolution  
 of will. The method to be refused to be party to the  
 wrong. My plea has ever yet succeeded in its pur-  
 pose without carrying the nation with him, it may  
 be so, if it is, by force. Most people choose rather  
 to yield to the will of the tyrant than to suffer for  
 the consequences of revolutions. Hence the tyrants  
 have part of the nation's-trade of the tyrant. But  
 we have instances in history where tyrants have  
 failed to impose the tyrants will upon the nation.  
 India has the choice before her now. If then the  
 act of the British Government is an irretrievably  
 wrong in the opinion of Lord Kinross's committee  
 and the law despatch is a justifiable wrong by virtue  
 of their gross and deliberate lawlessness, it is clear  
 that we must refuse to submit to their official vul-  
 gare. Appeal to Parliament by all means if  
 necessary, but in the Parliament take on and if we  
 are worthy to call ourselves a nation we must refuse  
 to uphold the Government by withdrawing our  
 support from it.

### THE MAHOMEDAN DECISION.

(A. M. K. Gandhi.)

The Mahomedan meeting at Allahabad has spon-  
 sored and reaffirmed the principle of non-co-operation  
 and appointed an executive committee to lay down  
 and enforce a detailed programme. The meeting  
 was presided by one of Hindu Mahomedan meet-  
 ings which Hindu leaders were invited to give  
 their views. The Board the Hindu Mahomedan  
 1919, the Hindu Mahomedan Board, Hindu  
 Mahomedan and others took part in the meeting. It  
 was a great step on the part of the Mahomedans  
 towards unity. The Hindu Mahomedans will do their  
 utmost to bring the Mahomedans to all degrees of  
 strength to get them out of the hands of the  
 British and the Hindu Mahomedans of the  
 Mahomedans are present in the present of non-co-  
 operation. The Mahomedans are now  
 presenting opposition. While the other Hindu Maho-  
 medans are against the Mahomedans are  
 they are not against the Mahomedans and  
 they should be non-co-operation with the Maho-  
 medans and non-co-operation with the Maho-  
 medans. The Mahomedans are now in a  
 position that they will not fight a war with  
 either who would to a paper India, but they will  
 openly break in asserting that any individual  
 without consultation with a view to spirit the  
 1919 of India and so violence. Justice means  
 that full sympathy if not their actual support. It  
 may enough to understand and justify the Hindu  
 Mahomedans. It is difficult to avoid the Hindu  
 Mahomedans. In my opinion the best way to protect  
 India from becoming the battle ground between  
 the forces of Islam and those of the British is to  
 Hindu Mahomedans and non-co-operation with the  
 Mahomedans. I have little doubt that if the Hindu

Indian remain true to their declared intention and are able to exercise self-determination, and make sure that the British will "play the game" and join them in the company of non-cooperation. I feel equally certain that the British will not avoid internationalism by promoting or bringing about an armed conflict between the British Government and their allies, and Afghanistan. British dominion has well organized a system of very successful taxation of the Indian frontier. The only way, therefore, the Mahomedans can carry on an effective struggle on behalf of the freedom of India is to take up non-cooperation as real earnest. It will not only be completely effective if it is adopted by the people on an extensive scale, but it will also provide full scope for individual initiative. If I cannot bear to separate them by an individual or a corporation, and if I am directly or indirectly instrumental in spreading that individual or corporation, I must answer for it before my Maker, but I have done all that is humanly possible for me to do consistently with the moral code that refuses to separate the wrong-doer, if I mean to support the righteous in the manner described above. In urging such a course, I am sure that there should be no back, there should be no tang or draw. Non-cooperation must be and remain absolutely a voluntary effort. The whole thing then, depends upon Mahomedans themselves. If they will do help themselves, British help will come and the Great Secret, great and mighty though it is, will have to bow before the reasonable fact. No Government can possibly withstand the bloodless opposition of a whole nation.

### INDIAN ABOARD

(By C. F. Anderson.)

There is one thing that there are more and more clearly is experienced just concerning the treatment of Indians aboard. It writes that on Indian men, boys, and women are too occasionally selected to be sent into foreign countries, thousands of miles across the sea, to be used the laborers on great estates owned by great companies, and women partly everywhere here. There have to be some kind of a law in Fiji. In both countries, thousands of distressed Indian laborers, men and women have been transported and transported by immigration. They were recruited by professional recruiters who were paid to walk the land in both villages when they intended to go out, and the price for a woman was higher than for a man, because a woman was more difficult to obtain. A great number of these men and women were lured to go out by these professional recruiters by false promises. They were not informed anything about the conditions of the life to which they were going, and in very many instances, they were told that because the British in Fiji had the Government don't participated in this deed, because in Fiji for example, Indian laborers were informed that they would get me working in a twelve-acre, a day,

but they were not told that they would only get wages for 30 days in the week, and were they told that the end of being would be three times greater in Fiji than it is in India itself. Then, one very respectable village, who had been working 4 acres a day in India, and went out deliberately, on the word of the Indian Government, thinking to better his condition, told me later that his condition was worse instead of better in Fiji, because a chiding in Fiji did not go on far as in India in India.

The economic ignorance and helplessness which they can be used in India itself with the recruiting and selection, follows the steps of these 1 man villages all the time they are abroad. In a foreign country, whose customs and habits of life are all different and there are no village law and customs about marriage and other moral questions, the life of one Indian village people goes to wreck and ruin. The morality, which is the Indian village was of a high order,—especially in the purity of the domestic life,—breaks down completely, and I have seen some of the most painful sights in my life among the Indian women who have gone abroad, and I have heard from those who live the story of their degradation, told with tears of shame.

It is true that, out of the thousands who thus go out a few manage through their force of character to struggle out of the mire. These make a new start and become prosperous,—but how few there are who do this? And how many realize the most serious thing in life,—that Sherrin, their moral character,—while they strive to get money! The majority end instead of being that life business more, not better.

Many years ago, I was an ardent advocate of Indian Emigration. It seemed to me, that it would relieve the congestion of India's population, and also would do with carrying the migration of the world order, and take off from Indian life some of its thoroughly bad features. I felt also, that the spirit of enterprise was the one true knowledge of a good and noble world. All these years, I copied, might have been from Emigration.

My last visit was when I was in India, in 1902-1904, when I was there with Mahatma Gandhi. I can never in my whole life forget our meeting at Phoenix, for I was told that a poor Tamil laborer had escaped from the plantation, nearly, and had come to the Ashram for refuge. I went out to see him and help him if I could do him any way. At the night of his—on Englishmen—the drunk had got like a bunch of swine, and was prepared to see every man's nose. The look of fear in his eyes and manner, in my mind as I picture the man that to-day stands seven years later!

Then Mahatma Gandhi came up and all was changed. The fear went away from his eyes, and he stood just and noble and dignified. Mahatma Gandhi went up to him and saw the wounds of the look upon his back. He showed them to me. They were quite recent.

Mrs. de Gaudin asked Mr. W. G. Parsons to go and watch the case in the Magistrate's court. There was a struggle brought against the Tamil labourer of stealing his work, and the counter-charge brought against the manager of using violence. The case in the court—on Mr. Parsons' side an officer-in-charge a very worthy of justice. The Magistrate inter-acted with the manager, who was accused of cruelty. The complaint against the manager was dropped, and the Tamil labourer was sent back to work under the same master who had beaten him before. He was legally bound to that master for five years and could not escape.

Three things opened my eyes. Further Mrs. Robinson Gaudin explained to me the conditions under which the labourers lived—the total un-necessity due to their position—the temptations to drinkiness and gambling openly placed before him, at their very door, and not seldom encouraged when the 5 years of indenture drew to its close, in order to make the labourers penniless and so to get them to sign up again, for another indenture, for another period of years.

But even this, I need not repeat—“it is possible to improve the system | to make the regulations much stricter, to prevent drunkenness and gambling, to increase the population of women and men on the Estates, to get labourers to emigrate to Canada, instead of to individuals.”

I was in that mood and state of mind, when I went out for the first time to Fiji.

(To be continued.)

### “NEED OF RACE”

To the Editor “Young India”

Dear Sir,

I have just received a criticism of my book “Need of Race” contained in your issue of the 11th February. Your reviewer approves of my standpoint, but, dealing with my statement that Indian culture should also be given a place together with English studies, says that the best of this and other remarks would apply, which seems unfortunate and hardly accurate, with the note which I submitted to the Ontario University Commission, in a certainly unfortunate time I used language which has apparently all expressed what I wanted to say. To correct this misunderstanding I now write. I am the last person to apologise for Indian culture, the feeling of which I have consistently urged, not as a matter of convenience or expediency, but of right—the right of every individual and community to fully and freely express itself in accordance with Swadharma. I have done so also because I believe in its beneficial influence on the world at large.

As your reviewer obviously says, Indian culture is no copy, and when it borrows from elsewhere it must do so in its fullest and strongest and not out of a sense of its own inferiority or deficiency, by which I understand completely Indian culture should, he says, be so with the best, opportunities,

and means of the educational system. With the general proposition I agree. But what do we mean by including Indian culture? I have merely under-stand finally the meaning of what has been thought and done in the past, and then its more reproduction to-day. I do not I understand by this phrase, primarily the theories of the general Indian philosophy from all other interpretations, and then its incorporation, so that it may become in the form a living force of cultural forces to-day. These may or may not be the same as the forms of the past, but whatever they be, they are vividly produced as fresh creations and not merely taken over into the present because they have impressed over, often with great force, from the past. These past cultural forms are the model and indeed indispensable subject of our study—unforgettable because they build and strengthen the disciplines which has produced the days Dharma. We steep ourselves in tradition, not merely to automatically reproduce it, but to make ourselves worthy of our forefathers, capable of being as vividly creative as they were. But more they help the imagination work has happened. Other cultures have elsewhere grown up and become known to India. Are we not to study these and appropriate from them what is suitable to us. Or are we to build a cultural horizon, fusing plants which will not have in the real movements of the sun of the world? Certainly not. We search the disciplines by every widening of our knowledge through English and other cultures should “also” be studied. As my remarks were addressed to those concerned in the furtherance of English studies, I put it in the form that Indian culture must also have a place. Those who have not fallen into the path of error have scarcely need of counsel.

It is in this way that the so-called “national” as opposed to “regional” culture will (if at all) come alive. As such race and area are according to the own Dharma, their standing in national life, he said they perfect their form, for Dharma is the Law of Form. In perfecting our forms we approach to where who have perfected theirs. The highly intellectual, moral, and spiritual are everywhere else, and this is as a human kind of man calls it “the International of Culture.” It must to be obtained by effort of our own Dharma and by taking a bit here and a bit there to make up some combination which is neither “bit, both, but,” nor even good and better. But to practice the following are among the use of those whose intellect, capacity, general development, and opportunities do not permit of this both sciences and activities culture. This for instance the ordinary Indian general—what of him? If it be the fact that education both in his own and other cultures cannot be given then, naturally, his own racial culture must be given the best place. Great care must be taken in dealing with the systems of primary education in India, for here the mischief may occur. If we send the people here they get confused it is difficult to recall them. Whence

if they are preserved they can be added to or improved later on. All that is becoming increasingly recognized now-a-days, when the people are getting wiser here, what the late Henry James called "a superstitious valuation of Europe." If there is in other parts of the world a "scholarshipism," as Herbert Spencer feared, it may be that in such case the True, the Good, and the Beautiful will be upheld by a cultured and aristocratic India which will be ready to do the part here exemplary shown in the present. Certainly it is necessary, as your reviewer does, to feel all this passionately. Those who think it necessary to apologize for their Race and its traditions have ceased in being to the former and to be worthy to carry on the latter. The late George Tyndal in one of his recently published letters says "I begin to think the only real sin is sin itself or not being cured." Just so, but if so, we certainly should not apologize for being what we ought to be.

Bomb,  
May 26, 1928

I am, dear Sir,  
Very truly,  
Yours,

(Sd) John Woodhead

[We are glad Sir John has explained himself as regards his views of the place of Indian culture in the education of Indian youth. We hope he has not misunderstood us. We are not for repudiating old forms or lost standards, whether they are good or bad. Nor do we want a cultural holocaust, where whatever is, has no conscious importance. Knowledge of English culture may be the backbone of today's and not form the first gas now of all Indian education. What we would wish is that when the Indian Educational System is fully developed and organized a study of English and other foreign cultures should form part of a good graduate course. We want that a knowledge of different cultures will enable us to perfect our own by assimilating the best of the others. Perhaps in the God's world differences will persist, but they need not represent divisions; they must be like facets of one beautiful gem. The set the Lord Said - "Nityanta Vatsalya Me bhakti 1. 1.]

## OUR MARRAS LETTER

Letters

The situation has not improved since last week. The Madras Hill bands are still holding out. The employees have taken new and new bands and are trying to keep some of the machines going. A number of important printing presses in Madras are closed on account of labour trouble. One of them in the High Court Press and another one in Mysore are delayed for the reason. All the presses controlled are labour-owned. Many of the Post-office Unions with members working under more than 500 different employees had its first anniversary on Monday last with a weakness in the chair. There is also a strike in the workshop of a big European firm, which has lasted so far for 15 days. On the top of all this on Thursday the Indian workers in the Mysore Corporation which supplies power for the trams and the highway of the city, have gone on strike. Required power continues to be supplied,

however, but it is feared this may not be possible much longer. The oil and petrol men who had refused after their last strike have gone out again not satisfied with the performance of the position held out. There is a Labour Commissioner who is an experienced Indian Civil Servant of whom much was expected. But he is overruled with very little power and is really unable to settle disputes when the employees hold out. That he could not compel the Madras Hill-men to accept a fully-over-ear for the hundreds of workmen who speak only for themselves is a positive proof of his helplessness.

## THE GOVERNMENT

South India has not yet reached the morning of the hand-opening movement. We have still to see that as long as the workers have to depend on foreign parts, be it British or Japanese, there is no emancipation. The basis for this counts has not yet been presented. That is due to an insufficient realization of the actual importance of wearing that cloth in order that foreign parts may be required. People still ask whether hand-opening will bring adequate wages to the spinner. As long as present conditions continue, hand-spin yarn cannot come as a wage-winning competition. Does knitting, punting or weaving bring any wages to the Indian who spend time (sometimes in their occupations)? The opening which must be established in every middle class home where no loom or more can be used by the Indian from domestic work. If men are without personal profit spend their leisure time in recreation or in political work, why should not the women be employed in spinning for the nation? If only all who can spare a little leisure time into the opening wheel the question of yarn would be solved. If we add to this number the poorer class of women who may prefer smaller earnings in their own houses to bigger wages outside temptations and risks, we can certainly dispense with foreign yarn.

## KULAKAR

New India continues strongly to oppose non-co-operation. The opposition of friends is but a proof of their sincere affection. No one can complain that such opposition is an impediment to a movement. We should be grateful to those who point out any error in our judgment or any lurking weakness that has escaped our attention. There is another kind of opposition which may be detrimental, but will need not cause any regret on our part, if the sincerity or the strength of those who have pledged themselves to non-co-operation is undimmed or dimmed, though this is by no means true in the non-agreed unions with aspirations are met, it is but a mild fluctuation of the trade which those pledged to undertake warlike and suffering must be prepared to pass through. Such distress and obstacles should serve voluntarily to prepare and strengthen us. The best answer to a charge of inconsistency or weakness is to show by action that the charge is baseless and further to strengthen oneself by prayer.

Some of those who are opposed to the programme of non-co-operation have however adopted a third course which is fraught with mischief. Though they oppose the programme, they claim to support it for its followers, and lay down what should and should not be done at once. For instance, they lay down that no one accepting Mr. Gandhi's plan should stand for the new annual elections, that if they are already in the councils they should resign or keep silent at once. Some assume that lawyers accepting non-co-operation may permit themselves to practise, while they set others to give up public services. Others again lay down that lawyers are holders of honorary offices and therefore should give up practice at once. Those who accept non-co-operation programmes must however be permitted to follow the Central Executive Committee's instructions as to professions as the interpretations of those who oppose that programme. If Mr. Gandhi deprecates individual and premature action and wants us to wait till any particular point of time we should do so in spite of being urged on by others. If the restrictions are that non-cooperators do not accept candidates from standing for elected seats, but that they should be prepared to resign them when the time for such action arrives, it is our duty not to be disturbed by the opinion of others.

Before Mr. Gandhi's message deprecating individual and premature action, the resignation by Mr. Tahirul Husain of all his honorary offices was quickly followed by several resignations in the Council of Municipal Commissioners and Honorary Magistrates. The Madras National Student Conference gave a respectful hearing to Mr. Bhowani and adopted a resolution of non-co-operation by an overwhelming majority. The Hon. Mr. H. V. Srinivasa Iyer spoke beautifully at the conference when dealing with this question. The Andhra provincial conference too immediately adopted non-co-operation after hearing able expostulations against it. The Malabar conference also adopted it and the Mysore are organising.

#### WHAT SHOULD THE VOTERS DO ?

Mr. Gandhi has directed his various articles in the forthcoming elections in the choice of the voters in the columns of *Kaushalyani*. We give below the substance—

Many who had hitherto no concern with council elections will be shortly called upon to vote for the reformal council. The power has of elected members will be found to have increased. This adds to the voter's responsibility. In all our times the vote has been exercising the municipal franchise. And of these elections it cannot be said that the electors have always supported themselves as a wise nation. Electors' private relations with the candidates have often weighed with them more than the candidates' qualifications. It would be well if we set up a better standard, for the political system

legislative councils. Only this shall we be able to make the best use of the franchise. I suggest also that voters should not identify themselves with any party or its quarrels. They should consider candidates' views and put their party. Their character should weigh more with them than their views. A man of character will make himself worthy of any position he is given. Even his mistakes will not weigh against. I consider it impossible for a man without character to do higher national service so that if I were a voter here among the list, I would first select men of character and then I would understand their views. My guarantee to them would be.

(1) Do you approve of the present Swadeshi movement? If so, are you prepared to levy heavy import duties on foreign cloth? Will you favour legislation for cheapening the materials and machinery required to produce Swadeshi articles?

(2) Do you hold that all the offices of a province should be conducted in its own vernacular and that the affairs of the Nation should be conducted in Hindustani—a combination of Hindi and Urdu? If you do, will you endeavour incessantly to introduce the use of the vernaculars in administration of the respective provinces and the national language as the Imperial administration?

(3) Is, in your hold that present division of the provinces of India was made for administrative and political purposes and that no regard was paid to the people's wishes? And do you hold that the division has done much harm to the national growth? If you think so will you try to bring out a redistribution on a linguistic basis as early as possible?

(4) Do you hold that there is not the remotest likelihood of India's regaining without Hindu-Muslim unity? And if you think so are you, if a Hindu, willing to help the Mohammedans in all legitimate ways to their trouble?

A satisfactory answer to these alone will entitle the candidate to my vote if I had one. I suggest these questions because I regard them as of great importance. If the voters do not set any significance on these questions, they may put others which they consider to be of greater importance for the upliftment of the Nation. It is not the particular questions that matter but the knowing of candidates' views on national questions. My attempt is to point out that we need an electorate which is impartial, independent and intelligent. If the electors do not interest themselves in national affairs and remain uninterested with what goes on in their neighbourhood and if they check men with whom they have private relations or whose aid they need for themselves, the state of things can do no good to the country, on the contrary, it will be harmful.

Now it remains to be considered what the electors should do if they do not receive satisfactory answer to their questions or if they cannot find men of character. If an established custom with regard to elections that electors, if they do not find any candidate to their liking, they need not register their votes. In such a case electors' abstention

to an exercise of their votes. Excepting one taken to this procedure, that of good classes refuse to vote their choice and elections would make the worst show. This is to a certain extent true. But suppose at a certain place all candidates being described the larger portion of the electorate abstain from voting and the candidate winning to secure votes from that land, can they exercise any influence on the country? No doubt their vote has its numerical value, but their vote and speech have no influence. On account. Moreover an intelligent abstention has its own effect. The classes having once failed to find a proper candidate will next time take steps to find out a suitable man and elect him, and by so doing they will raise the level of their own place. In a growing country people are able to understand the national object and they are expected to purify the political atmosphere by less and less to maintain integrity. All enlightened and thoughtful voters will find that unseasonably numerous mistakes arise when they will have to purposely refuse to register their votes. I earnestly hope that on such occasions our citizens will have courage to do so. I hope that when they do exercise the vote they will give it to the best man on either to which party he belongs.

### INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

After exposing the high motives underlying the recommendations of the "Commission of Enquiry" and of the Executive Committee, the memorandum proceeds—

Having first referred to the true meaning and proper use of the European apparatus, the Indian Community desires to place the following views as regards its knowledge that they have the support of the Indian people and the sympathy of the Government of India.

#### WHAT INDIANS WANT.

It is an inalienable right for the people of India and the Indian residents in British East Africa to tolerate or acquire anything in the nature of racial preference law, whether in a matter of "administrative convenience" or by statutory enactment. If the European system could not content themselves with equality of treatment with their Indian fellow-subjects, they need not have come to or stayed in a country already widely populated by Indians, and in which Indians had preceded them by many generations, and had the European Government done their duty towards the Indian population, the difficulties being complained of would never have been imposed. The Imperial Government however justified and cannot possibly justify to the people of India the anti-Indian policy that has been tacitly and officially adopted for the past thirty years. The Indian communities in the neighbouring territories of Swahili, Uganda, and Tanganyika have watched with alarm the growth of anti-Indian feeling in the Protectorate, which officers here are clearly impugning to find. The policy of racial discrimination against the ownership of land in territories has almost been put into operation in Uganda, where I am believed to have shown. But the League Executive Committee, which has just reported says of

the Indian matter "The country was won by the Indian people, and we consider a liberal policy of toleration should be adopted towards them. He has shown energy and enterprise, and has assisted in the opening up of the most fertile districts. He makes of value an agricultural, and his activities in that direction ought to be well encouraged." That India is far from contented to see evidence that has belittled her children in South Africa is evident from the anxiety with which the member of the Union of the European Residents, on behalf of the Government of India, is being watched. It would be desirable, and it would be regarded as a breach of faith by the part of the British Government, if the history of the South African Indians were reported in the East African Protectorate and the adjacent territories. India is proud of the results of the efforts of her citizens resident in South Africa, and she cannot possibly look with equanimity upon a movement calculated to wipe her totally a most important portion of her foreign trade. It is felt by all classes of the Indian people that, when the temporary parts of the Empire, controlled by self-governing European communities, are, for all practical purposes, closed to Indian competitors, it would be unbecomingly and unbecomingly if, as never being attempted in the East African Protectorate, the same policy of exclusion were adopted. Therefore, Indian aims as mentioned in the foregoing of all the elements of the mixed population of the country, that on absolutely equal terms, as regards opportunities, should be maintained. Encouragement of both European and Indian efforts should be equally welcome and given equal opportunities for the development of a divided enterprise, and no special privileges should be given to any section of the population.

The policy, as well as the unscrupulous treatment, which are at present in vogue in European, should be equally extended upon Indians. It is almost to hold that Indians, who, in large numbers, are engaged in commerce, in British Congo, Swahili, Fiji, and even in the Cape Colony, have been disfranchised, should, when settled in East Africa, where the average intelligence, is incapable of maintaining the standard. It is not even supposed that the European community have opposed an extension of the franchise to Indians because they wish, as a policy that as an ordinary citizen in Indian territory, manage and enterprise, to enjoy a measure of political power in the protected territories of the native colonies.

The people of India naturally look to the European Government to protect all racial rights, but, an inferior position, such, for example, as is the position of it came from the Executive Council, the position, may equal the development of Indians in Swahili, the preferential grant of land to Europeans, the numerous reports of mistreatment by European communities, the sale of the Congo lands by means of which Indians are included in fact, in the disregard of the wishes of the natives, the power granted to the Governor under the Congo Lands Order (No. 2211), no change has been made (as he has repeatedly done in practice) the transfer of European-owned land. It does not, however, the policy of racial preference in territories and racial treatment of natives, and the introduction of legislation in any sphere of a racial character, but equal in all special circumstances for political participation. Indians, by a Union has controlled by a body's whose authority,

( To be concluded.)



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17618

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 28

ASHEKHALE, PUNJAB, JUNE 22, 1921.

FRANG COO JANA  
PUN COO.

## CONTENTS.

	Page.
Spain .. .. .	— 1
ANANDA.	
The Case of Suffering—	— 2
Wife in Madras .. .. .	— 3
Indians Abroad—II .. .. .	— 4
Why not Prohibition at once in Madras?	— 5
—	
Review .. .. .	— 7
S. Africa Question .. .. .	— 7

## Notes.

**The Registration Scheme**—Mr. Gandhi writes to the Press as follows:—

With reference to the approval that seems to have been accorded to the scheme of registration and to have been recommended by the South African Commission and accepted by the Union Government, I would respectfully caution the public against accepting the proposed scheme. The public have not the interim report of the Commission. We do not know the conditions of registration. I cannot say, therefore, that it is most desirable to venture any opinion as to its merits of which we have the most imperfect knowledge. Generally, it must be stated that any scheme of this registration must be looked upon with the greatest suspicion, especially when the scheme is followed by those who are unrepresentatively hostile to Indian aspirations.

The Indians of South Africa are able to remain in that country because of their demands. I very much fear that the proposed scheme will be found to curtail the substance of demands against the acceptance of registration money, that is, foreign bank in India and possibly a trading visa as pocket money. I am inclined to think that apart from everything else such consideration will be vitally fundamental for giving away a valuable right. I would hardly call any such registration as purely voluntary.

Thus, however, is one of the many objections that may be advanced against the proposed registration. I have no doubt that the best thing is to suspend judgment till we have the full scheme before us for examination. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will take the public fully into the confidence before proceeding upon the scheme.

**Patron in Orissa**—Mr. Thakur has sent us further report of his travels from which we observe that the area of distress is really greater than he at first thought. In one part even the number of those in receipt of relief is given as 500. This is a pretty good level. The number is 2000. Mr. Thakur now fears that the number will increase. The fact is, there is nobody in Orissa who can give information about the whole district. Communitarians are neither any use here. The people are so intimidated by constant fear that they do not know what they are saying. They take starvation as their normal condition. Still, therefore, a man like Mr. Thakur goes to such places, and reports, better sleep naturally believing that all is well. We hope that Mr. Thakur will not only investigate the full area of distress but will also make the observations as to its character and the present status of the distressed and suggest remedial measures. A cutting from a newspaper sent by him shows that the relief work established in Orissa is really scarcely from a scrap of food. The writer suggests that these foods are avoidable because they are due to faulty or weak administration. He suggests a thorough examination of the matter by expert agencies. This is manifestly a matter for the Government to look into.

**A Practical view**—A Madras correspondent writes to us:—

"The steps in the non-co-operation programme that must come the greatest stumbling, in the near future, is the re-employment of retired officers. First, as regards "martial" service it may easily be presumed that the men employed on such service are really taking up non-Government labour and get the same of not better wages. As regards what is called "supervisory" service, a few figures as to the number of posts held by ex-officers in Government service in the Madras Presidency may be helpful in providing an approximate view of the matter. On 1st April 1920, there were only 51 ex-officers in the position of officers there. Rs. 250 per month, only 100 as officers ranging between Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 per month, only 250 drawing salary above Rs. 40 and less than Rs. 50 per month, 412 between Rs. 20 and Rs. 40 per month, while there were 1000 men drawing salaries from Rs. 10 to twenty rupees per month. Of this number of ex-officers in service as many as 625 were in the Police department. While those drawing higher pay represent for salaries, the 200 ex-officers drawing salaries below Rs. 50 a month form the substantial part of the problem. It is estimated roughly that the cost of salaries

down by these men in one year amounts to less than 14 lakhs. This may be taken to be the cost of a non-voted Hindustan strike in Madras for one year, assuming all the men to remain idle."

Our correspondent has demonstrated the absurdity of the anxiety by citing the foregoing figures and facts. As a matter of fact non-co-operation will never be worked in the manner thought by entirely uneducated. No man will give up his post without feeling the necessity of maintaining himself, and any hyper-enthusiast in Madras who only used had to give an adequate idea of what non-co-operation is likely to lead to. We have not the slightest doubt that Madras will whole-heartedly cooperate with their Hindustan brethren. In that respect therefore, the anxiety would be greater if all who have their posts must remain idle. At the same time the faculty will be increased steadily in the proportion that the Hindustan men, because of the ability to cooperate, will at least be less doubted and the movement towards a settlement will be accelerated in general progress.

**Indians in Burma**—Referring to our disapproval of the Indo-Burmese demand for separate representation in the Burma legislative council, Mr. Dandekar, a High Court Judge at Madras, writes to us from Rangoon in Burma justifying the demand. The article has appeared in the *I S Express*'s issue of May 30; we regret we could not reproduce it in these columns for want of space.

Mr. Dandekar has added little to our information, and what little he adds, only confirms us in our opinion. He tells us that the Indians have got a stake in the country and the interests of the trading and banking Indian communities ought to be properly safeguarded. He complains that a tendency to Communism in Burma advanced tends to work out the principle of "Income for Burmese." We cannot find anything wrong in this principle, and we repeat that Indians are in Burma only as guests. We quite agree with Mr. Dandekar when he observes that the existence of a feeling of fellowship and brotherhood between the two nations—Indians and Burmese—is the means to remove the existing ill-feeling and its undesirable results. But Mr. Dandekar thinks that this object cannot be achieved unless the Indo-Burmese maintain a political union in the present circumstances with their strength and importance, and that unless the Indian attitude was removed of a place in the legislative councils they are not likely to be treated with consideration by the Burmese leaders in the popular regard that will be gradually introduced in the provinces.

We are of opinion that separate representation for Indians was never by the means of creating a brotherly feeling between the Burmese and the Indians. If the Burmese leaders believe that there is a conflict of interests between the two

communities, it is incumbent on the Indians to go on asserting the principle and persistently to work for results. Separate representation which is at times resorted to as a temporary solution, here, at all least delays the permanent settlement. We earnestly urge the Indian states to reconsider the whole situation and take a more and more path by withdrawing their national claim.

**Response to Bihar**—The demand for separate representation by the Bihar-Bengalis stands on a different footing from the corresponding demand of the Indians in Burma. The latter are willing and voluntary immigrants whereas the great bulk of the Bengalis in Bihar are there by means of the carrying out of the province of Bihar and Orissa on what is called "administrative convenience." We have said that the difficulty arising out of seceding, competitive or disjoint interests, the two communities in Bihar, and in fact in all our provinces which are constituted on a basis of "administrative convenience," would be greatly minimized if the administrative divisions were reorganized on their natural basis. Separate representation! But our Government is not expected to undertake this unless there created by the present arrangement, in this particular case, the Bihar-Bengalis themselves, make a formal demand for such a re-division.

We, however, notice that the *Bihar Herald*, an organ of the Bihar-Bengalis, while admitting the complexity and desirability of the administrative solution, thinks that, in their case, it is more expedient in its conditions than that of separate representation. "It will be confusing our people in consequence in managing our affairs and solving our disputes. We felt," the *Herald* goes on to say, "that if we could not tackle successfully such a small matter as this, we could not with any less approach the world with a declaration of our fitness for self-government."

We recall that after careful consideration of the whole question we are willing in the administrative solution to warrant such a declaration. Does our competence, our fitness for self-government mean perpetual intelligence and civilization of the vital interests compatible with the Indian and British scope for its advancement—of any one community to those of another, merely because the two have been knitted up by an outside agency, for its own convenience? Is our neighborly regard for one another to outweigh all other considerations both from national and national point of view? It should be consistent with these other considerations. Where it is not, it is not our incompetency or weakness but some other cause of evil which has to be removed. Such a source of evil, in our view appears, in the present administrative division of our provinces.

We, therefore, suggest legislative re-division not as an expedient, but as a more correct path of the remedy aimed by some wisely but

as the very antithesis of the selfish creed. We propose to remove the source of the evil, the germ of the disease, and do not rest satisfied as outward remedies that will simply feed the germ and ultimately aggravate the mischief.

The *Debar Herald* has, however, very feelingly pointed the actual state of affairs in the province. It emphasizes that the English-speaking population of the province are treated as aliens not only by the Government but also by respectable leaders of public opinion. The same view of the situation is expressed also in a private letter that we have received from a respectable gentleman of Debar. We are amazed by the writer that the Mahar-Bengalis were chosen as recurring to special remission of debts, only when they found almost all the Debari leaders either absent in or out of India about the cause of the Debaris and the Bengalis by removing the feeling of indignation which prevails even among the respectable leaders of Debar.

If all this be true, it is regrettable that we could despair of raising a strongman and cooperating spirit in the Debaris whom even the *Debar Social Reformer* had suggested in this respect. We appeal to the Debari leaders not to continue any longer as unarmoured spectators of unarmoured representatives possessing the political atmosphere of their province. If the Debari leaders do not rise to the occasion of relieving the position of Bengalis, the Bengalis gain nothing by resorting to intervention of ours. A few Bengali members in the Council will not be able to exert themselves against the Debari-members who will be in a large majority and who will bear towards the Bengalis feelings quite the reverse of friendliness.

## *Young India.*

*Almohat, Wednesday, 24th June, 1920.*

### THE LAW OF SUFFERING

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

No sowing is ever done without being paid for through the law of suffering. Mother Nature says to that he shall sow his seed. The sowing of wheat growing is that the seed grain should perish. Life comes up at Death. Will India can out of her slavery without fulfilling this eternal law of purification through suffering?

If my wishes are right, evidently India will make her destiny without sword. For their chief concern is that the events of April 1919 should not be repeated. They fear non-co-operation because it would involve the suffering of many. If Champka had argued that he would not have withheld payment of ship-money, our world War Taylor have raised the standard of revolt. English and French histories are replete with an instance of men continuing their pursuit of the right irrespective of the amount of suffering in-

duced. The sailors did not stop to think whether ignorant people would not have voluntarily to suffer. Why should we expect to write our history differently? It is possible for us, if we would, to learn from the mistakes of our predecessors to do better, but it is impossible to do away with the law of suffering which is the one indispensable condition of our being. The way to do better is to avoid, if we can, violence. From now and then there appears the sale of progress and to introduce greater purity in the methods of suffering. We see, if we will, violence in our newspapers, from leading the wrong-door to our will by physical force as those Powers are doing to-day, or from sending our neighbours to follow our methods as we do not last year by means of us or bringing about Social Progress as to be measured by the amount of suffering undergone by the sufferer. The purer the suffering, the greater is the progress. Hence did the sacrifice of Jesus suffer to live a suffering world. In his second march he did not avoid the cost of suffering entailed upon his neighbours whether it was undergone by them voluntarily or otherwise. Then did the sacrifice of a Mahatma suffer to establish the Kingdom of truth. He must have known that his subjects would suffer involuntarily by his abolition. He did not mind because he could not do otherwise than follow truth.

I have already stated that I do not deplore the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh as much as I deplore the massacre of Englishmen and destruction of property by ourselves. The frightfulness at Amritsar does away political education from the greater through lesser Englishmen at Lahore where attempt was made to murder the Mahatmas by slow processes. But before we are higher we shall have to undergo such process as we are to learn till they teach us to take up suffering voluntarily and to find joy in it. I am convinced that the J-ismians never dreamed the great justice that they were subjected to, they never hurt a single Englishman, they never destroyed any property. But a wilder ruler was determined to crush the spirit of a people just trying to throw off his shackling yoke. And if I am told that all this was due to my preaching Satyagrah, my answer is that I would preach Satyagrah all the more loudly for that so long as I have breath left in me and till the people that next time they would never O'Deyman members out by opening shops by means of threats of forcible seizure but by allowing the tyrant to do his worst-and by him and there all but that uncomprehensible words. Signs of old watched the flesh as that the spirit within might be set free, so that their united bodies might be proof against any injury that might be visited on them by tyrants striving to impose their will on them. And if India wishes to revive her ancient wisdom and to avoid the errors of Europe, if India wishes to see the Kingdom of God established on earth instead of that of Satan

which has enveloped Europe. Then I would urge her men and daughters not to be deceived by the pleasure, the terrific exhilaration that holds us in, the fear of suffering that India may have to undergo, but to see what is happening to-day in Europe and how it is understood that we must go through the suffering even as Europe has gone through, but not the process of making others suffer. Germany wanted to dominate Europe and the Allies wanted to do likewise by crushing Germany. Europe is no better for Germany's fall. The Allies have proved themselves to be just as devilish, cruel, greedy and selfish as Germany was or would have been. Germany would have avoided the war-torn economy bombing that was most associated with the early stages of the Allies.

The amelioration that I deplored last year was not in connection with the sufferings imposed upon the people, but about the mistakes made by them and violence done by them owing to their not having sufficiently understood the message of Satyagrah. What then is the meaning of non-cooperation in terms of the Law of Suffering? We must voluntarily get up with the honest and innocent masses that have to withdraw our support from a Government that is acting against our will. Extension of power and rule is a crime under an equal government, poverty as that can be a crime, says Thoreau. It may be that in the transition state we may make mistakes; there may be avoidable suffering. These things are preferable to national humiliation.

We must refuse to wait for the wrong to be righted till the wrong-doer has been reared to a sense of his iniquity. We must not for fear of ourselves or others having to suffer, remain participators in it, but we must combat the wrong by seeking to amend the wrong-doer directly or indirectly.

If a father does an injustice it is the duty of his children to leave the parental roof. If the head master of a school commits his institution to an unscrupulous head, the people must leave the school. If the plankton of a corporation is corrupt the members should most wish their heads above the water to withdraw from it, even if a governmental action gives reputation the subject must withdraw non-cooperation wholly or partially, as follows:—It is wrong the ruler from his wickedness. It can be corrected by us. There is an element of suffering whether mental or physical. Without such suffering it is not possible to attain freedom.

#### IMPORTANT NOTICE.

All communications regarding subscriptions, regard etc. should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", Chhatra Gha, Feroz Road, Alambabad.

Our rates of subscription

(payments strictly in advance.)

Annual in India (with postage) Four Rupees.

Outside India " " Eight Shillings.

Single Copy " (postage extra) One anna.

All non-commercial printed matter to be accepted in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Satyagrahasthavan, Bahadurpatti.

#### INDIA IN MADRAS.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

I have the greatest faith in the Devotionalism some say taking up Hindi study seriously. If an eighth of the industry that they put in in mastering English were to be devoted to learning Hindi, instead of the rest of India receiving a useful book to them, they will be one with us as never before. I know that some would say the argument runs both ways. The Devotionalism being in a minority, national economy suggests that they should learn the common language of the rest of India than that the rest should learn Tamil, Telugu, Gujarati and Marathi in order to be able to converse with Devotional India. It is for that reason that Hindi-propaganda work of an extreme type has been going on in the Madras Presidency for the past eighteen months under the wings of the Hindi Sahitya Samasaha of Allahabad. In response to an appeal by me to the Agardal Marathi Samasaha held at Pondichy last week, the wealthy Marathi of Bombay and Calcutta present there endorsed on the spot the MISO for five years' Hindi-propaganda in Madras Presidency. They have since more demonstrated that Hindi work is a specialty of the present movement since of India. The generous response increases the responsibility of the Samasaha of Allahabad and of those Devotional who share with me the belief that Madras work take up Hindi for the sake of full national expansion. Let us however think that learning Hindi is at all difficult. A little time taken from the recreation hour daily and in a systematic manner will enable an average man to learn Hindi in one year. I would venture to suggest too that large Municipalities might now introduce Hindi as an optional language to be learnt in the municipal schools. I am my firm experience that Devotional children take to Hindi in a remarkably easy manner. Little does any one here that about all the Tamil and the Telugu being in South Africa one carry to an intelligent conversation in Hindi. I venture to hope therefore that the young men of Madras will show their appreciation of Marathi government by sending themselves of the family offered to them of learning Hindi without payment.

#### INQUIRY ABROAD.

(By Mr. J. F. Anderson.)

II.

But even all the experience, which I have gathered concerning Natal, did not convince me that I was on the wrong line. Even so England, and we are a million people in service, what we here got an idea strongly into our minds.

In Fiji, I started again with the old assumption. I assumed that industries could be worked, if only it was worked sufficiently. That a very short period of business would be like an apprenticeship, such as every English working lad has to go through in my own country. I did not see that, in the

mother, England is a free-country and India is not free! In England even the poorest peasant has elementary education, while in India the peasants cannot even write their own names in their own mother-tongue. I had heard ever since, and a great many other differences.

What I saw in Fiji, the first time, did not altogether corroborate my beliefs. I remained too long at Suva, negotiating with the Fiji Government and trying to make to some terms which would be a compromise and could not altogether destroy the indenture system and indentured farming. I did, however, see many things which opened my eyes still further. I saw the great Suva-Makuluva Nacama on the river Suva and went in and out of the main 'house' there with Mr. Parsons. The faces of the women told their own tale of misery and shame, and Mr. Parsons and I came away almost in tears. Later still, I visited alone some mill quarters at Nacama which were even worse than those at the Suva House. I made enquiries of natives and Europeans which were strikingly divergent. With Mr. Parsons's help, and with the assistance of Indians on the spot, we unravelled the terrible details of the domestic life in the 'houses'—the sexual promiscuity and quarrelling, the sorcery and amulets, the little children whose parents were not known, the women who sold their own feet and then their own daughters for a life of shame.

It came to me very strange and not quite uncomfortable, that all this did not convince me,—I am telling the story of my own weakness of might just as it occurred,—but I came back still protesting to the idea that a compromise was possible. I insisted, against the advice of my best Indian friends, in publishing this compromise in the Report. It still remains there, and it gives me a pang-to-day, every time I turn over the pages and see it, that, as I have said, we English are a stubborn people.

Then, I was obliged to go out a second time to Fiji. By this time things had happened both in India and in Fiji, which had fully convinced me that I was wrong, and that the compromise I had suggested would be worse than unless it would be only a gliding of the feet of the government, it would not set the prisoners free.

But though I had been convinced, I had my responsibilities to do and that compelled me to go out for a second time to Fiji.

This time, I did not stay so long in Suva. I went more to the cooler 'house' themselves. I went up and down the country. I lived as much as possible with Indians and I was constantly sitting and talking to the cooler 'house' in the midst of the labourers. In this way, the fact was brought into my mind at last with the hot iron of pain that the indenture system could not be removed in any form or shape, however modified and mitigated. It was laid through and through, and Indians must not be induced any longer, under any system, to go abroad to work on the Sugar Company Estates. The goal of capitalism and money-making was certain to come in, and the Indian village labourer's ignorance and inexperience would be exploited.

When I came back to India, after this second visit to Fiji, I thought that my training and education in the matter was fairly over. I wrote with all my heart and spirit with all my heart about my experience. The Stanton and Sagar Companies in Fiji saw clearly the change which had come to my mind and I received the reward of being slandered and abused and threatened.

But even yet, I found, I had a further lesson to learn. I had imagined that in my country, such as Fiji, or Trinidad, or Natal, where the indenture system was all over and the last indentured labourers had been set free, there would be an almost complete recovery. The white Indian community would lift up its head again, and the Indian labourers, feeling their air-born freedom, would rapidly regain a portion of independence and also a reasonable wage for their labour.

I had not understood, how deep the evil of indenture would be gone, how it had eaten out the very life and soul of freedom, how extremely difficult it would be for the labourers to recover, even when they were actually set free. I had to go out a second time to South Africa, just as I had been obliged to go a second time to Fiji, and there I discovered for myself, without any one pointing it out to me, the evil and most alarming fact.

Instead of the Indian labourers in Natal recovering themselves rapidly after the indentured recruiting had been stopped and they themselves had been set free, I found them actually in a worse economic position than they were in my home-land. Looking into the account the rise in prices of all commodities their wages were actually of less purchasing value in 1925 than they had been in 1912-14. Even their outward condition showed them. They were more wretched, more demoralised, more pitifully wretched to be sent back to India.

I found out how, while the average wage of the Kaffir and the Zulu had been increasing, the statistics showed that the average wage of the Indians had been decreasing. Everything pointed to the probability, if not to the certainty, that the Indian labourer would sink below the level of the Zulu and the Kaffir.

My heart went out to these Indian labourers in Natal with intense pain. It was not that, our Zulu in India, that they were there at all. We had let the system go to almost unmitigated for nearly sixty years and this was the result. And I felt more strongly than I can say it, that, if more had been the blame, then ours must be the remedy. We must not allow our Indian fellow-countrymen to sink lower and lower below even the level of the raw Kaffir who had just come out from the Kwaai. We must not allow it. Wherever there was a web on the part of these labourers, who felt themselves wronged and did not know how to rise, wherever there was a deep longing in their part to go home to India, the motherland, and there to make a new start, we must do our part in pulling that web. On their return to India, we must see that they are not left stranded and isolated.

And still I had to learn one more lesson, this time from Fig. 1 had rejoiced, with miscegeny, at the violence with which the last industrial labourer was thrown, for instance, Fig. was now a land of freedom, not of bondage. And then, within a little more than one short month, the news came over the wires that there had been a strike and rioting and more that down and labour had been deported. From Mr. D. M. Sanyal's letter it is clear, that there was a concerted attempt to keep down wages, and that the military had been used to terrorise the people into submission. Military operations have again showed itself, in all its brutality and oppression. Just as in Bihar, in 1912, there had been striking down of labour, and the use of military force to crush the spirit of independence, so now the same thing had happened in Fig.

What, then, is the final outcome of it all? What is the result, which has to be faced by heart? Surely it is, "Never again"—Overreaction, mass agitation India will go into and a nation is expected in this matter: "Over again?"

And the words, repeated as stated by Dr. Kishore Chatterjee, give the same lesson, in another form. "Why," he said, "and the Commission of Enquiry found out no more Commission of Enquiry should stop,—stop to keep them busy."

(Continued)

### WHY NOT PROHIBITION AT ONCE IN MADRAS?

(By Mr. A. Sanyal, Madras)

The strongest argument against the prohibition of intoxicating liquor is the alleged financial difficulty involved in it. Responsible Indian opinion is not opposed to prohibition either in India's present condition of the individual or in the economic administrative ground of responsibility of governing a free State. On the transfer of authority in various departments of the administration from the Crown to the people's representatives, it would be because the latter to clear a number of arguments, which all of us opposed to long as we had no responsibility or power. What frightens the reformer, however, is the loss of State revenue. Apart from the obvious duty of a government to estimate itself (on a revenue based on cost, whatever the cost of reform may be, and the increased national prosperity that may reasonably be expected in the long run from the increased efficiency of the workers who are now brought to the drink habit, what is sought to be brought out in this article for the attention of the public is the financial practicability of prohibition in Madras.

By the abolition of divided heads and the transfer of revenue according to the Scheme before, taking round figures of 1920-21 as a base, Madras will get over and above the present revenue an extra net annual receipt of over 370 lakhs. Excluding Excise revenue, the net increase would be 228 lakhs. The provincial receipt from drink was in the year 1912-13, 228 lakhs, i. e., less than the "windfall" increase in receipts brought in by the corresponding changes to the Lord Minto's budget. Why should we not then give up the drink revenue at once? The only objection is the claim of the Government of India for a restoring but progressively decreasing contribution during with

248 lakhs in the first year. All shades of opinion have protested against this contribution and Anglo-Indian bodies have taken a leading part in the protest. If the process should not be wholly successful, but if the Government of India claim is reduced to the 11% normal contribution as suggested, there would be a net "windfall" of 164 lakhs per year, which would offset except for the immediate trail of prohibition a one-half of the province.

Why, then, should not Lord Minto's "windfall" be a "windfall" for prohibition? There is no reason why a people whose standard of national production is low and who pay taxes having a surplus of the means, should be forced into drink, to maintain such a surplus.

Let us look at the figures in another way. The expenditure budgeted by the Madras Government for 1920-21, is 1185 lakhs, i. e., 260 lakhs more than the expenditure in 1917-18. The present Government claim to administer the province as well as it can be administered they do not grant that the popular Ministers are going to do better. The official budget for 1920-21 has been prepared in a new and blood-splashed way, which may be taken as a standard but drive. Yet this means a surplus of 118 lakhs, if we take the "windfall" into account, and allow for the full normal Madras contribution—an amount permitting prohibition as a substantial part of the province.

Thus it will be seen that the question is not so hopeless financially as it is generally thought to be.

(1) If Madras is released from the Madras contribution and the Government of India should have recourse to prohibition with a view to its debt, there is scope for total prohibition in Madras.

(2) If the Madras contribution is reduced materially, there is full scope for prohibition being introduced as a substantial part of the province.

(3) Even if the Madras claim should stand as it is, there is scope for prohibition as a good portion of the province. The only question is, do we really believe that drink is an evil which we and ought to be prohibited? Do we really believe that prohibition if successfully carried out will improve the moral and physical efficiency of the population, and thus bring an increased prosperity, give an improvement—if not more than that—for the loss of revenue?

If partial prohibition is to be introduced, i. e., in a third or a half of the province, a scheme for an equitable division of budgeted expenditure on ground the transfer of the drink revenue among the various districts in the province with option for prohibition in one or two districts to be adopted, so that districts prepared to work prohibition might take up the loss of revenue on themselves without throwing the burden on other districts.

If the unexpended and unutilised balance of receipts brought about by the unauthorised changes be not now taken advantage of as opportunely, as desirable as it is, present, it will likely be used for the reformer's income. The Excise revenue is growing at a terrific pace, and it will hold up more and more heavily on its volume every year that we allow to pass. In eight years the percentage of growth in Excise revenue in Madras is 70, while all provincial heads have increased by only 5%.

## REVIEW

**Commerce and Industries.**—This is a weekly periodical published at Madras which has given object the promotion of Indian commerce, industries and material progress. We have gone through a number of articles from some of its numbers on the development and scope of Indian industries, agriculture, trade and finance and we felt them all of much interest and a business value. The journal is not in its infancy this being the beginning of the second year of its work, but the publisher, Dr. S. Narayanaiah, F.R.S.E., F.A.A., has obviously been taking special pains to make the journal attractive and up-to-date. Following is the notice, "worth well read," we find in a note concerning an advertisement appearing, "but as it is before us in paragraph form, who ever it may be issued, we hope the public will soon be drawn to support the enterprise for they very largely stand the benefit of the same the general enterprise."

## THE AFRICAN COMMISSION

On April 15 Dr. Kinnear representing through the C. I. Association 85 percent of Indians in the Transvaal Province, complained the Transvaal Indians' case before the African Commission at Johannesburg. We have given Dr. Kinnear's evidence in our issue of May 10. We summarize below the evidence that was submitted to the Commission after April 15.

### THE DUTCH VIEW

The Commissioner at Johannesburg on April 20 Mr. G. Louw, a representative of D. I. Association, said evidence in which the Natives' party was accused of interfering in Indian rights. Local Dutch people had expressed the opinion that the grant of franchise would increase by 75 percent of the Indian votes was refused.

### BYWAYS OF TRANVAAL

The Commission heard evidence at Pietermaritzburg on April 21 and 22. Mr. Vermeulen who claimed to represent the wish of the Transvaal Church stated that the relation between the Indian leaders and the power which people was most prejudicial. Those whose people often said that they were not involved with the Indians because they would not engage. Witness also alluded to the danger of Bolshevism upon the collapse of the people. Finally he desired to emphasize that the essential character of the white people was threatened by the Indian masses.

At the sitting on April 23 several poor white witnesses from country districts gave evidence. They saw that the Indians were of benefit to the poor.

It appeared from the evidence of G. W. Gannaway, Immigration Officer, that he had suggested Indian dwellings and houses and had been working to establish them in the matter of the Indians. He believed responsible Indians would never bring conflict to business. There were no many classes of Indians who would be responsible to that work than in a house. Witness said that in 1918 the net weight of Indian wool in the Union was 24 and 1/2 tons while the departments were 1,455 tons and 174 tons.

### LEWIS AND CLARK

On April 23, Mr. Louw suggested in answer to Mr. Kinnear's and that he strongly advocated the Union Government helping the return of Indians to India by the grant of free passage and in other ways. He reported

the Indians as a numerous flock, sheep-like or otherwise in many respects. The witness explained that in South Africa was a small European population who had already a big problem in the natives who outnumbered them by ten to one. The witnesses of the Indians upon the matter for whom the Europeans were really the beneficiaries considered to be undesirable in most cases, and in many cases pernicious. In answer to Mr. Kinnear witness stated that there were still an ignorant uneducated Indians in India.

At the sitting on April 27 Mr. J. A. Pallaoponno, who holds the position of Protector of Indian Immigrants for eighteen years and is secretary to the European "Committee" were dropping facilities and let the Indians take their gold back. Thus they will go to hundreds. About 25 percent more would come with facilities. An amount between 2000 and 2500 return to India yearly.

At the sitting on April 28, Lieut-Col. G. Reddy, Director of Immigration Office, stated that the Transvaal property in Durban on March 21, 1918, was valued at £1,042,215 and that during the past few years up to the same date, property to the value of £2,521,080 had been transferred from European to Asiatic. In cross-examination witness said that the Asiatic was a considerable trade and he was unable to see the evolution of the Europeans and that of the Indians could not compare by side. Indians should be given free passage and money to Government to return to India. Colonial and subject Asiatic should be sent back. The Colonial-born Indians did not belong to South Africa. Both Indian born and Colonial born were equally represented by the European Netherlands and when the Colonial Indian had any grievances to see, to India walk. He did not think compulsory repatriation was feasible and he did not think Indian repatriation was possible owing to their vast numbers, but he would support the European. He believed what he would be asked Asiatic Indians in India, and the Indians have probably will be outside. He had always been probably been work there.

Some other witnesses also, that appeared before the Commission at Durban, dealt with the question of offering inducements for voluntary repatriation, with regard to which the Commission issued an interim report.

### INDIAN AND EUROPEAN WITNESSES

At the sitting on April 29, Mr. Louis Bernard, advocate Durban, said that the Indians had played a very important part in the making of Natal and the most important industry, as well as in the railway development in the east. The Indian had done much in the way of production.

Colonel Frank Addison, retired major general, said that the Indian was much more regular and reliable than the white. He had never been able to do more than fairly pay expenses and to attend to the Indian.

Mr. W. Hoell presented a statement on behalf of the Durban Committee of the South African National Indian Congress. The following proposals were submitted:—(1) Standard wages for all laborers, irrespective of race or color, and adequate improvement in conditions of life; (2) Legislation providing for a system of standard of wages to (a) by agreement and all other means of labor on an equitable basis; (3) Amendment of the Immigrant laws on the basis of the Transvaal Ordinance, No. 1 of 1918, and providing that license can be refused only on the specified grounds contained in that Ordinance, with the following amendments: (a) That certificate holder, who, in the last two years has any criminal charge other than that of committing a voting law or bribery

(2) That the words "by the agents of the Government" be deleted, and therefore why the application must be deemed desirable is to be stated by the authority defining the law. (3) That there be a right to appeal to the Government, and having obtained whether the application is for a lease or for a transfer or renewal or renewal. (4) That the law affecting land and houses be made applicable to the whole of India, which includes the Northern Districts of West Bengal.

#### MR. FINANCE SECRETARY.

The principal evidence given to the Commission on Saturday May 3, was that by a deputation of farmers appointed by the Rural Agricultural Union and a Conference held at Patna on Saturday on April. The Union represents the general body of rural farmers. The days before presented the following resolution embodying the views of the Rural Farmers and unanimously passed:

"This Conference records its unqualified opinion that the Agraric problem presents a serious menace to the Union of South Africa and recommends—

(a) While recognizing that the existing tenure of land by Indians should not be interfered with, no further acquisition of land by purchase, lease, or other means, by Indians, should be allowed.

(b) No one business shall under any circumstances be used to displace

(c) No transfer of any existing lease or tenancy agreement shall be permitted, but at the expiry of any term held by an Indian, in default of the holder, reasonable compensation for land and buildings should be paid.

(d) That the Government shall legislate on most desirable terms against the holding by any European or other person of a lease or tenancy of any Indian.

(e) All such leases shall be subject to legislation as to the manner in which they may be purchased, and compensation shall be paid in such cases.

(f) The urgency of this matter calls for immediate attention by legislation.

#### COMMISSIONER OF LANDS.

A deputation of Colonial born Indians consisting of Messrs. J. M. Prasad, A. Chatterjee, V. S. O. Patten, L. Parley and J. Hauser presented to the Commission a statement of their views. Mr. Chatterjee writing as spokesman. The statement emphasized the neglect of the Colonial born Indians to live in the country of their birth, for which many of them had fought in East Africa, and other theatres during the Great War.

#### MR. FINANCE SECRETARY'S EVIDENCE.

At the sitting of the Commission on Saturday May 3, Mr. A. J. S. Mervin, Principal Magistrate of Bangalore in the north-western province, had to deal with the Indian agriculturists for 10 years. Five of those years were spent as Magistrate where he had jurisdiction of some 400 square miles in extent, with an Indian population of between 75,000 and a white population of about 1,000. He had always found the Indians a law-abiding and hard-working community employed as various industries, but being the majority of the sugar and tea industries. They were also engaged as small business on farms ranging from five to thirty or more acres. One farmer, Bala Singh, who had died recently, leaving an estate worth £200,000, had held some of 3,000 acres, which was all in the name. The man came to India originally as an indentured Indian. When increased conditions when an Indian had a farm of 1,000 acres. He was returned to the store keeping

business as always willing to help nations or the poorer Europeans with supplies in times of famine, and allowing them large profits. It was true the Indians charged high prices, but "Europeans did the same, and did not allow such large profits. To repurchase these people, Mr. Mervin mentioned, would be a great expense, for they had once liked themselves acquired land and wanted rights, and to talk of repurchase was unwise. The solution he offered was to educate the Indians so that Europeans needed of land, or other words, to try to Europeanize them, and that to make of them more legal, law-abiding, and useful citizens. About 1,000 acres of land in his district were in the hands of Indians.

#### 'INDIAN OPINION' SECTION.

Mr. A. H. West, magazine master general, of Durban, said that he had been for sixteen years, and up to ten years ago, editor and printer of the newspaper called *Indian Opinion*. He put before the Commission a long list of suggestions and solutions of the present trouble. The principal ones were, that an association should be placed on the ownership and leasing of land by Indians, next that, in view of the high cost of living, the Government and municipal bodies should set an example to others by offering, on lease, all available land to Indians and others for the purpose of cultivation; that Indians and other farmers should be assisted by the Agricultural Department to improve the output of the soil by better methods of cultivation, that further advances should be offered to indentured Indians voluntarily to return to India, by giving a grant of £70 per head, that the policy of free compulsory education (now enjoyed by Europeans) should be extended to Indians, so that Indians should be encouraged to learn skilled trades and work opportunely on the same terms as Europeans, so that they may demand, and perhaps be obliged to pay, the same wages as Europeans.

#### THE SITUATION OF THE VILLAGES OF DURBAN.

##### EXPOSURE OF FUTURE PROSPECTS.

At the States meeting sitting on May 4, Lord Col. Murray, representing the National Agricultural Society, stated that the Agraric was not a desirable system. He mentioned that segregation to be quite feasible, as there was plenty of land. The rates at which Indians were returning was only as good as the Europeans's rates. Indians were assessed at the rate of 10 per 1,000 per annum, the whites at the rate of 20 per 1,000 and the Europeans at the rate of 14. He suggested that the Indians be put into separate areas giving them return to India. There was his more room for Indians in India than there was in Natal, and he suggested that a sum be given £100 to return to India and £5 with it. He stated that there was widespread movement in India to have Europeans repatriated. He did not know anyone, but there should be a similar movement in South Africa to get the Indians away. America, Canada and New Zealand would not have Indians. These why should Natal?

Mr. Mervin speaking of the Natal legislature collecting Agraric said that the Natal Parliament passed two bills on 1932 affecting African Indians, and subsequently and the other by agreement of two to one. Both were removed and disallowed by the Crown, owing, presumably, to the desecration of the Indian Government.

The Commission after its sitting on Durban stated the report. The publication of its report and recommendations, according to the *Times of India* newspaper, expected at a very early date.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17618

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 26

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY, 1920

Price One Anna  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS

	Page
<b>Editor</b>	
Striking on the Homestead .. .. .	1
Female Education .. .. .	1
The Wheat Storage .. .. .	2
*****	
<b>Reviews</b>	
The Non-co-operation Committee .. .. .	2
The Duty of the Functionary .. .. .	2
Some Points of the University of Calcutta .. .. .	4
*****	
People's Letter .. .. .	5
Review .. .. .	1
Editorial on E. Ashby .. .. .	1
Editorial on Ganga .. .. .	2

## Notes.

**Striking on the Homestead**—Seymour and other persons endeavor to dominate the official policy as regards the Khilafat movement in South Africa, and several articles have been laid upon by the respective officials to punish Khilafat workers just as the respective British Law administrators in the People's and League methods to punish the labor and peasant Peasants and Sikhs. The new method of the South Government may appropriately be called, 'Striking on the Homestead.'

Mr. Jee Mahomed Jeejeebhoy, Sec.-at-Large and a Big Contributor was rebuked by the Executive Committee, Union Council that under orders from the Collector of Ladangas all his letters (written-instances) from the Government should be being closed. There was no default in payment of the amount, as far. The order directed that 100 were deposited on Mr. Jeejeebhoy's head to starvation.

The Government on Good Mr. J. P. Dabhi has issued the following notification—

"The persons granted to Mr. Lakshmi Beha Kalia, retired Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector, is by the order of the Government suspended for grave misconduct, namely, for having presided at a meeting at which seditious speeches were made."

The sole authority on which the said speeches have been pronounced as seditious and Mr. Lakshmi Beha's person has been suspended, is said to be the anti-statement C. I. D. No action in addition, however, seems to have been taken against the speakers. The moral is obvious.

Madan Mohan Malhotra Bahad, a retired Talukdar, Chairman Jalandhar Municipality and President, local Khilafat Committee is another prominent member for representation. His person has been suspended by the Government and Mr. Sanyal, the Dy. Commissioner, who has already stated adversely by his usual's usual pronouncements of respectable persons, and has been mentioned in these pages, has called upon him to explain his conduct. We hear that in Hyderabad (India), Madras, Mysore and other places police and revenue authorities are doing utmost to harass and persecute Khilafat workers.

The above cases along with the preceding ones that we noticed in a recent issue indicate that the Government have chosen to be obstinate in the violent methods of the Old Government. We trust our Good brethren will have all resources which if properly legal would come against our oppressors and suppress our nation.

**Female Education**—The Government of India, Committee in connection with female education state that there were 1,25,000 girls in schools in 1917-18, "that is to say", writes Mr. Damesick Bahadur in the May number of Indian Review, 'speaking locally, are glad to see who should be at school was to be forced there.' Our own statistics on the broadest basis, is that only 1 in 15 attend school. Female education is thus very defective in quantity. It is also defective in quality. Religious teaching and adoption of the vernacular medium are the most necessary reforms in the existing educational system in general, and in a programme of female education the special need of these reforms are hardly to be exaggerated. Speaking on the subject of an issue of Indian Review Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah has stated that a striking contrast clearly through the mother tongue would lighten the load of education for girls whose deeper culture is of higher importance in India. On this point Dr. Sanyal's expression has expressed an agreement with Mr. Mahomed Ali. Referring to girls education in his speech the Hon. Mr. J. P. Dabhi, Sec.-at-Large, President of the Mahomedan Educational Conference, observed "Let every Muhammadan girl get her education through the medium of Urdu both vernacular and literary, and she will make her better in much lighter than she will make half the time that she is in reading the same level of intellectual attainment. With the vast majority of

Mahomedans this will make female education more more popular, and that popularity will be greatly increased if we insisted as we insist, on religious teaching as an essential part of that education. Every body recognizes the greater share of women than of male slaying a family And in light of that it may be appropriate the importance of inspiring religious confidence in girls.

If Government is unable or unwilling to incorporate these reforms in female education, it is the duty of the Indian social leaders to undertake this task. "If you will not give women your education, when time yourselves will give India," says Mr John Woodroffe. And it was to give our education that Mr. Karve started the Indian Women's University. We know that he was anxious to extend the work of his university to other provinces. He has been in need of efficient teachers and money to carry out his plans. We are glad that Sir Vilasdas Thakrar has come to his help in time. Sir Vilasdas' generous donation of fifteen lakhs has certainly removed one of the difficulties of Mr. Karve. We hope efficient and marching men and women will come forward and help the founder of the university in organizing several branches that are suggested by the dress and others that have been suggested by Mr. Karve.

**The wheat shortage**—The wheat problem has assumed a serious form in Europe. Shortage of wheat in India never has ever resulted in such a high wheat growing countries are producing less than usual. Almost the whole of Europe, therefore, is anxiously looking for imports from outside. It is this anxiety of Europe that enables us here in India to secure a sufficient store of wheat for ourselves. The wheat crop this year is roughly estimated at ten million tons besides a surplus of about half a million tons of old crop wheat. The Agricultural Department only furnished us with an annual statement of the annual area of cultivation of all food grains, their respective yield in pure grain work. India crop of wheat this year is reported to have increased by 1,200,000 qrs. If, at the same amount of sowing, it seems to us, the work is not sufficient for ourselves here Government however, even if it is the public to see that wheat is not exported at the cost of Indians themselves. Falling of prices is the only standard by which people can judge the work of the Government in this respect. And a fall in prices is more convincing than figure. We know that the price-levelling means is the responsible for high prices. The price levelling agencies can appreciate the cost of high prices only when they find the means of exports to foreign countries at low cost. Thus the demand for wheat from all parts of India is satisfied, and there is a considerable fall in prices, and still we are covered of the next winter crop, the Government should maintain an amount of exporting wheat of utilizing the present prohibition of exporting it. Already rumors are abroad that the Government are prohibiting wheat and are thinking of relaxing the prohibition. Government should not give any grounds for suspicion. We hope the problem will be cleared without delay.

## Young India

Amaldeep, Wednesday, 27th June, 1928.

### THE NON-CO-OPERATION COMMITTEE.

(By K. K. Goshal.)

There seems to be a great deal of misunderstanding and misconception about the non-co-operation committee appointed by the Khilafat Committee at Allahabad on the 7th instant. A friend who was present at the meeting wishes to say that the committee was formed for the purpose of giving full effect to non-co-operation and to act in all matters in connection with it as if it was representative of the whole Mohammedan population of India even to the extent of making representatives in the legislatures. That this was not the committee's scope is the purpose of this writing to show.

As I stated in the chapter when I visited the members of the committee, they were to ascertain and enforce the work of the Indian non-co-operation. Within it is a representative body with full powers to act, it cannot be said—it is not intended—to represent all the best and the most influential Mohammedan opinion. It does not for instance represent the tribal society in India. It is so fixed in the constitution. It has been purposely restricted to those who are able to give their time and attention to the work of organizing non-co-operation and in the process of meeting objections to instructions, other demands and resolutions. It is therefore a committee of workers. It is not expected that the whole of the Mohammedan India will be equally strong in non-co-operation. Some doubt this thing, others consider it to be a milk and water society, some dread it as being too strong for India in her present stage, they say she has not developed the means of making it proceed to greater success. The committee does not prevent or sustain such doubting elements though they may otherwise be much more influential than many Mohammedans who are on the committee. It contains those only who have the largest faith in non-co-operation and who although they agree by it, yet will not form the pan to the breaking wheel but will endeavor to carry the wheel with its progress as far as it is practicable, and who whilst doing so will not themselves be dragged down by the hidden slings and will seek out those who are prepared to do likewise. The committee therefore, starting without any, has to build its reputation upon its work, and upon results it may achieve. It will not be afraid if it shows no work in its sphere of work, shows no results. For instance it has the least representative capacity. Besides, it was unable even to get a single Hindu working to write with aplomb, Hazrat Mirza a teacher was who thinks of writing but Goshal, Dr. Kailash a man of probity with no experience of the world outside India. Such the same may be said against the others, I am so doubt a reporter

person but after all a small end to anticipate at that. Any representation signed by it will carry little weight with the outside world so far as it depends upon the influence of the agitators. It does not therefore mean that it will never be representative. It certainly will, when sufficient use of the means in which others by means of co-operation or otherwise are not prepared to sign representations. Indeed, co-operation of agitators, to weighty representations will be one of the means of gaining public opinion and backing the spirit of defiance among the elite of the land. For the common and the eternal work, however, the committee is the most representative. It is a definite purpose to find two moderate representatives of Hindustani opinion from Sherkat-ul-Mutahid, Meerut, and the others though less known have been chosen for the qualities of strength, persistence, presence, calmness, frankness, courage under difficulty and sagacity believed to be possessed by them.

It has been suggested that I am to head the movement. This statement is only partially true. I say that not out of humility merely but as an historical fact. The label given proved that I was leading the movement it may prove fatal to it. I was leading the movement as the man whom I saw the nation whose ideas are most acceptable to-day and who has the determination not surpassed by anybody to carry out the programme of non-co-operation. But I do not proceed to represent Hindustani opinion. I merely try to interpret it. I could not stand alone and expect to carry the Hindustani names with me. I should be very properly backed out by a mixed Hindustani audience. If I tried to make a point against the best Hindustani opinion in matters of religion that if I was a Hindustani, I would not stand conflicting names to face a Hindustani meeting in the face of heavy odds against me. I would expect to be a vigorous writer and my signed names no more and no less than a fair perception of my limitations. I hope I never have betrayed my limits. Certainly I have never done so consciously. It is necessary for every intelligent Hindustani to look to meet my limitations and the scope of my freedom. Ignorance is likely to prove fatal to the success of the movement. My connection with it must not deeply wound into indifference or indifference. My attention should never, if it is to be productive of good results, greater weightiness, greater sense of responsibility, greater capacity and willingness for work and greater efficiency. I am that not plain but sometimes not over-rat with Hindustani workers. The movement must be worked and led by them with the assistance of friends like me but also without if need be. I need not be expected to make non-co-operators, Hindustani leaders here or make them. The success of the movement will depend upon the Hindustani and the spirit of non-co-operation is a virtue in a matter of religion. The Hindustani leaders will have to show it to their own people before the masses will follow.

And now the question, why there are no Hindu

leaders on the committee, is really answered. The supreme committee can only be purely Hindustani. My presence too, I consider as an evil but a necessary evil because of my qualifications. I have spoken on non-co-operation. I have successfully experimented with it. My conviction about non-co-operation was conceived by me at the conference at Delhi. I am on the committee therefore as a specialist and not because I am a Hindu. My function is therefore of an adviser merely. That I happen to be a staunch Hindu with the convictions that every Hindu should consider it to be his duty, with the Hindustanis the full length in non-co-operation, is no doubt an advantage to the committee. But that advantage was at its disposal whether I was or was not.

While I am considering the Hindu connection with the Khilafat movement, one of the main points of experience, I would like to clear up my own position. As I consider the Hindu claim to be an essentially (as distinguished from religiously) just, I propose to go with them in the extent of Indian non-co-operation. And I consider it to be perfectly consistent with my loyalty to the British Government. But I would not go with the Hindustanis in any measure of violence. I could not help them in presenting, for instance, an instance of India through Afghanistan or elsewhere for the purpose of forcing India upon terms. No, I said, the duty of every Hindu is to stand up instead as India even for the purpose operated on it as his duty to help the Hindustani brethren to stand their feet firmly by means of non-co-operation or other form of violence, as neither how great, so long as it does not involve loss of India's liberty or suffering of violence on any person. And I have thrown myself whole-heartedly into the non-co-operation movement if only because I want to prevent any such armed conflict.

### THE DUTY OF THE PUNJABI

(By H. K. Gaudh)

The Allahabad Leader desires to be congratulated for publishing the correspondence on Mr. Roworth Smith who was one of the British Law officers against whom the complaints about protest and non-co-operation were being the highest. It appears from the correspondence that Mr. Roworth Smith has received possession material of General Gough's before British Law. Mr. Smith appears to have been degraded. "He has since been restored," says the Leader correspondent. "In his position of a Deputy Commissioner of the second grade from which he was degraded and also been awarded with powers under act 20 of the Criminal Procedure Code since his arrival, the poor Indian population of the town of Allahabad Government has been being under a regime of terror and tyranny." The correspondent also: "I am sure these words deliberately or unconsciously convey that they mean. I will a few paragraphs from the interesting letter to illustrate the meaning of terror and tyr-

may " improve complaints to even take the statement of the complainant. It is taken down by the reader when the committee had got signed by the majority the following day. Whether the Report reserved upon such complaints is favorable to the complainant or unfavorable to him it is never read by the magistrates, and complaints are dismissed without proper trial. This is the fate of private complaints. Now as regards public offences. Pleaders for the accused are not allowed to introduce undervalued persons to judge custody. They are not allowed to examine prospective witnesses. X X X Prospective witnesses were examined with leading questions. X X X Thus a whole prosecution story is put into the mouth of public witnesses. Witnesses for the defence though called in are not allowed to be examined by the defence counsel. X X X The accused is allowed if he picks up courage to say anything in defence. X X X Day Charles went around the world down the name of any witness of the Commission on a sheet of paper and ask him to appear the next day in court. This is a statement. X X X If any man has not appear in court, who is then ordered, several warrants of arrest are issued against him. "There is much more of the style in the letter which is worth perusing, but I have given enough to illustrate the writer's meaning; but we turn for a while to the official's record during Marshal Linn. He is the official who tried people in Berlin and sentenced them after a formal trial. Witnesses have deposed to his having assembled people, having asked them to give false evidence, having awarded witness's vote, called them 'free babies, die-eyes' and having spat upon them. He it was who subjected the innocent prisoners of Shikha upon to odious trials. Mr. Andrews, presumably un-empowered complainant against the official and more to the opinion that an official had behaved worse than Mr. South. He gathered the people of Southampton, conducted them in a variety of ways, called them 'swarthy', 'junk babies. His evidence before the House Commission brought his total charge for truth and this is the affair in it. If the present incident in question has given correct facts, has been promoted. The question however is why, he is at all an Government-servant and why he has not been tried for a meeting and abusing innocent men and women.

I notice a desire for the impeachment of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. I will not stop to examine whether the course is feasible. I will copy to Lord St. Sudeley asking the way for the prosecution of General Dyer. If the English people will sufficiently do so, I would welcome such prosecutions as signs of their strong disapproval of the Jallianwalla Bag since it, but I would certainly not spend a single halfpenny in any pursuit after the conviction of them nor surely the public has received sufficient expression of the English mind. Practically the whole English Press has joined the conspiracy

to screen these offences against humanity, I would not be party to make havoc of them by giving the way for prosecution private or public. If I can only persuade India to stand upon their complete demand, I should be satisfied. But more than the dismissal of the Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer is necessary the necessary demand, if not a trial, of Colonel Officer, the Rowboth South, the Hamilton, and others mentioned in the Congress Sub-committee's Report. But as General Dyer is I consider Mr. South is to be indubitably worse and his course to be far more serious than the mistakes of Jallianwalla Bag, General Dyer scarcely believed that it was a military act to sentence people by shooting them. But Mr. South was evidently cruel, vulgar and dishonest. If all the acts that have been deposed to against him are true, there is not a spark of humanity about him. What General Dyer is lacks the courage to confess what he has done and he wrangles when challenged. Therefore anyone has to submit himself upon people who have done no wrong to him, and who is permitted to deprive the role he represents for the time being.

What is the Punjab doing? Is it not the clear duty of the Executive to take until they have accepted the dismissal of Mr. South and the trial. The Punjab leaders have been discharged in case if they will not make the liberty they have received, so order to purge the administration of Messrs. Rowboth South and the company. I assume that if they will only begin a determined agitation they will have the whole India by their side. I venture to suggest to them that the best way to quickly for making General Dyer to the gallows is to perform the same and the more urgent duty of screening the wicked still continued by the officials against whom they were excited in collecting overwhelming evidence.

#### SOME PROOFS OF THE UNIVERSALITY OF SATYAGRAHA.

It may be long before the law of love will be recognized an international affair. The modifications of government tend however and into the hearts of two people like a stream of water. Yet if only we watched the latest international developments in Europe and Eastern Asia with an eye to events, we could see how the world is moving steadily to realize that between cities and nations, as between men and men, love has failed to solve problems, but that the consistent practice of non-cooperation is far more cogently conclusive than arms and action. The violence of war has not only drawn fresh leaders on the nations that emerged out of the struggle as apparent victors. The food and the industries of the defeated nations are a source of misery as much to the victors as to themselves. All the cogency of the governments of the Allied nations is directed to law, without descent to the glory of the victors, they too make the vanquished people manfully submit, support, and willing to work to keep the world going.

Reading between the lines of the latest telegram about the American Republican party's international programme, one can see that the Far West is beginning to realize that the ultimate success of a league of nations should be, not the various aims of the right of arms upon, but the right of international "solidarity," i. e. non-co-operation of the nations. Even then it would be an easy step to the complete recognition of the law of love. Take a new engine is invented and put on wheels, the opinions of the older engines will limit the reactions to theoretical, experimental, mistakes, and so on. We may be certain that the steam-engines who helped us by the law-of-love, will be sure that even better would be supported by the steam engine. The electrical engine was, no doubt, called a "foetus" and a real man in steam engine motor, all work was naturally done over the wires. It may take long to lay the wires of the international law, but the reaction of international non-co-operation in preference to national physical compulsion, as appears to have been announced by the Republican party of America, is a definite progress towards the ultimate and real solution.

The concluding news in the connection is a season of unanticipated action in regard to the Irish question. The "Observer" gives correctly the belief that the British Ministry is considering an alternative of modified law in Ireland, a policy of non-co-operation. The disaffected interior of Ireland is to be entirely ignored and it seems to its extent. There would be no police, no troops, no roads, no education, no distribution of revenue, no railways. There would be complete administrative neglect. The beauty of Satyagraha, of which non-co-operation is but a chapter, is that it is available to either side in a fight, that it has shown that voluntarily work for the realization of truth and justice for both sides, whichever it may be, that has truth and justice is pre-emptive measure. It is as powerful and faithful a weapon as the hand of the capitalist man that of the laborer. It is as powerful as the hand of the government, as is that of the people, and will bring victory to the government, if people are misguided or unjust, as it will win the battle for the people if the government be in the wrong. Quick demagogy and debate are bound to be the fate of bilateral systems and artificial agreements, if the battle is fought with Satyagraha weapons. Suppose the people are able to rub themselves, or are unwilling to sacrifice for a season, then, no matter of course will bring them victory in non-co-operation. If the government be a good government, just, on the whole, and necessary for the people, and the government be able to travel as is based on non-co-operation as a set of such movements as to strengthen the wishes of the government in other vital respects, then non-co-operation has only to be adopted on either side, and, without recourse to its effect the question will automatically be settled with necessary precision and justice. It may not be generally known but it has long been maintained

by the Gueha that the Satyagraha weapon of a non-co-operation is available to government against the people, as to the people against the government. The same said to be contemplated in regard to its Irish disorder would, if true, be a beautiful illustration of the universality of the principles of Satyagraha.

## FUSLIE LETTER

(From our own correspondent.)

### The Bhaladurgah Case.

The minority reported an old speaking of the majority report of the Hunter Committee, which is whitewash pure and simple from beginning to end—has naturally put on record its opinion about the unsatisfactory character of trial and justice meted by the Martial Law and other Tribunals. In his statement before the Congress, Sub-Committee, Mr. W. S. Dutt carried his opinion of Martial Law Tribunals, before which he had to appear as Counsel both in the so-called Labors as well as Gopabandhu conspiracy cases. "My experience of Martial Law," he said, "has been a contribution to me inasmuch as I found that judges, who in the High Court atmosphere would respect judicial forms and give a scrupulously fair hearing to the accused and their counsel, treated aside in the Martial Law atmosphere all sense of propriety and declared themselves positively unfit as judges dealing with matters of life and death." A recent case, which came on appeal before the Hon. the Justice Hartmann in the High Court, gave especial pain to the complaint made against the Martial Law and other special tribunals and Magistrates. The case to which I am referring is known as the Bhaladurgah case, and is one of the many cases in which the witnesses tried to frame all the blame for the Government upon the agitation against the British Act and upon the reaction of Indians, God and prayer, held all over the country on the 24th April, 1917 on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi. The myth was, however, completely demolished in the trial before the High Court, and the judgment of the Hon. Mr. Justice Hartmann—who a District Judge of Kowalpur had occasion to visit the British justice in case against the Fuslie law-pun in 1900—threw a flood of light on the methods of investigation and trial in these Martial Law and semi-Martial Law cases.

The facts of the case are fairly clear.—On the 16th April, 1918, it appears that an attempt was made to remove rails on the Parsala bridge, which is about a mile from the Bhaladurgah station on the Bhalanda-Bela line. About 120 yards from the bridge is the village of Parsala and near the railway station are the new and the old Masala of Bhaladurgah. Some two weeks after the incident, the police investigations began under the guidance of Mr. Rowley Deputy Inspector of Police, and after the usual round of resolutions and pardons to appease, if persons were detained under section

bill of the Railway Act for the offence of looting rail and sleepers on the Farnala bridge or for cutting or shearing it, or for being members of an unlawful assembly whose members of which, in possession of the same sleepers, looted rails and sleepers on the Farnala bridge with intent aforesaid. And who are the persons thus charged? Well, many of them were persons, who attended the meeting held in early April, 1937 in Helsinki for protesting against the Rosinbill Act and observed the funeral and the fest. The Chairman of the new Bank, the Vice-President and the Secretary of the Municipal Committee of Helsinki, the Secretary of the Municipal Association, some school-boys, Eino Mäkelä, Asst. District Justice, tax-collector, as well as tradesmen, a housewife (these last two being the only women named) were all charged. The case was tried by Mr S. S. Harjo, a retired District Judge, who was one of the members of the Martial Law Commission as well as of the Special Tribunal, and with the exception of a school-boy and two Asst. District Justices, all the remaining were arrested and sentenced in varying terms of imprisonment. The case for the defence, which was delivered by Mr. Harjo, was that the crime was committed by the people of the Farnala village, one or two men employed on the railway being also in the company, and that Eino Mäkelä, Secretary of Helsinki and Vice-President, Vice-President of the Helsinki Municipal Committee had been giving their previous protest.

In order to say the defence version was fully accepted by the Hon'ble Mr Justice Makinen and with the exception of the tradesmen and the housewife, who confessed their crime, all the rest were acquitted. About Hans Hakonen, the learned Judge found that "he is an applicant for an appointment as honorary magistrate on the Helsinki bench and that he was told by the Deputy Commissioner of Helsinki about two months before the Commission of the offence that his application would be considered if he did any special service." Well, he rendered most valuable and special services indeed, and it will be interesting to see if he still gets the much-desired honorary magistracy, in spite of Mr Justice Makinen's capture. As regards the general character of the evidence and the method of investigation and trial, the following extract from the judgment of the learned Judge, which is all the more interesting because of its judicial restraint, may be left to tell for our own sake.

The above version of the evidence for the prosecution [the reverse version is less than 24 lines of the page more] shows that evidence is highly conflicting and that the bulk of it is very contradictory. Most of the witnesses are of low position and their accounts, who are not free from the suspicion of having been threatened in the offence themselves and may have explained their conduct to save themselves. A very weak point in the case is the fact that the witnesses kept silent from a long time about evidence to which they may have deposed saying when questioned that they have nothing

to say the other way and that it was only when Mr. Harjo took up the investigation, two months after the occurrence, that they made their statements. The explanation given by most of them that they were afraid of being punished by the leaders of the March, or in case of Jats of Farnala that they were afraid that the houses might give for their sleepers, cannot possibly be believed. The circumstances under which the witnesses made their statements after Mr. Harjo had taken up the investigation require some notice. I have already referred to the evidence of Eino Mäkelä (P. W. 10) that the sleep offence noticed by him in Court was the one, which the District Judge took up in the statement of Oskari (P. W. 11) that he made his statement after being told a great many times to tell the truth. With regard to the statements recorded by Magistrate after getting 184 Or P. 11, not only were police officers present when the statements were recorded, but they were allowed by one of the Magistrates at least, viz. Asst. Eino Mäkelä P. W. 12, to put questions to the witnesses. This Magistrate says that as Inspector of Police was present and used to question the witnesses as to what happened in various places and also questions of Eino Mäkelä as to who were present at the bridge, and he also says that the witnesses used in any remaining voluntarily and stop, and that their, when questioned by the Sub-Inspector they used to maintain their statements. It is impossible to give any credence to statements made to the police themselves, especially when it is known in Court that for two full months, the witnesses had withheld all information and had told any one, who questioned them that they have nothing. It may be noted that none one of the witnesses have retained their previous statements, wholly or in part when giving their evidence at the trial. My conclusion after a careful consideration of the whole case is that the case does not appear the slightest other than Eino and Hans had to give verifiably.

The above is a fair sample of the methods of investigation and of recording of confessions by Magistrate in the Martial Law and non-Martial Law cases. Even more serious irregularities were committed in the pure Martial Law cases, but unfortunately the evidence in those cases could not be looked in the ordinary atmosphere of the High Court, and yet the case before the trying Magistrate was not decided in a hurry. It occupied more than a month and the accused had the advantage of being defended by an able Advocate, Mr. Rajakallio, Member of the Riksdag High Court Bar. And if such things as the recording of confessions by the police had not a magisterial court could be done in the given case after the cessation of Martial Law, when had not been, was useless, there is the day, when Mr. Martial Law was in full swing.

#### FINLAND'S NEW CRIMINAL CODE IN OPERATION.

The Tribune recently published the particulars of what is known as the Kola outbreak of 1932. The facts were that in 1932 some Finnish followers of Otto Kallberg's committed some heinous murders, while others made a deal on Kolar Kola town, simply because it was the capital of a Hebridean tributary state, whose daughter of King was presumably persuaded without statement, Mr. Cowan, then Deputy Commissioner of Lapland

followed the gang up and interrogated them and had them move up from the gun. Mr. Fenwick, the Commissioner, gave an or just faint approval to this action and had the remaining Khatas arrested after a search of hotel. The matter created considerable notice in those days and elicited a resolution from the Government of India, in which the words referred by Mr. Fenwick was strongly maintained not only "no illegal and unnecessary," but "detrimental by creating a feeling of a compromise of barbarity." Both Home Office and Fenwick were awarded a small loss by the Indian Civil Service in his "Khatas and House Numbers." The Home Office said that he "could recall nothing during his service in India more involving and shocking than these operations of Khatas and that there were many who thought as I do and still think, that the final orders of the Government of India were lamentably unwise."

It is interesting to recall that his English-Governor Dyer, Mr. Fenwick also pleaded moral effect as an extension, if not a justification of his course of action. "He says the execution of the men, already tied to the guns," he said, "would have the worst effect on the people around us." I do not know what Mr. Henry Cotton, if he had been living, would have said on the system taken by Government on the infinitely more "shocking and revolting" action of General Dyer at Jallawalla Bagh. What I propose to call attention to is that although the incident is now fifty years old, and although according to official account, General Fenwick had absolutely no connection with the outbreak of 1857 and had no a matter of fact forwarded the authorities of the fact, at some of his followers getting out of control, the Khatas in the Madras hills, as they prefer to call themselves here all along, have not passed under a gun and execution. The execution and the followers of Gora Nanang, would it be believed, are still belonging even after the lapse of fifty years under several various conditions and are denied the right of free movement and the right of settlement. There was neither an record of the Khatas being concerned in any organized action during the last 45 years, still the restrictions of the O. S. D., the surveillance of the police and other restrictions are upon them. Can they be not removed even after the Proclamation of Goodwill last of the Rajah the King-Emperor?

### REVIEW

**Patented Egypte**—Dr. Henry's Book on Patented Egypte published by Messrs. Hutchinson and Co., Columbia, which opened some of the practical work in the district of India which is of great value. So far, most of the works on the subject of sanitary matters are full of theories and theories based on English and European notions, social and religious life. The publishers in a certain sense rightly say that "there is no general sanitary doctrine which covers the various of early marriage, the post-natal system, the sleep-feeding, choice of diet, amenability and reproductive proclivities, the cost

liness of the Indian mind, habits of individual, the dress, the clothing, the water, the eating of food, the locomotion, the lower-middle, the tropical heat, the average size of the population, and naturally help the attainment of the object of the medicine, which usually help itself in its way.

Dr. Henry is an advocate of simple life. On the subject of food and drink Dr. Henry makes some useful observations. He prefers not and fresh dairy, the best tea, coffee, cocoa, and each other stuff which is of course studied. He believes with Dr. Keating that smoking is a rule of barbarism. Chewing of tobacco and the use of snuff, he equally detests. Tobacco "brute the brain, ruins the digestion, oppresses the brain, depresses the heart, weakens the nerves, wastes the muscles, clogs the liver, fills the lungs, stains the skin and deteriorated constitutions every organ and tissue with which it comes in contact in the body. Its influence is to lower vitality, to overstimulate the nervous system, to shorten life, to kill.

The diseases of Indian mind are followed by excessive and unremitting pleasure in sleep, masturbation, licentiousness, extravagance, dissipation, drinking, smoking and use of the skin. These follow progress on Ganes, Kuf and Khatas. On age and longevity, Life, Health and Diseases will finally be treated. On the whole Dr. Henry's is an original and instructive book and though it has been priced very high—perhaps three or four times above its price.

### INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

The memorandum also, stating the change of Indian in East Africa proceeds to justify the same—

The East Africa Company has placed its views on the various matters of complaint and steadily open account in a series of memoranda and communications which have passed successively at the various stages of the London Africa Indian Eastern Congress, in which reference is hereby made, in the various papers that, in so far as they fall within the competence of the Company's Government, full regard will be given. And here it may be added that the local Indian community is much pleased at the progress of our meeting from the objection by the Colonial Office of a new policy of survey and exchange, without consultation with the East African Indian or reference to the Indian Office, and which is believed to have been adopted mainly on the interests of a small section of the European settlers. This idea now is held by independent observers is evident from the opinion of the English President of African Chamber of Commerce, among others, and from the following message to "The Times" from the Madras correspondence—

"The Times" March 14, 1888.

"Madras, March 1—(Special).

"General legislation regarding the sale of land in the district of India is under consideration by the Colonial Office, by which the value of the revenue is fixed at 2 s. 6d. per acre, 1 s. 6d. for from July 1, and 5 s. for from December 1, while in India the rate remains at above 2 s. 6d., has resulted in a serious diminution of the trade of the Protectorate of Zululand and Natal, upon (formerly Zululand) East Africa. In the last year a considerable quantity of the trade and revenue of the Protectorate proportionally dependent

upon India, accordingly, the process is aggravated by the already serious shortage of silver, and thereby highlights its value in driving the harvesting of the Uganda Shikha crop, producing about 130 lakhs (Rs. 1,100,000) at the exchange of Rs. 14), to purchase the 20-250 lakhs of silver production. The impression, both in India and the metropolitan of the recent years, was that the immediate was great to extend silver currency in the direct extension of established commercial and industrial systems, and extending industrial emancipation upon silver production. The local confidence deriving from these factors worked the assumption that there will be a breakdown of the money's trade, and that a financial event is imminent."

#### CONCLUSION

India is to-day entering upon a new path, as a free State, on the road to Dominionhood within the British Empire. The emancipation of her people are no longer to appear, as they have, in the making of the wishes of her citizens, been only the alien in the past. In South Africa, the existence of an independent Dominion Government has been laid by the Imperial Government to create them for an intervention on behalf of the subject and all non-Indian population. The same considerations do not apply to East Africa, where the Imperial Government are solely responsible for policy and administration, a responsibility which they cannot share and have no right to delegate. As to the Tanganyika Territory, which will be governed under a mandate from the League of Nations, the British Government will be responsible to the international community of the world. But India, too, as an original member of the League of Nations, and is entitled to demand not only that all people shall be treated equally in the mandated area, but that in the neighbour of British Territory equal treatment should be adopted, but will exercise the opposite policy until advanced upon the pathless the other side of a vague and undefined boundary. In the eyes of the Indian public the anxiety of Great Britain's attitude towards India on Imperial questions will be tested to a great extent, by the policy adopted in East Africa.

Indian look upon the British East African Territories, Uganda, Amsonia, and Tanganyika as territories which rose by exercise settled and developed by Indians residing under the jurisdiction of British sovereignty, and who brought with them large amounts of capital when investments in the money markets for vigorous prosperity. Throughout that time was there was an European settlement, whatever the modulus growth of the last twenty years. If the Indian population were to leave East Africa tomorrow the entire territory would immediately fall into ruin and decay, and in Indian population would collapse into bankruptcy. It is believed in India that, when considered of all the facts, the British people and the British Government will not allow judgment to go up slowly, but will respond generously to India's claim to the equal treatment of her citizens in East Africa, and the removal of the present prevalent anti-Indian policy.

(Continued)

#### DRESSING IN GRIEVE.

The Secretary People's Income Relief Committee, wrote on under date 19th May the following list of contributions which we gladly publish. We may hardly remind the public that Mr. Thakur's first estimate of one lac rupees has on a subsequent examination been found to fall much short of the necessary requirements. We anxiously hope liberally voluted persons and institutions will send us their quota in due time without any delay. The collection made by the Imperial bank, *Shreebhaini* bank as a long have pledged in "Wardian" capital 10 lakhs amount to Rs. 20000-10-0 out of which Rs. 20000 have been sent to the Relief Committee in Feb.

Received from the President Indian Empire	Committee, Pan., up to 28th May, 1930., Rs.	2000-0-0
N. S. Wadhvani, Esq., Bank of Bengal	..	50
Trusty Malabar Gandhi	..	5000
Prabodhadas Kadamdas Esq., Bombay	..	101-7-4
Kandaswaras Esq., Bombay	..	101
Karnadas Vargadas, Esq., ..	..	100
Kotambdas Ghik, Esq., Calcutta	..	100
Thakur Bapudas Singh, Bikaner	..	100
Das Sharma, Karnas, Bikaner, Hyderabad	..	100
C. M. B., Bombay	..	100
Seth Chandrahar Mangaladhar Daswani	..	1000
" Daswani K. Jiwandas	..	101
" Khanna Mohaji	..	101
" Khandwala Lakshmidas	..	50
" Upretwadhar Ramdas	..	101
Shri Ramdas Jivan	..	101
S. D. Narayana, Esq.	..	50
Shriji Kanti Esq.	..	100
Shriji Parasuram Esq.	..	100
Shriji Dhanadas Esq.	..	100
Shriji Haridas Esq., Bombay	..	1000
Pragnan Chhajer Esq., Madras	..	100
Narasimdas Ashraf, Esq., Kanpur	..	50
S. Venkataswamy Reddy, Calcutta	..	101
C. Narayana Chakravarti, Esq., High Court		
Yash Ghose	..	100
Shri N. N. Lakshmidhar, Wazir	..	50
Khandi K. Mani, Esq., Bombay	..	100
S. B. Vasdevram Esq., Ghose	..	100
S. Lakshmi Narayan, Vargadas, Madras	..	100-10-0
Shri Krishna Chandra Das, Esq., Calcutta	..	50
Shri A. Mani, Kanak-Laxi, Madras	..	100
Chandaji Ch.	..	50
Trikamp, Esq., Bombay	..	50
Alloobhadra Das Swami, ..	..	1000
Small Collection	..	4007-10-0

Total, Rs. 11111-3-0  
Expenditure .. 12027-01-0

Balances Rs. 1700-10-0

Unsettled Accounts on the bank Rs. 8073-0-0  
Cash in the Bank .. 2410-0-0  
Cash in hand .. 615-10-0

Total Rs. 1700-10-0

Yours Sincerely,

[Sd] Jagdishdas Das,  
Treasurer.

People's Income Relief Committee Pan



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17618

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 2

AMERASAR, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22, 1921.

PRICE ONE ANNA  
PER COPY.

## CONTENTS.

Title	Page
Address	1
The Movement Representative ..	2
Greek Expedition ..	3
Our Modern Letter ..	4
I Shall Not Stand For Shorter ..	5
Review ..	6
Business Address ..	6
Appeal to H. S. the Treasury ..	7

## Notes.

**To our Subscribers**—Owing to the heavy loss we are incurring, and the rising cost of paper, we have decided to increase our subscription from the 1st of July. Hereafter the annual subscription will be Rs. 2 instead of Rs. 1, the half yearly Rs. 1, and for single copy Rs. 2. It is desirable that intending subscribers should send money orders, or cheques, for yearly or half-yearly subscriptions so the Y. I. system is likely to cause unnecessary inconvenience and delay.

**A request and a word of apology**—We thank you for a word of warm apology to our subscribers. They have had to put up with our ill-conveniences and petty harassment in not having removed punctually these copies of "Young India" and answers to their letters. However, henceforth, we hope to be able to attend properly to the correspondence and the despatch.

We have stated here that Young India has not been self-supporting. And it cannot do so even with this increase in subscription, unless we are able to secure at least five hundred more subscribers immediately. We therefore request our subscribers and other well-wishers, especially those from Madras, to assist us in making up the deficiency.

**A Letter from England**—Till March last Greek was to be a compulsory subject for the first examination at the Oxford University. But a statute passed last by its Chancellor and Government has reduced it to the position of an optional subject. This statute has been looked upon with great alarm by not a inconsiderable number of English scholars. They regard the statute as a governmental evil. Commenting on this Sir Michael Sadler writes:

"Not so very long ago, as the established tradition of our English public-school teaching, a (Greek) passed among the undergraduates. But its education as a subject the all regions has been abandoned. What was deemed to that memorable day was a system, not a subject. Greek culture, in modern thought and art is not likely to die. But the old regime which made Greek a staple of daily education for thousands of English boys is dying and will soon be dead." These words of a level-headed student have a lesson to teach to those students here who consider any change in the present position of English in our educational system as tantamount to the abolition of the whole English culture itself. If Greek culture can survive Greek regions in England, why should not English culture, in so far as it may be necessary, similarly survive within what may be called English regions in Indian education?

The closed shop, however, which our universities, instead of being protected with sympathy by England, has the position of a compulsory subject, is not the medium of instruction. And not a few of our leading schools are partly the measure of the place of English in the present of our universities being progressively well for requiring English in fields of instruction. We would not have students to recall the enthusiasm with which the English language has been cultivated.

A time was when the English language was no better than many of our vernaculars. At the time of the great revival of letters during the western renaissance by the end of the fifteenth century, almost everything was looked on the same language. But the natural vigor of English genius, however it could all the important works of Greek origin. It was nothing when the influence of Greek and Latin authors reached England that the people got the enhanced version of the Bible in their own tongue. Without doubtably there were England developed in its vernacular an extensive variety of novel and modern authors. These could they make their standards rather not more extensive than that of classical antiquity. And it had they have discovered reached a stage when they no longer Greek studies so much as how a luxury. Shall we not do for our representative what they in England did for theirs? If we think up the matter as they did, we shall have truly learnt a lesson from England.

**Our Political Security**—It is not difficult to discover in the Secretary of State's dispatch several inconsistencies with the Hunter Commission Report for which although made to promote the officers on the part of the Government officials. One of these attempts is easily detected when the dispatch gives as almost an apologetic note a lacking ordinance on some of the matters during the martial law period and strongly goes on to propose arrangements for the future so far as interpreted in a martial law manner which the Government of India have at present under consideration. This martial law manner may be an attempt to respond to the general demand for the future security. But we cannot compare ourselves with any martial law does not fall in with the demands stated in the Commission's recommendations report. To follow the British Government's policy is to endorse to endorse a more liberal respecting the police in his system. If the British Act is not repealed, the Government of India's martial law least satisfy those who are saying the British Parliament to pass a statute to secure the civil rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects, because the civil rights and the Executive Act meant at the same time remains on our statute book. The Executive Act detracts from our rights whereas the Declaration of Rights recognizes them in law.

Will the Declaration suffice to secure our liberties? We do realize the importance of the Declaration of Rights, but we are not much concerned of the Declaration of Rights because the Declaration will be of little avail if we have not the strength to have it well administered. Unless we have unity and freedom, no number of rights showered upon us are worth a feather. It is not entirely that progress in legislative may outrun the administrative order. It is joined governments for England to improve their legislation and administration in this respect. Their Magna Carta (1215), the Petition of Rights (1628), the Great Remonstrance (1641) and the Bill of Rights (1689) paved the way for the progress of England for not less than half her centuries. The establishment of the form of legislation does not so much lie in what each of these adds to the preceding law, but in each confirming the foregoing law. King after king violated the liberties of his subjects. But with greater determination than the kings, came forward heroes from amidst the people who fought these violations and successfully secured the writ of Habeas Corpus. We need not require the same long period to achieve freedom of press. But we must secure similar rights and liberties if we would have the fundamental principles of freedom engrained on our hearts. We emphasize the necessity of such preparation as of greater moment than the Declaration itself.

**Representation Scheme**—Just at the time of going to press we have received the "Indian Opinion" containing the interim report of the Justice

Commission. We hope to deal with the report in our next. It is as follows—

— During the course of the inquiries strong evidence has been led before us, which tends to show that there is at present, owing to the shortage of men and other causes, a considerable number of Indians, who, with their families, would be prepared to return to India if opportunity were afforded them. We have also had evidence from a influential Calcutta merchant, at present on a visit to the Union, who until recently was Chairman of the Central Employment and Labour Board under the Government of India, that at the present time, owing to industrial development, the labour supply in India is insufficient to meet the demands, and that good wages are being paid. The evidence on these points is confirmed by Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. G. L. Corbett, the official representative of the Indian Government.

"We, therefore, strongly recommended to your Excellency that prompt steps be taken to provide the necessary shipping facilities, and to appoint an official well-versed with the Indian mind and their methods, to act in a sympathetic manner, and to lay before the Indians the advantages of immediately returning to India.

"The main issues here raised are related against the return of many Indians, viz.: (1) the inconvenience being that they are kept at the Durban depot awaiting shipment, during which time they spend their available money in idleness, and are consequently driven to re-joining employment to enable them to provide for their families and themselves, and (2) the fact that they are not allowed to take with them to India their savings in the shape of gold and their jewellery.

"We, therefore, recommended immediate steps be taken (a) to appoint an official (not connected with the Protector Department) to organize the return of such Indians as are prepared to go (b) to provide frequent shipping facilities as short intervals (c) to relax the restrictions on the export of gold in so far as necessary in order to allow returning Indians to take their legitimate savings and jewellery with them to India, (d) to make provision, where necessary, for meeting returning Indians and their families to meet their needs after arrival in India.

"Evidence was given before the Commission that the meeting held at Durban during March last of Indians employed by the North African Railway, in pursuance of their contract expressed their wish to return to India, if assisted liberally. We considered that if action were taken by the Government in furtherance of this desire on the part of their own employees, it would become widely known amongst the Indian working in return to India, and have a good result. We feel, too, that advantages should be taken of the presence of Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Corbett, in whom the Indian Government have the highest confidence, and whose influence is everywhere great, to obtain their assistance and advice in referring the subject, which we have recommended."

*Young India*

Announced, Wednesday, 26th June, 1919.

**THE MUSULMAN REPRESENTATION.**

(By K. K. Sarda.)

Slowly but surely the Mussulmans are preparing for the battle before them. They have to fight against odds that are undeniably heavy, but not half as heavy as the prophet had imagined. He, who often did not put his life in danger? But his faith in God was unshakable. He went forward with a light heart, for that was on his side, for he represented truth. If his followers have half the prophet's faith and half his spirit of sacrifice, the odds will be greatly even, and will in time turn against the despots of Turkey. Already the majority of the Allies is taking against themselves. France finds her task difficult. Greece cannot stomach her ill-gotten gains. And England finds Mesopotamia a tough job. The oil of Mosul may feed the lion she has so warily tamed and tames her fingers badly. The newspapers say the Arabs do not like the presence of the Indian soldiers in their midst. I do not wonder. They are a fierce-souled brave people and do not understand why Indian soldiers should find themselves in Mesopotamia. Whatever the fate of non-co-operation, I wish that not a single Indian will offer his services for Mesopotamia whether for the need or the military department. We must learn to think for ourselves and before entering upon any employment and not whether liberally we may not make occasional statements of opinion. Apart from the question of Khalifat and from the point of abstract justice, the English have no right to hold Mesopotamia. It is no part of our loyalty to help the Imperial Government in what is to place language-dialect soldiers. If therefore we seek civil or military employment in Mesopotamia, we do so for the sake of earning a livelihood. It is our duty to see that the income is not wasted.

It happens us to find so many people stinking over the very success of non-co-operation. There is no restraint in class, or language and yet no effective non-co-operation. Indignity headed it and not justice any and everywhere. And its intensity is dependent purely on the capacity of the people for sheer loss.

The chief thing is to prepare the atmosphere of non-co-operation. "We are not going to co-operate with you in your injustice," is surely the right and the duty of every individual subject to us. Were it not for our river anxiety, helplessness and want of confidence in ourselves, we would certainly grasp this clean weapon and make the most effective use of it. Even the most despotic government cannot stand except for the consent of the governed which consent is often forcibly procured by the despot. Inevitably the subject ceases to fear the despot's force but prefers to go, but the British

Government is never and nowhere entirely so laid upon force. It does make an honest attempt to secure the goodwill of the governed. But it does not hesitate to adopt unscrupulous means to compel the consent of the governed. It has not gone beyond the "Honesty is the best policy" rule. It therefore urges you into consenting to its will by a wounding talon, snaffle and bit, by giving job employment, by its superior financial ability to open for its employees avenues for economic advancement and finally when these fail, it resorts to force. That is what Sir Michael O'Dwyer did and that is almost every British administrator will certainly do if he thought fit necessary. If then we would not be greedy, if we would not run after talon and snaffle and harness jobs which do the country no good half the battle is won.

My address are never tired of telling me that even if the Turkish possessions are revised it will not be due to non-co-operation. I continue to suggest to them that non-co-operation has a higher purpose than mere revision of the terms. If I am not ungrateful returns, I must at least cease to support a government that becomes party to the occupation. And if I succeed in pushing non-co-operation to the extreme limit, I do compel the Government to choose between India and the occupation. I have faith enough in England to know that at that moment England will expel her present paid administrators and put in others who will make a clean sweep of the terms in consultation with an awakened India, such terms that will be honourable to her, to Turkey and acceptable to India.

But I hear my critics say "India has not the strength of purpose and the capacity for the sacrifice to achieve such a noble end. They are partly right. India has not these qualities now, because we have not—shall we not evolve them and build the nation with them? Is not the attempt worth making? Is any sacrifice too great to gain such a great purpose?"

**BRITISH IMPERIALISM.**

If the belief that the Turkish possessions were captured by the unscrupulous methods of the Allies required further justification, it has amply been provided by the events and revolutions of the past few months. The love of oil, the greed of conquest, competition and expansion of territory and of material by the land and sea routes have proved too strong for the Big Three. Their values has diminished. They have not at all sought their wealth, their principles, pledges and promises. It is a sad and painful tragedy of this war. But the saddest and the most painful of all is the revelation that England's atom-bomb was the broken in their cry of "was for justice, liberty and right" have been the first to fall victim to the policy of greed. They have been shown to be the prime movers of it. The exposure made by some of the statesmen and journalists of the rival Allies, France and Italy, show that throughout to last, the Prime Minister of England

with the little band of Imperialists has advocated the policy of disintegration and spoliation of Turkey. He is reported to be the mover of the plan of driving the Sultan away from Constantinople. His troops nearly occupy it today. The transfer of the rich and unworked lands of Thrace to his vassal Greece is still being talked. The rich mineral fields of Asia Minor are under his immediate eye. He is laying his hold on the mineral deposits of land-routes, connecting the little Kingdom with the vast Eastern possessions. If beyond these glaring facts, any more evidence is required of his rapacity, it is supplied by one of the Big Three, *Revue* 1918, who in an interview in the Associated Press published by the French official organ "Le Temps" and reproduced by the "Manchester Guardian" as to his view of the treaty, is reported to have said—

"War in Asia Minor would be the result, and that for this war nothing can be done, but our law would be provided by Italy. . . . The law taken from the Treaty that Italy says, *Adriaticum*. You have placed that upon a table through content. You have taken all their possessions the greater part of their territory. The few delegates, chosen by you, will sign a treaty which will have the sanction neither of the Turkish people nor of the Turkish Government."

"Le Temps" itself avers that the Italian Committee have been consistently following this policy and that they are prepared to abandon the "Union of Helles" when circumstances would allow causes the application of the treaty. This gives a clue to the attitude of the Italian Government. The attitude of the Italian people is even stronger as seen from various Italian journals, the *Atto Nazionale* and the *Giornale di Italia*. The latter warns the people of a new holy war for the peace terms amount to despoilation of the Mussulman world. The paper declares that the peace terms will result in the complete realisation of British hegemony in the Near East both direct and, by means of her vassal Greece, indirect.

It is clear from the above that neither the Italian Press—nor of the Big Three nor the Italian people are willing party to the peace terms. They have been weak enough to submit to the terms but they openly denounce them and do not accept responsibility. There has arisen in the French and British Governments and peoples, from the telegrams and other dispatches received from Constantinople as we have heard that the French attitude, both official and unofficial, is more sympathetic towards the Muslim population than the British. This is witnessed from the opinion of a member of prominent French journals, politicians and statesmen. As to how they view the treaty, the following extract from the *Paul Leroy*'s letter to the "L'Humanite" will explain.

In the east of Europe British hegemony is establishing all its authority. It has imposed Turkey to an empire in the north of States which will be its result or it means what it will itself govern. It will have the oil of Mosul, and will control, by its indirect hold

of Baku, the oil of India. It occupies Constantinople. From before, by pushing the Greeks in Constantinople and bestowing concessions upon Yavuzlar, it prepares the re-establishment of the Byzantine Empire in favour of Helles, and makes of that vassal Sultan an one of its most valuable vassals in the East. It will next against Turkish intentions, and eventually against Greece. The shadow of England over the world.

At the time of French occupation of the Near East when France was being charged by the British press and statesmen including Mr. Lloyd George for violating international laws, the French journal *Le Temps* during the experience recorded as follows—

"With her customary reason, Mr. Lloyd George will not admit or understand that in the interests of the Franco-British Alliance it is better that an English, and especially British, war should limit the extension of Imperialism at any French war, than to have a parallel. Such circumstances are manifestly which followed. Although the British Empire is growing so rapidly, we do not propose to declare that England is ruled by a parallel group of Imperialism. We do not even suggest that our French allies the Central empires the strategic requirement, proposed by a French journal in publication of their agreement. Britain now requires final justice to ensure the various parts of the Empire and that it is entitled to lay hold on France, for instance."

What is the lesson that even the most fanatically rabid press draws from all this? It is, that the British Imperialists under the leadership of Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Milner and Mr. Churchill is chiefly, if not wholly responsible for the Turkish peace terms such as they are.

Thus again the "Daily Mail" report about France taking the initiative in revision of the treaty strengthens this opinion. The report has been cancelled but the cancellation is itself a confirmation of the view that France desires a revision here as the justification.

It is unfortunately stated in France that the "Daily Mail" report is incorrect. While France desires on every way to facilitate Turkey in order to secure the suffering and of the terms of the peace treaty, she does not take the initiative for revision of the treaty before the treaty is signed. (Daily Mail)

It cannot be said after this that the British Government has been defeated by the dangerous Council. It is rather the other way. The sword thrust against England of Mussolini, Marshal Foch, Curie and Clemenceau by a nation of 110 million people is being vainly belayed by a class of Imperialists which rules her destinies today. The shadow of British Imperialism across the world, it will be an eye-bag for England whose her great democracy will have wisely surrendered itself to the greed of a few gnomes.

#### IMPORTANT NOTICE.

PUBLISHED BY THE CHANGI T. ANTHONY

All communications regarding subscriptions, signed etc should be addressed to the Manager, "TONGS ENDIA", Changan Road, Singapore and sent by Cash or Postal Note Remittance.

**OUR MADRAS LETTER.**

Unrestfulness is an evil more or less pervading society all over India, but it degenerates and becomes less the feature of society in South India in an intense degree. If our leaders attended the meetings of the Dhanteras Workers' and other Anti-Dividee organisations, they would realise the intensity of feeling as the matter, get aside all other activities and take up this custom of unrestfulness as the most urgent of our problems, and not read itself as a solved phenomenon. Political and Labour efforts have entirely ruined the consciousness of freedom and equality in all grades and occupations. But where custom has laid a greater burden of national equities, the reaction is naturally more violent than in other cases.

Again we are not wanting that the forms of violence which were dominant for some time, are again attempting to get control over the problem of unrestfulness, and a hint as to the time they may succeed in their attempts. Political and economic have furnished the soil for mischief and increased pressure are ready to manifest.

**A WORD TO OUR ANTI-DIVIDEE LEADERS.**

It may be asked, why is violence so readily if Why should not a degenerating evil, like the doctrine of unrestfulness of any class of human beings, be removed by force if need be? Because of two reasons first, because force is so readily at all, and secondly, because violence is so readily worse than the disease, worse to the community manifesting it than to the people against whom it is used.

It is vain to imagine that there will be any satisfaction if you obtain respect by force. Unless the 'high caste' man recognises the equality of the 'Pariah', the latter will get no real satisfaction by merely having his touch or presence on the former. It is a true hope of happy lives that it can be attained on object of reality. The inflexible law of nature is that only voluntary surrender can give that complete satisfaction which one seeks. If a man refuses to submit you, you may send your men and by abuse physical force applied to the man, bend it to break the forehead, but while you get what you desire in form, the resistance and the satisfaction will not be there, and you will realise the futility of force at the end of it all, as all the tyrants of the world have no doubt realised. If the Anti-Dividees get into the interior of a temple by force, they will get the same degree of satisfaction, and so on. Hence here is no remedy.

Again, even if violence were a remedy, it is a remedy worse than the disease. The Anti-Dividees are a people whose future and whose hope are as much as that of any other community based up with moral progress and civilisation. If the rights of the community are gained by the use of violence, the elements of violence having gained absolute hold, will continue to rule the leaders of that community. The leaders will be the slaves of the

dependents and the cowards. Those who committed the crimes of violence will be the real leaders, and those among the community whose strength is their moral and intellectual position must be dependent for ever on the lesser elements, and leadership will be a farce. If by any possible means by employing force, you cannot drive off the weeds of force in national matters, at your will, to survive. Having established its authority, it will continue to dominate in all your concerns, and guide your future. Hence the remedy, which would place the community under the leadership of violence, would be a permanent national degradation a case like the present national injustice of unrestfulness.

If neither the State nor the conscience of the 'higher' caste nor their forethought will give relief, what remedy is available other than violence? Non-violent disturbances and the readiness to undergo suffering. The oppression of society, the State's protection of varied interests and classes, all will vanish before the invincible force of Sufferings. Give a hundred determined and disciplined Pariahs, who refusing to submit from violence, are resolved to suffer and sacrifice themselves for the sake of their community, to offer that the unrestfulness may be for ever wiped out, the question will be solved, and the nation saved from following a bad course.

15. 6-20.

**I SHALL NOT STAND FOR ELECTION**

Under the above heading Lala Lajpat Rai writes a thought-provoking article in his Urdu paper, "Hindia Darshan." Lajpat writes—

At the publication of the H. C. Mahajan of Lahore a hope dawned in my mind. I felt the day was perhaps coming for my national country to achieve her long cherished freedom without bloodshed.... It pains me to say that this hope has gradually faded away. Whenever little there was, has been destroyed by the British Government report and the Secretary of State's despatch. When the rumours were spread as to what the report was likely to be, I felt it was difficult for me to stand for election to the new assembly, under the circumstances. The feeling has been strengthened by the report and I have received after much deliberation that I shall not stand for elections. My reasons for this decision are these—

(1) The members of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the Hunter Committee report have given that the entire policy of the Mahomed O'Dwyer was right, and except that a few others here and there made the bounds of propriety, individually, there was nothing wrong with it. This means that the grievances of the educated community of the Punjab against the Mahomed O'Dwyer were baseless and meaningless. In my opinion this decision negates the possibility of the participation in the new scheme by the educated community of the Punjab with any appreciable enthusiasm or hope. Mr. Michael looked upon the educated community of the Punjab with contempt. He was his eye of favour only on those 'vices' and 'unrestful' who

please like thought of the educated men of the Punjab as so many "wily dogs." The rebuke given by the Punjab Education Commissioner under the act with the sanction of the Local Governor besides the newspaper, which simply means that though the Edward Madigan has an account of his numerous errors, sometimes changed the coloured appearance of Government policy, to promote the same old policy still continues without any change.

(2) Those officers whom the Central Government took a prominent part in designing and determining the educated community of the Punjab, are still adhering their theories, COL. Q. J. J. who perpetrated responsible errors on the grounds of Empire wide, Major Foxworth Smith who with his state named the rest of Indian India and withdrew them in the next contemplation of laws, are still carrying their office. Mr. Thompson, the Chief Secretary, is about to come. Similarly other officers who were the right hand men of the Mahad G. D. J. have either come to occupy their old office or are about to do so. These officers will be the official members of the Punjab Council. I have no personal grievance against them, nor have I without any personal wrong at their hands. But any Indian member going into the Council will be a daily lesson to most of these officers. He will have to deal with them every day and it will be impossible for him to keep himself completely aloof from them, because the very different going into the Council will be necessary and grant money thereby will be necessary or for at least will work harmoniously with Government officials and to oppose them wherever necessary. But the words are stated by Mahad Sir in the Punjab are so frank that I am myself walk for the look. He has it already before. I do not want to go into the Council with the "wounded hands" although I have personally witnessed in many of his followers will respect that are possible to address friendship with him who hardly need my brother who completely only be held at and marked them, and who otherwise disagree that in many ways.

These new Councils can only prove beneficial to us when and if the Indian and official members work in unity and earnest and together solve problems of some by mutual consultation. This is the present circumstance of the Punjab there is no prospect of the breaking of the hope. If the Civil and Military officers earnestly represent the views of Punjab Chief (Mahad), then I have no hesitation in saying that the time has not come for Indians and Europeans to work together for the good of the country. I heartily desire that the time should come, but in my view that time has come in that our eyes be kept. Until now they are the rules and we are the rule. The Punjab Publicity Committee which the members of the Government also says the same thing. As long as that relation continues it is very difficult for us to work together. They respect us and we respect them. In my view therefore I cannot be asked to my country from within the Council and it is better decision that I should not go into it.

### REVIEWS.

Mr. Ashutosh Mukherjee, author of study—(By B. C. Pal, publisher, S. W. P. and Co., Madras.) It is not the first time that Raja Ranga Prasad Pal has agreed the role of a biographer. Mr. Pal is a man

whose in many ways, especially in the act of writing fairly impartial and unbiased his studies of persons of different thought and bent of mind from his own both in the social and political spheres, e.g. Mr. Bhabani Nath Dasgupta, Mr. Taraknath Ghosh, Sarveswar Nath Banerjee, Mr. Ramesh Chandra the present biographer Mr. Pal has successfully attempted to give a character study of one of the towering personalities of India in the educational field of Bengal. Mr. Ashutosh Mukherjee has distinguished himself not only as an earnest student, but also as scholar, lawyer, judge, people's representative, educationist and statesman. Not among all these the greatest success that he has rendered is in the work of education. As Vice-Chancellor of the University of a time when the Government was contemplating to convert it into an independent department, it was Mr. Ashutosh Mukherjee who with his great talents and statesmanship was over the heads of others. The new government that which was expected to do most in the reconstruction has given in the name of reconstruction by creating and reorganizing the Calcutta University to maintain the level of degree in the chief universities of India. Mr. Pal writes the bulk of the book with deep interest in all these and many other activities of the great Bengal, does not forget to mention what Mr. Ashutosh's "political structure" and his display of "democratic" and "non-man rule." Mr. Pal thinks that there is a great deal of work in this movement. The book, he says, "in no way take away from his unswerving educated enthusiasm and sympathy or weaker his claim to be regarded among the most capable educationists and statesmen that British India has yet produced."

### INDICANT ANNOAL.

The following letter has been addressed by the Secretary of the Indian National Congress Association to the Secretary, the Government of India, Commerce and Industries Department, Simla—

A meeting of the Managing Committee of the Imperial Indian Colonization Association took place on the 17th inst. to consider the Indian situation in South Africa, Fiji and East Africa. The Committee has thought me to submit the following for your consideration in these three matters.

#### 1. SOUTH AFRICA.

My Committee has seen Bester's cable referring to an adverse report of the Commission investigating certain aspects of the Indian question in South Africa. The cable in question states that the Indian report shows voluntary repatriation. My Committee is unable to come to any definite conclusion upon this very grave information. I have therefore been desirous to ask that the Government of India should cause at the earliest possible moment full information regarding the proposed repatriation scheme and publish the information that may be received by the Government in the Indian Press. Meanwhile my Committee desires me to state that as a general principle, it is opposed to any scheme of ethnic repatriation whether compulsory or voluntary. The Government of India must be aware that repatriation is by no means a new idea in South Africa, it has been often enough considered as a solution by the South-African party in South Africa and has been equally often rejected by the Indian leaders, who have

always hold that regulations will be inaugurating and an advancement of the welfare of these men. Moreover, my Committee will not in this or elsewhere stand in any manner of opposition that comes with it furtherance of the rights of demands in South Africa. My Committee therefore holds that before coming to any final decision on this very important question, the Government will publish all the available information and avoid full discussion by the Press and representatives before. My Committee, further holds that the manner in which things are moving in South Africa, is not at all hopeful, but relies upon the Government of India to press to the full, the civil rights of the British Indian natives in South Africa, not merely from the point of view of colonial justice but in direct conformity with the settlement of 1919.

II. INDIA

Regarding the my Committee has perused papers in its possession and information supplied to the Press with respect to the recent so-called trials in Pyl, with the greatest apprehensions. My Committee, however, desires to state the right is vested in the ruler when that and other information is available which it is hoped, the Government of India will publish at the earliest opportunity. Meanwhile one thing seems to stand out clearly, namely, the need for proceeding vigorously for those unfortunate Indians whose wrongs have been done. My Committee holds that it is the solemn duty of the Government of India to procure speedy justice to enable these Indians to return to India, and I hope that you will be able to secure a satisfying satisfaction regarding this very urgent matter.

III. EAST AFRICA.

With regard to East Africa, my Committee hopes in the near future to make a full representation about the status of British Indians in the East African Protectorates. Meanwhile, it may be pointed out that the question in East Africa is, in one important respect, totally different to the question in the other parts of the Majesty's Dominions. Whereas the Indian Settlement in these other parts has followed their migration and has resulted from the introduction of residential Indians, Indians were native settlers in East Africa and have therefore the rights of priority in that part of African Continent. Any legal or administrative discrimination, therefore, adverse to the Indian Settlers, will be totally unwarranted and will be strongly resented by Indian public opinion. My Committee holds to the Government of India, the protection of the rights of Indian settlers abroad, to jealously protect the full status of British Indians in East Africa.

**EMILIPAT APPEALS**

TO

**H. E. THE VICEROY**

The following representation has been sent to H. E. the Viceroy on behalf of the Indian Movement by many prominent leaders including the Hon. Mr. Harpal Singh, Mr. Yashubh Hans, Mahatma Abhai Das, Mr. Mahesh Ah and Mr. Anand

We, the undersigned, wish to represent the largest body of East Indian opinion. We have most ardently read the Turkish press items, and we consider them to be in direct violation of the religious stipulations of Muhammad. They violate the obligations imposed upon us as Muslims and throw the responsibility of all Muhammadans. They are contrary to the pledges of British

Muslims as the strength of which it has been admitted it was possible to draw upon India for Muslim services during the war.

We hold that the British Empire which is "the greatest Mohammedan Power" in the world cannot break the Turkish Empire which represents the Khalifah, in the same manner that it may break a defeated enemy. Indeed we consider that in various respects Turkey has been treated worse than the other Powers. We respectfully submit that in the treatment of Turkey the British Government are bound to support Indian Muslim sentiment in so far as it is another aspect or reinforcement to our opinion the position taken up by Indian Mohammedans in India. They cannot lose the thought of the temporal power of the Sultan being advantageously affected by way of punishment for his having joined Germany under circumstances which need not be recalled here. But we have no desire to ask for anything that would interfere with the principle of self-determination. We have no desire to apply any such rule which as has been introduced in Turkey. Our delegates in Europe have asked for an independent commission of inquiry to investigate the charges of warlike cruelty and to have laws proposed by Turkish Muslims in Germany. We cannot look with indifference upon the partition of Turkey and her Empire for the sake of punishing or humiliating her.

We would therefore request your Excellency and your Government to ask the Majesty's Ministers to secure a revision of the peace terms and tell them that on India to do so, your Excellency will make common cause with the people of India. We make this suggestion as your Excellency has repeatedly declared that your Government has consistently and often promised up to the ministers of His Majesty's Ministers the case of Indian Mohammedans in the matter of vital concern to the sovereignty of them. We feel, therefore, that we have a right to ask your Excellency to renounce the Mohammedans of India that they will retain your active opinion and powerful advocacy in the prosecution of their claims even to the point of resignation of your high office, should His Majesty's Ministers fail to secure a revision of the terms consistently with the pledges and the agreement mentioned above. We venture to respectfully suggest that had India been a Dominion enjoying full self-government, her responsible ministers would have, as a matter of course, engaged as a protest against such a serious breach of pledges and denial of religious opinion as were involved in the peace terms.

If unfortunately your Excellency will not adopt our humble suggestion we shall be obliged to him the first August next to withdraw our operations from the German zone and to ask our co-religionists and Hindu brethren to do likewise.

We ask your Excellency with regard our statement to be thrust in in any way or in a matter of disregard. We claim to be in legal subjects of the Crown so long as India. But we consider our loyalty to an earthly sovereign, to be subordinate to our loyalty to Islam. The latter we regard upon every Mohammedan to describe those who violently capture the status of the Khalifah to be enemies of Islam and to treat them with stress if necessary. We cannot in that view of us that the power we need not return to us as long as we are not alone but at our disposal. We feel that the laws that a Mohammedan can do in these circumstances it will be most often who are guilty of trying to secure the Khalifah gradually in the present

It would therefore become our peculiar duty to refuse to cooperate with a Government which accepts the present terms and a British acceptance shared by us.

We shall hope that such a course step to non-cooperation will not become necessary, but should it unfortunately happen in the future, we assure your Excellency that we shall give our utmost to avoid violence. We fully recognize our responsibility. We know that any outbreak of violence would shock and so paralyze the peaceful frame of mind contemplated by us and what is more the moral cause which is dear to us all. We shall therefore take up non-cooperation in progressive steps and so as to leave the least necessary distinction of an alternative to the Government and give us the means to a rational and thorough popular feeling.

### MR. GARDNER'S APPEAL.

Your Excellency,

As one who has enjoyed a certain measure of your Excellency's confidence, and as one who claims to be a devoted well-wisher of the British Empire, I come to you, Excellency, and through your Excellency to His Majesty's Ministers, to explain my connection with and my conduct in the Khilafat Question.

At the very earliest stage of the war, even whilst I was in London representing the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps, I began to receive regard in the Khilafat Question. I got very low deeply moved by this. The ancient World in London was when Turkey decided to throw in her lot with Germany. On my arrival in India in the January of 1915, I found the same excitement and excitement among the Mussalmans with whom I came in contact. Their anxiety became intense when the ultimatum about the Desert Treaty leaked out. Hundreds of British volunteers filed their names, and despite their protestations of them. Even at that moment I advised my Mussalmans friends not to give way to despair. It is to explain their hope and their hope is a dignified manner. It will be admitted that the whole of the Mussalmans India has behaved in a completely reasonable manner during the past five years, and that the leaders have been able to keep the turbulent violence of their community under complete control.

The present terms and your Excellency's desire of them have given the Mussalmans of India a shock from which it will be difficult for them to recover. The terms violate fundamental principles and severely damaged Mussalmans sentiment. I consider that as a staunch Hindu wishing to live as far as of the closest kinship with my Mussalmans countrymen, I should be as naturally one of India if I did not stand by them in their hour of need. In my humble opinion, their action is just. They show that Turkey must not be permitted of their Government to be regarded. Muslim soldiers did not fight in other parts of the world in their own Khilafat or to deprive him of his sovereignty. The Mussalmans certainly have been concerned throughout these five years.

My duty to the Empire in which I owe my loyalty requires me to state the great violence that has been done by the Government's action. So far as I am aware, Mussalmans and Hindus have as a whole but little in British justice and honesty. The report of the majority of the Hunter Committee, Your Excellency's disputed thesis and Mr. Montagu's reply have only aggravated the demand.

In these circumstances, the only course open to me like an individual as to the extent of my cooperation with British rule, or, if I still retained faith in the inherent superiority of the British constitution for all classes of present in regard, to adopt such means as will curtail the wrong done, and thus restore confidence. I have not lost faith in such opportunity and I am not without hope that members or other parties will get reinforced of we show the requisite capacity for suffering. Indeed, my disappointment of that expectation is that it helps only those who are ready to help themselves. I do not believe that it prevents the work. It gives free scope to the strong to strengthen their strength and develop it. The weak under it go to the wall.

It is, then, because I believe in the British constitution that I have advised my Mussalmans friends to withdraw their support from Your Excellency's Government, and the Hindus to join them, should the present terms not be revised in accordance with the demands of the Hindu and the Muslim community.

There are no more open to the Mussalmans as to what to do, their complete disapproval of the new system to which the Majesty's Ministers have become party, if they have not actually been the prime perpetrators of it. They are

- (1) To resist by violence.
- (2) To advise migration to a suitable land.
- (3) Not to give up the support by means to co-operate with the Government.

Your Excellency seems to agree that there was a time when the British, though the most thoughtful, among the Mussalmans favored violence, and the "Hijra" (migration) has not yet passed by the "Hijra". I venture to state that I have succeeded by private means in winning the party of violence from the ranks. I confess that I did not—I did not attempt to succeed in winning them from violence as moral grounds, but purely on utilitarian grounds. The result, for the time being at any rate, has however been to stop violence. The School of "Hijra" has received a shock, if it has not stopped its activity entirely. I hold that an expression would have provoked a violent reaction. If the people had not had protested to them a form of direct action involving considerable violence and necessary success of such direct action was largely taken up by the police. Non-cooperation was the only dignified and constitutional form of such direct action. It is in the right recognized and from them a withdrawal of the subject to refuse to admit a ruler who is unjust.

All the more time I hold that non-cooperation practiced by the mass of people is attended with great risks. But in a wide field as has forbidden the Mussalmans of India, on step that as manifested with large risks and possibly being their best chance. Not to see any risk will be to court such greater risk of not only the destruction of law and order.

But there is yet a more than non-cooperation. The Mussalmans represent have contemplated your Excellency to lead the agitation yourself, as did your discharge and performance of the role of the Hindu Alliance leaders. But if you cannot see your way to do so, and non-cooperation becomes a free activity, I hope that your Excellency will give those who have accepted my advice and regard the credit for being selected by writing less than a strict sense of duty.

Belvedere Road,  
Cambridge, England, Your Excellency's faithful servant,  
26th June 1919. (Sd.) M. K. GARDNER.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17618

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 27

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY, JULY 19, 1920.

Price Two Annas  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS.

Title	Page
EDITORIAL	
Orations at the Madras Congress ..	— 2
The Press ..	— 5
Resolutions at the Madras ..	— 6
Madras at Bangalore ..	— 4
A Christmas Day at Central Africa... By Mr. C. F. Andrews ..	— 8
Deaths of the last Stage ..	— 2
Mr. Gandhi on Episcopates ..	— 8
Mr. Gandhi's Message ..	— 4
Mr. Gandhi on Non-cooperation ..	— 8

## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Please note the change of address.

All communications regarding subscriptions, notices or orders to be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", 11, Market Street, Madras and 222, St. Charles St., Fort St. Paul, Ahmedabad.

Our rate of subscription  
(payments strictly in advance)

Annual in India (post paid) ..	Four Annas.
Quarterly India ..	India Mailings.
Single Copy ..	Two Annas.

All communications and printed matter to be sent to us in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Subscriptions, Madras.

## Notes.

**First Class Ticket-holders**—All the readers of Young India may not have had knowledge of the same under a heavy fine for the violation of the Act of last year. The fine was collected from the ticket-holders of Ahmedabad but some were exempted at the discretion of the collector. Among those who were asked again to pay the fine were some of our readers. They had to pay a third of the tax paid by them. Mr. V. J. Patel, a noted lawyer, and Mr. Kanungo, a leading medical practitioner, were among those who were asked to pay. They had admittedly helped the authorities to quell the disturbance. So should they have been exempted but they had volunteered to still the mob but even at some risk to their own persons. Still the authorities would not exempt them. It was a difficult thing for them to see taxation in collected state. It was equally difficult for these two gentlemen to pay any tax when they were not to blame at all. They did

not wish to enhance the authorities and yet they were anxious to preserve their self-respect. They entered on an agitation but simply refused their liability to pay the fine in the circumstances at that stage. Therefore an amendment was moved. Dr. Kanungo is a very long practitioner and his fee was always high. The wealthy citizens of Ahmedabad for such fee and extended enough money to discharge the work of taxation. A lawyer's business cannot be conducted on those lines. Mr. Patel opened an ash-hut. A sale of his citizenship was therefore attempted and advertised by him and duly sold. Both these Satyagrahis then simply saved their consciences.

Madras may begin at the policy of allowing wide of education and paying for the education of them. Multiply such business and exempt the companies to the authorities of executing elements of evils. While are possible when they are confined to a few institutions. They are institutions when they have to be executed against every high-spirited person who have done so wrong and who refuse payment to undertake a struggle. They may not attempt such action when related individuals resort to the method of protest. For these examples have a correct method of multiplying themselves. They bear patiently and the suffering instead of carrying their native indignation. Now like Thoreau brought about the abolition of slavery by their personal example. Says Thoreau, "I know the well, that if one thousand, if one hundred, if because when I could name-of his hand were only one, if one honest man, in the state of Massachusetts, if he held slaves were actually to withdraw from the partnership and he looked up in the money paid thereby, it would be the abolition of slavery in America. For if millions not law could this in passing may seem to be, what a case will there be done for ever." Again he says, "I have contemplated the improvement of the attitude rather than success of his goods though both will serve the same purpose, because they who assert the parent right and consequently are most dangerous to corrupt State, especially have an equal work done as accumulating property." To therefore congratulate Mr. Patel and Dr. Kanungo on the excellent struggle led by them in an excellent spirit and in a commendable manner.

**Reparation**—Reparation is published Mr Gordon's view on reparation. Things as themselves oftentimes often become objectionable limitations of the source from which they come. Voluntary nature of indignant Indians who have not enough man to feed themselves with is not only not a bad thing but it would certainly be welcomed. But because the subject is recommended by the South African Commission it is naturally looked upon with the greatest suspicion. Some amount of force forwarde is surely applicable in this instance so much so that we hear there is something in the nature of the proposal that the great confusion about the carrying of gold or golden ornaments may be retained regarding such retaining proposals. We think however that there is no cause for such hyper-sensitiveness. If the subject does not carry with it features of immediate, we need not care at it. It has been generally recommended by Mr Weil and Mr. Andrews who has been to South Africa and knows what he is talking. We must therefore wait and watch without undue suspicion or fear.

**Interest in China**—According to the report received from the President of the First Finance Relief Committee, there are seven million dis-tributing relief, namely, Echnapper, Am'bristean, Setai, Chong, Exchange, Palovina, and Sontpore. Type the control. May the committee had distributed 718 months of rice through the agency among 1200 recipients. They had also given away 100 pairs of shoes. Mr. Anand Thakker having now returned to his duties after having attended the annual function of the Executive of India Society which under date the 11th instant. From this letter we make the following extract.

The distress is still so far serious. Those who received relief from the Government numbered 7 to 8 thousands a month ago. The figure has now reached fourteen thousands. The People's Committee has relieved 1200 whereas today we are relieving nearly 5000. Thus it would appear that those who had been contributing to this work needed clearly will still have to continue their contributions. The response hitherto received has been undoubtedly so generous as it has been spontaneous.

### THE TURKISH PEACE

To the Editor of "Young India"

Sir,

I have been asked by many to give my best opinion on the Turkish peace terms. I cannot express my feeling thus in the concluding words of Mr. Cyril Dharma-rajah's "La République Française" —

"This treaty will fall by the weight of its own repugnant injustice, but it is necessary that it should also be it readily repudiated by all decent-minded and right-thinking people irrespective of race or religion, wherever in the valleys of humanity and the future peace of the world."

As a Christian and an Englishman I repudiate it with all my heart and soul.

Yours faithfully,  
C. F. ANAND.

Shenoi, Madras.

## Young India

Published, Wednesday, 22 July, 1900.

### CRITICISM OF THE MUSLIM MANIFESTO

(By M. K. Dasgupta.)

The Khilafat representation addressed to the Viceroy and my letter on the same subject have been severely criticised by the Anglo-Indian press. The Times of India which generally adopts an impartial attitude has taken strong exception to certain statements made in the Muslim manifesto and has devoted a paragraph of its article to an adverse criticism of my suggestion that His Excellency should range of the peace terms are not correct.

The Times of India excepts in the substance that the British Empire may not treat Turkey like a dependent country. The objection here, I think, supplied the best of reasons. They say "We respectfully submit that in the treatment of Turkey the British Government are bound to respect Indian Muslim sentiment as so far as it touches subject not unconnected." If the seven were Mussulmans are partners in the Empire, I submit that those who wish must be held to be all sufficient for refraining from punishing Turkey. In a sense the point to quote what Turkey did during the war it has suffered for it. The Times requires whereas Turkey has been treated worse than the other Powers. I thought that the fact was self-evident, neither Germany nor Austria and Hungary has been treated in the same way that Turkey has been. The whole of the Empire has been required to the retention of a portion of its capital, as it were, to reach the Sultan and that too has been done under terms of humiliating that we will regarding justice, such has a crushing coverage was possibly except.

The Times has endeavoured to make capital out of the fact that the representation does not mention the reason for Turkey not joining the Allies. Well, there was no mystery about it. The fact of Turkey being one of the Allies was enough to warn Turkey against joining them. With Russia breaking at the gate at the time of the war it was not an easy matter for Turkey to join the Allies. But Turkey had never to suspect Louis D'Arcy herself. She knew that England had done so friendly tone to her during the Bulgarian War. She was hardly well-served at the time of the war with Italy. It was still no doubt a bad thing. With the Mussulmans of India awakened and ready to support her, her objectives might have relied upon Britain not being allowed to damage Turkey if she had remained with the Allies. But this is all reason since event. Turkey made a bad choice and she was punished for it. To humiliate her now is to ignore the Indian Mussulman sentiment. Britain may not do it and retain the loyalty of the awakened Mussulmans of India.

For "The Times" to say that the peace terms strictly follow the principle of self-determination is to throw dust in the eyes of its readers. Is it the principle of self-determination that has caused the murder of Adnanpasha and Therois de Grey? By what principle of self-determination has Beyrout been handed to Greece? Have the inhabitants of Thess and Smyrna asked for Greece, Bulgaria?

I believe to believe that the Arabs like the disposition that has been made of them. Who is the King of Hedjaz and who is Emir Faisal? Have the Arabs studied these maps and charts? Do the Arabs like the Kurds being taken by England? By the time the whole thing is finished, the 1000 most self-determining will stick to one's nostrils. Gladly signers not wanting to show that the Arabs, the Therois and the Beyrouts are receiving their deserts. They may not like Turkish rule but they like the present arrangement best. They could have made their own honorable terms with Turkey but these self-determining people will not be led down by the "watchdog" of the allied, a British force. Britain had the straight course open to her of keeping the Turkish Empire intact and taking sufficient guarantees for good government. But her Prime Minister chose the crooked course of secret treaties, duplicity and hypocritical colourings.

There is still a way out. Let her desert India as a real partner. Let her sell the true representation of the Mussulmans. Let them go to Arabia and the other parts of the Turkish Empire and let her do the scheme in concert with them, schemes that would not hamper Turkey, that would satisfy the world, not hamper Turkey, that would satisfy the British Government and that will secure honest self-determination for the races comprising that Empire. If it was Canada, Australia or South Africa that had to be pleased, Mr. Lloyd George would not have dared to quote them. They have the power to speak, India has not, let him do more credit India by calling her a partner if her feelings count for aught. I advise the Times of India to remember its position and join in honorable opinion as which a high-minded people are making nothing but justice.

I do with all deference still suggest that the fact that Lord Chelmsford made a no range of the sacred feelings of India's men are not to be considered and respected by the Ministers. The Prime is over-riding the constitution when it suggests that as a constitutional Viceroy it is not open to Lord Chelmsford to go against the decisions of His Majesty's Ministers. It is certainly not open to a Viceroy to refuse office and oppose ministers' decisions. But the constitution does allow a Viceroy to resign his high office when he is called upon to carry out decisions that are opposed to the peace terms or if the peace terms are calculated to do to their very depth the feelings of those whose officers he is administering for the time being.

## THE PRIME.

(By K. K. Gandhi.)

Mr. Balfour has written to the *London Chronicle* on the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and has expressed views he imagines to me. Much as I should like for the present to observe silence on this delicate subject, I cannot allow it to be heard of me that I would visit the man of ministers on the Prince, I entirely agree with Mr. Balfour that the Prince has no voice in the Government and that he is not concerned with the acts of the ministers of the Crown much less with their Members. I am just as keen as any one could be to give a royal reception to the Prince and yet because I appreciate the constitution and its working that I would withhold the visit under present conditions. It is because I know that His Majesty is above politics that I would not allow the ministers or the Government of India, if I can help it to use the Prince for their own political purposes. If I can do nothing else, at least I need not become a tool at the hands of the ministers and the Government of India and allow them, under cover of the Prince's visit, to make this land of India lighter and to demonstrate to the world that under their benign administration the whole of India is happy and contented. For let there be no mistake that such will be the result of an unceremonious visit, under a mistaken sense of loyalty or of the constitution, give my reception to the Prince. On the contrary I hope that our loyalty requires us to make it clear to the Majesty's ministers that if they want the Prince in India, we shall be so as most to join any reception they might arrange. I would not then be unceremonious because we are with at least one the Khakhs and the Punjab provinces and that which we are fighting them for very life, we must not be expected to cooperate with them in giving reception to His Royal Highness. We would be doing a wrong to the public, if we neglected our clear duty of stating them to a lower perception of the meaning of the proposed Royal visit. Let it be known that the Prince will arrive by and with the advice of the ministers, and accepted and approved of the Government of India. The visit therefore will be an act of the Prince but that of the ministers and in bypassing the visit at the juncture we would be making them answer upon themselves and not on the Prince. In other words we would not be playing into their hands. Bypassing the ministers and Mr. Michael O'Dwyer to replace Lord Chelmsford and to arrange the reception, would Mr. Balfour have us to fall into Mr. Michael's trap? Suppose further that he insisted the Punjab under the Prince's name by ignoring the Punjab leaders, should the Punjab police the result and join the reception because loyalty is above politics? To say so would be to bring a moral display of ignorance of the meaning of loyalty and politics.

I venture to suggest that if the Australian

people were intensely dissatisfied with the aim of the Ministers of the Government in the sense we see, they would boycott the visit without the slightest hesitation. The Ministers want to make political capital out of the proposed visit. It is our duty to refuse to let them do so.

Mr. Bhabha says and I agree that we are in mourning. He therefore hopes that the French would not be sent but if he is, Mr. Bhabha says, we should give him a welcome in spite of the mourning. I wish the French to visit and therefore I would try to remove the cause of mourning and not take it as a settled fact. I would tell the ministers that as we want to give the French an enthusiastic welcome, they should remove the Khilafat and the Punjab grievances. I should further tell them that if they did not do so and still proceeded on sending the French to India, they would be responsible for placing the people in the awkward position of having to boycott the visit in the reception.

### SWAGHRI IN THE PUNJAB.

(By M. K. Ghosh.)

The Joint Secretaries of the Ghadr Soci. Miss Masood, Punjab Branch, send a copy of the Swedish articles of Ghadrani Swaghris Chakravarti over some her letters in Lahore from Swaghris. Miss Kay and Mrs. Panchanil, the Secretaries, state that meetings of women were held respectively on the 27th, 28th and 29th June at three different places in Lahore. All the meetings were attended by students of women who were deeply interested in what Ghadrani Swaghris had to say. The burden of her discourse was India's deep poverty. She traced the cause and proved that our poverty was primarily due to the abandonment of Swaghris by the people. The remedy therefore lay in reviving Swaghris.

Swaghris herself writes to say that her Khadiar had impressed her audience more than her speeches, and her songs were well received. The good ladies of Lahore invited her and felt her songs but beautifully when she and adorned at. Some took pity on her that she who only the other day was dressed in costly silk wore now dressed herself in head-worn Swaghris Khadiar Swaghris washed on joy and retorted that there the foreign markets lay before us there shoulders with the weight of their helpless dependence on foreign manufactures whereas her sister Khadiar lay light as a feather on her body with the joy of the knowledge that she was free because she was generous in the manufacture of which her nation and her brothers had become dependent. She stated to please her audience that most of the women present resolved to discard foreign clothes. Swaghris has now been charged by these ladies to open a shop where they could buy Swaghris goods. She has been addressed more warmly. She spoke at the Ghadrani Conference at Allahabad and in a meeting exclusively devoted to Indian quackery over and

over and, I hope that the case of Punjab will help Swaghris in her self-exposed mission. They may have a new talent and her willingness in teaching Swaghris Khadiar and organizing Swaghris propaganda on a sound basis. Both men and money are needed to make the work a success.

Swaghris is more than welcome. There is much work over here. There is work in Swaghris. Every good of pure goes in so much labour well spent and so much wealth added to the national treasury. Every day, every week, Swaghris adds that production and then distribution. Distribution without production means the raising of prices without any corresponding benefit. For to-day demand exceeds the supply. If we will not economise—waste more cloth, more foreign imports, more consumption a profit and wealth necessary.

Punjab has a great opportunity. Punjab grows upland cotton. The art of spinning has not yet died out. Almost every Punjab woman knows it. This massed labour of the Khadiar of old has thousands of women. Only the ladies need to have faith in their women and themselves. When Swaghris writes to me that she might work goods from Swaghris, I tell her. The Punjab has all the time and all the labour and the material necessary for producing her own cloth. She has brave women. She has more than a high capital. She has brains. She has the will. She has organised her own Swaghris in less than a year, if the ladies will work at the great mass. It is playing with Swaghris for the Punjab to have to import cloth from Swaghris.

The Punjab has to fight herself by putting her Swaghris on a proper base and by adding herself of Home, Maxwell Smith and Company. She will then be both economically and politically sound. Geographically she stands at the top. She led the way of the other times. Will she again do so? She can see ways to look at. There are ways enough to secure without a month's delay party of administration. I have not strayed from Swaghris to politics. If Swaghris spirit makes an equivalent of garments that denote looks of her wealth and equally important of the Ghadrani, the Ghadrani, the Ghadrani and the Ghadrani who denote her of her self respect and honestly work women's work with their starts, shame maintenance as if they were hoarse, or shoot them from unarmoured eyes or otherwise various people into religion.

### WAGHRI IN PUNJAB.

(By M. K. Ghosh.)

Joseph (a Muslim State in Kathiawar) is named for relieving it on once the kind of lower Kathiawar. It possesses a well-regulated college and had after its founder the late Feroze Khan. The college had attracted a good many Swaghris students mainly Khadiar. The college has the unique distinction of giving free tuition. Swaghris the

and Nawab a few days ago issued a decree expelling all non-Muslim students within twenty-four hours. The poor bewildered students were loudly entreated the same day and packed away to India. No one knows the exact amount paid by the students. However, it is said the Khilafat agitation is at the heart of the matter. The Hindu students have been driven to cover the shame of the deed.

Personally I welcome this expulsion. The heart-felt opinion of it would show the people the true nature of the reality inside Europe arranged against the Khilafat agitation. These States are themselves subjects of the Imperial State and therefore when the latter acts wrongly they are really wrong if then the subjects who possess an sovereign power. Having such a high-level power and rights—they become antagonists, instead of subjects, and the maintenance of the interests of the Imperial State is better reflected in the acts of these States than in its own direct act. The subjects of Native States and those who live under their temporary protection therefore often become double citizens. But I do not wish to discuss the condition of Native States under British control.

My purpose is to show an easy way out of the impasse. The Principal of the College is reported to have resigned by way of protest against the extraordinary order. He deserves the warmest congratulations of those who stand for justice and equity in the Empire. But have not the Mohammedan students a duty by the State and their country? I may suppose they would have the college as a body after holding a respectful protest. They will lose their free education at the best a price if they have not the confidence to show their sympathy to their fellow-students by leaving the college. The Nawab Sahib may not still come to his senses. That is a matter of no concern to them. They will have done their duty by withdrawing from the College.

To the expelled students, I would say: Do not lose heart. You will not long be re-admitted to a College whose owner has so insulted you. You may even return the Hindu companies, too many and the breeding expenses. The Nawab Sahib has given you. Accepting any such company, too would be compromising with the wrong. You can get all the education you need in India itself, without having to go to any college. There is too much delay about the education received in our schools and colleges. We must learn to be men before we learn to read and write. Nature has endowed man with the ability to overcome all difficulties in way of their progress literacy or otherwise.

#### OUR MADRAS AGENTS.

Messrs. S. Srinivas & Co. (2 Brothers-in-law: Chetty Srinivasa, Trichy, Madras) are our authorized Agents for Madras.

#### A CHRISTMAS DAY IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

(With acknowledgments to the Modern Pioneer.)

[The following article is the substance of a lecture which was delivered at Nairobi, on December 26th, 1910, after a visit to Uganda. I have omitted the opening sentences which were only of local interest. C. D. A.]

The double-barrelled order when I began writing, when they got started, was so heavy, that it became natural and necessary to turn first of all to the political aspect, in order to obtain some notions, however slight and inadequate. But though I have felt, as you yourselves have done, this strong drawing towards political action, yet more and more I have felt detached with politics also. Personally, I have discovered that I could never do my best work in that field, and I have always strongly back-bitten it. For the purely political work, which they have no superfluous which I could not undertake, have at the same time the feeling that they are apt to deal with material objects, rather than with unworldly notions. For often, they attempt to mitigate some painful symptoms of the disease, without paying heed to the root of the evil itself.

But the religious life of man, if truly lived goes deeper. It seeks to discover, not the present needs, but the ultimate basis of human existence. Its one supreme aim is to discover at the root of man those final necessities, on which all political constructions, if it is to be strong, must be based.

Today is the first Sunday after Christmas at Nairobi between Christmas and the New Year. It is a solemn time of the year to us who are Christians, and you will pardon me if my words take a deeper tone at such a season. This last Christmas day, which I have just spent on the borders of Lake Nyasa, has left a deep impression on my mind. It was passed under peculiar circumstances, and it has given me a message which I feel I may lend me to you. I shall here to explain a good deal first, which relates to my own life, and then, I think, I shall be able to make the message perfectly plain.

Many of you have been taught, at some time or other, in the course of your school days, how in our home-life in England, we are accustomed to meet together on Sunday each Christmas season. It was at those times, when I was young, that it used to be my great delight to sit by my mother's side while she told us the Christmas stories of our Bible. My brothers and sisters would sit with me in a circle. She would tell us, how Christ was born a baby in her mother Mary's arms and how the poor mother when the time of her delivery came, had nowhere to lay her head, she had to give birth to her child in the manger of a stable where the oxen were feeding. The people of the place were so busy with their own affairs that they could not make room for her in the inn. So Christ was born in a stable and this was intended to be a sign to us in all ages, that God loves the poor and forgotten people of the earth, and does not in any way despise them.

My mother was fond of telling us, how the little ones up to Mary, as she lay there in her weakness, and how they gazed at her, as though they wished to tell her that they deserved her pain. We, children, could picture to ourselves from descriptions we had seen in our storybooks, the little in the stable watching over the mother and her holy child, perhaps more usual, with its long neck leading down towards the manger, as the one, which had borne its heavy burden all the day, as the cow, with its lip up, watching eyes, we used to think of all these animals looking on, and our mother used to warn us, that we must never do harm to the dumb beasts, who were made to be kindly. For when worldly, money-seeking men were unwilling to make room for Christ, the humble beasts of the field had drawn man to welcome him to love.

But perhaps the picture which we used to like best of all was her own vivid description of the shepherds, as they watched their flocks on that Christmas night under the stars in the cold wintry fields. We listened silently while our mother repeated to us the words of the Bible—

There were shepherds abiding in the fields, keeping watch over their flocks by night.

And lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them, and they were sore afraid.

And the angel said unto them, Fear not. For behold, I bring you tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.

For unto you is born this day, in the City of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.

And this shall be a sign unto you. Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and lying in a manger.

And suddenly there was, with the angel, a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God and saying—

Glory to God in the highest,

And on earth peace, good-will towards men."

We, her children, used to learn these words by heart, and she would ask us to repeat them to her without a mistake after she had read them to us. Then she would go on to explain to us, that although there were many shepherds going on in the world every day, yet at Christmas time, at least, there should be peace and good-will in all hearts towards all mankind. She told us, if we ourselves had any bitterness at that season, we should cease to cherish it.

The more would be talking outside in the street, while our mother spoke to us, and in the distance we could hear the church bells faintly ringing with solemn human voices. They seemed to be repeating the Christmas message of peace and good-will & warmth of love would come into our young hearts as we listened to our mother's words.

As I grew older, my mother explained to me more fully that, when I became a man, whatever happened to me in the world's work, I must never

in my secret heart bear ill-will towards any human being, because we were all alike children of our heavenly Father, who loved us equally and impartially. For Christ had taught us, saying—

"Owe no man love, or hatred, and all ye are brethren."

She told us that, just as there ought to be no bitterness between brothers and sisters in one family, so there ought to be no bitterness, leading to war and bloodshed, on the larger family of mankind. Each one of us ought to do everything that was in our power to prevent war, by ridding our own inner lives and softening our lower passions of selfishness and revenge. Thus we could each help to bring to pass the fulfillment of that message which the angels sang at the birth of Christ,—

Peace on earth, good-will towards men.

Each Christmas Day, since then, I have tried to remember her teaching and her wish. I can now witness to the fact that, the longer I have lived and the older I have grown, the more I have realized the fundamental truth of the instruction which my mother gave me and its practical value. It has seemed to me to reach her deeper, as an utterance usually by me, than my plans, however good, or many practical devices, whether they be Hygiene Conferences or League of Nations, for it touches the heart of man and keeps it pure from that which is the root cause of war and strife.

This year, my Christmas Day began under conditions which made it somewhat hard to find the quiet time I needed for thought and meditation. For I had been obliged by illness, owing to an unexpected delay in the Hospital, while in Uganda, to open the Lake Victoria Mystery by the weekly streamer that was due to arrive on the East Africa side of the Lake on Christmas morning. There was all the health and peace and confidence that was inevitable when a steamer is making port.

If I may confess it to you, I had a sense of depression and loneliness all through the opening hours of this last Christmas Day. I preferred to myself my own brothers and sisters meeting together and keeping their Christmas together at home, and I felt a sadness that I could not be with them. The memory of those earlier Christmas seasons, when my mother was with us, came back to me, making my heart ache with the sense of being far away from them I love.

But a little before noon, the great step was completed since up to the river I was taken by Indian boats among the Indian population, and at the end of the term we visited the railway quarters where the poorer Indian families live, who work on the railway yards. There we suddenly met suffering there victims in the faces of the mothers and the children, and I was told that the place was very material and unwholesome. I saw the Indian mothers with their little children, and the Virgin looked upon me with a visible demonstration of joy that this was my first home and these were my true brothers and sisters. With them I was

to spend my Christmas. And, almost at the same moment, the winds from Gttagah were brought to my memory with a joy and wonderful fullness of meaning and power,—

*Here is thy father, and here are thy feet,  
wherein the poet, and teacher, and host.*

I need hardly tell you how, when these thoughts came streaming into my mind, all the previous depression and loneliness vanished in a moment and a great joy filled my heart. After the noon light had dappled the darkness, I went up here, vainly to be anywhere else in the world but in these railway quarters and among the Indian families at Kanna on the borders of the lake.

And so, in the end, was lost Christmas Day, which has just passed by, because one of the happiest in all my life. The Indian community, when among some flocked down to the station to bid me farewell and my heart was very full. The Indian women and the children from the railway-quarters waved their good-bye as the train went slowly past. A great happiness had been given to me that day and it will come welcome in years to come.

If this simple narrative of what happened has at all expressed my meaning, you will have guessed that the message which, above all others, I wish to bring with you is that contained in the closing words of the Christmas song itself,—

*Peace on earth, goodwill towards men.*

It is not easy being that way here in East and Central Africa, where racial hatreds abound, and yet I leave it with you. I know full well the hardships and humiliations, which you have to suffer at the hands of those who are able to use with impunity the prestige and power of a ruling race. Add yet I would all the more earnestly you in give heed to the words,

*Peace on earth, goodwill towards men.*

I am not asking you to feignly tolerate injustice, or to be weakly acquiescent in the face of wrongdoing. I am not asking you to refuse love or forgiveness that is both righteous and just. I wish you to be brave, to resist injustice, and to show that which is right. But I would leave you, at the whole, maintain unswerving and unflinching goodwill in your hearts, remembering the words—

*Peace on earth, goodwill towards men.*

I have heard the story of an old white-haired French gentleman, in the time of the revolution who maintained an almost Christ-like tenderness and forgiveness in the midst of unending and wrong. When asked how he was able to keep such control over his lower nature, he replied,—“By remembering that I was born a gentleman.”

There is a white back-bright of moral greatness, which every one of us has possessed by inheritance, for it was in India that these truths of universal goodwill were first proclaimed. It is in your birth-right of your truth that I am calling you. Believe me, it is no cowardly policy to which I write you, but an admiration of truth and endurance

which requires the bravest men among the brave rightly to accomplish. It needs a mastery, not over oneself, but in a man's own inner spirit, a mastery of the good over the evil in oneself. It needs a determination, some what evil, or to be sure, that an evil passion shall arise. It needs to see complete mastery in the centre of the heart,—the mastery of love.

Christ, the Buddha, even his sad and stern Buddha, preached to all mankind the truth which he said,—

*Overcome anger with kindness,*

*Overcome untruth with truth,*

*Overcome hatred with love.*

Our Master proclaimed in the Gospels the same strange message, in these words,—

*For if ye love unto them the poor,*

*Keep and consider first,*

*So that ye have the joy of the Lord!*

The New Testament is full of kindred utterances. It is the very spirit of Christ and of the Gospels. Thus the great saints and sages of all generations of mankind, those who have been called the Friends of God, have spoken with one voice. No other truth of humanity has had such full and noble witness borne to it in every age. We see the laws of these great records of the past, let us not prove false to our inheritance.

Therefore, in the face of all that is hostile to you in East Africa, my message the Christmas-time is both simple and direct. Do not remain behind the hatred, evil for evil, wealth for wealth, but keep your own hearts pure and sweet and clean. Repeat and above all these lower usual phrases of the general hour, the truth of humanity alone,—

*God is your Father in heaven, and all ye are his children.*

C. F. ARDEN.

## HOW AND WHEN TO ACT.

PRINCIPLES OF THE NON-CO-OPERATION.

The following is a statement issued by the Non-co-operation Committee for public information and guidance:—

Many questions have been raised of the non-co-operation Committee as to its objectives and the scope in to be adopted for its work, non-co-operation.

The Committee wish it to be understood that while they regard every act to be opposed to their recommendations to be full, they are also open to every act which involves no harm to them. The Committee want to see first the passive sympathy, if not the active co-operation, of the whole of the country in the method of Non-co-operation.

Those, therefore, who cannot undergo physical acts, can still help by contributing funds or labour to the movement.

Should it be necessary to have any other means for the movement, the Committee have decided upon the following as part of the programme:—

(1) Surrender of all titles of honour and honorary offices.

- (5) Non-participation in Government loans  
 (6) Non-participation by lawyers of practice and students of legal studies by parents' arbitration.  
 (7) Boycott of the various schools by parents.  
 (8) Boycott of the Government Councils.  
 (9) Non-participation in Government offices, and such other institutions.  
 (10) Refusal to accept any civil or military post, or Commission, or to enter as Cadets for the army specially for service in the British colonies now being of increased in numbers of pledges.

#### PROPAGATE SWADESHI

- (11) Vigorous prosecution of "Swadeshi" industry for the people at the loss of the national and religious wealth, try, to appropriate their primary duty to their country, by being satisfied with the own productions and manufactures.

Swadeshi work be pushed forward without waiting for the aid of Ayaz, for it is an eternal rule of conduct not to be interrupted even when the settlement arrives.

In order not to exhaust themselves, people will refrain now from taking any civil or military. They will also suspend taking Government loans, etc. etc.

For the rest, it should be remembered that non-co-operation does not commence before the August 1st.

Every effort is being, and will still be, made to avoid such a rash & serious breach with the Government by urging Mr. Nagoy's illiterate to secure the passage of a Treaty which has been so universally condemned.

Those who make their responsibility and gravity of the cause will not act independently, but in concert with the Committee. Success depends entirely upon discipline and concerted non-co-operation and the latter is dependent upon strict discipline in individual, collective and distributive function from various.

#### REPATRIATION SCHEME.

M. K. K. Gandhi writes to the press—

"I have just read the interim report of the South African Commission published in Indian Opinion, and mostly removed. As it reads, the report seems to be harmful, from the word repatriation does not occur in it. It is a carefully worded document and as there seems to be no opposition to the recommendation from the resident Indian population, I am not inclined to oppose the proposal of the Commission. At the same time there is an underlying intention. Indeed they have not even attempted to conceal it, for they ask Mr. Kitchener the Governor of South Africa 'to appoint an official well-acquainted with the Indian mind and their methods to act as a sympathetic mediator and by before the Indians the advantages of immediately returning to India.' The aim is the obvious to first the Indians are advised to return and that the scheme entails that exactly whereas the anxiety seems to be all on the report of the Commission and their return is to be facilitated by placing the advantages before our ready to hand eyes. The working of the scheme will, however, require constant watching. There should be no complaint of any kind whatsoever and no interference of rights of themselves. I was pleased to note an absence of any reference to such interference in the interim report. One however never knows what interference may not be taken from the poor returning Indians

against the grant of a free passage. If the scheme is to be seriously considered without the present advice the South African Government will simply facilitate the return of those who are unable to support themselves in South Africa without depending for the subsistence of themselves. It would upon the face of it that unless the rights would be to take a more advantage of the deliberately artificiality of some of our countrymen in South Africa."

#### MR. GANDHI'S MESSAGE.

Mr. Gandhi has sent the following telegram to Mr. Mahomed Ali, London—

"Respected Mr. Ali, Indian representatives collectively signed manifesto, meant to convey opinion from the 1st August of 1900. Yours is not received as if the Young India had been Kitchener's opinion now in Mr. Kitchener's hands. I have sent my own separate representation explaining my connection with the movement and requesting speed cordiality with it. In my opinion the vast majority of Indian minds are behind the great and just agitation for respect of Indian subject's treatment and for securing fulfilment of non-sterilized pledges. You may be sure of everything possible being done on the side I have no doubt that in the great cause God will help us if we will help ourselves."

#### NON-CO-OPERATION.

Mr. GANDHI'S MESSAGE.

Mr. Gandhi writes to the press—

"I feel like to say that I am in entire accord with Late Jagat Rai on the question of the boycott of the coloured schools. For me it is not one step in the campaign of non-co-operation and as I feel equally bound on the first 1st question on the Kitchener, Late Jagat Rai's suggestion is doubly welcome. I have seen the suggestion made in some quarters that one that non-co-operation in the schools should commence after the process of election has been through. I cannot help saying that it is a mistake to go through the election first and the expense of it when we already do not intend to take part in the proceedings of these Legislative Councils. Moreover, a great deal of advantage will be to be done among the people. And if I could I would not have the least objection of the country shifted away in non-co-operation. The people will not understand the beauty of non-co-operation if we ask election and then begin. But it would be a fine education for them if the voters are not to elect actively and passively to tell themselves may not, their college that he would not represent them if he is sought election as long as the Punjab and Kitchener questions were not satisfactorily settled. I hope, however, that Late Jagat Rai does not seem to end with the boycott of the coloured schools. We must take of a country every one of the four stages of non-co-operation if we are to be regarded as a self-respecting nation. The next is clean, both the Kitchener terms and the Punjab election show that in this respect voters for Kitchener in the eyes of the Empire. It can be nothing further, we shall make nothing of it in relation of it quickly under the knowledge. In my humble opinion therefore the first condition of real progress in the removal of these difficulties is our path. And unless we have some of action in the school unless non-co-operation is not held in the field."



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi.)

New Series } ANNUNCIATED, WEDNESDAY, JULY 1<sup>st</sup>, 1908 } PAGE TWO AND A  
Vol. II, No. 21 } THE COURT.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
<b>Notes</b>	
A Good Omen .. .. .	1
A Vile Attack .. .. .	1
P. J. Indane .. .. .	1
Indians in S. Africa .. .. .	3
In Non-co-operation League? .. .. .	2
Women in the House .. .. .	2
<hr/>	
<b>Articles</b>	
General Remarks .. .. .	3
The Law of Repatriation .. .. .	3
General Note .. .. .	4
Democracy .. .. .	5
<hr/>	
<b>A Representative's Oath</b> .. .. .	5
Our Indian Colonies .. .. .	6
Our English Colonies .. .. .	7
<hr/>	
<b>S. African Opinion on the</b>	
Repatriation Scheme .. .. .	7
More about Repatriation .. .. .	8

## Notes.

**A Good Omen**—The obituary received by Mr. Gandhi from Johannesburg regarding the Drapers' shop had come as a hopeful sign of the good tidings from over the heads of our oppressors in the Transvaal. Hundreds of Indians held in their prisons had registered in the names of companies in which Indians possess a predominant interest. The High Court of the Transvaal had decided in a just case that such transactions were illegal as being in violation of the law forbidding Indian ownership of land. The Indians had appealed against the decision and now the obituary in question gives the good news that the appellate court has decided that it is not illegal for Indians to form companies for ownership of land. This decision simply restores the original status and is bound to be a means to effect the discharge of the British Government of South Africa. While therefore the decision is satisfactory so far as it goes, we need not be unduly sanguine. With the tale of anti-Indian legislation being in South Africa, the position of our countrymen must create a state of great anxiety to them and to us. Public opinion in India must strengthen the hands of the Government of India in their effort to put the Indian status in South Africa on a sound basis.

**A Vile Attack**—Although everything that Mr. Andrews ever said about the condition of the Indians in Fiji has been proved up to the hilt and although almost everyone of his recommendations has been accepted, the media writers that he was abused by the uneducated English Press in a most unparliamentary manner. Similarly over the English Press in East Africa is abusing Mr. Andrews for having dared to advocate the name of the Indians in East Africa and for having exposed the lies of the so-called Kipsaras Commission. Mr. Andrews has been accused by that Press of having been actuated by motives of self-interest and money-seeking. The writers cannot think that any Englishman is capable of doing anything without interest and pecuniary motives. They refuse to believe, the Indians of East Africa have professed from the beginning that Mr. Andrews was a man who devoted to the service of humanity, that Mr. Andrews wishes no money out of his well-earned income of God's service and that he does it even at the cost of his health. Happy for India and humanity in general, Mr. Andrews remains unshaken by these attacks and the more he established the more evidence he has been to show whom he loves and serves. The article explains the track of Mr. Andrews' statements.

**P. J. Indane**—The Straits Times, Malacca, recently received a telegram from Singapore (Singapore) saying that about twelve hundred Indian indentured laborers were returning to India. The ship (Singapore) arrived at Calcutta in the beginning of July. Mr. Gandhi Gandhi was deputed to receive the men, which he did. One of them was named in Bombay and was Mr. Gandhi. The man was in Fiji on an indefinite period of certain years. He says that he was more able to return and without difficulty, and that they were charged for return to India that many of them have sold their belongings at any price and come away. He said to Mr. Gandhi that the so-called men were not due to any fault of the Indians, but that Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi's names were departed without any reason whatsoever. There is no doubt that these returned immigrants will spread all kinds of stories believed by them to be true. It is the duty of the Government to publish the full facts regarding the Fiji's tragedy which is a national calamity and a condition of disaster.

**Indians in East Africa**—The first act of General Sir E. Frere on his return to East Africa is to announce that an Order-in-Council has been signed assigning British East Africa under the name of the Kenya Colony, that a line of five miles is being fixed, and finally that no decision has been reached regarding the Indian problem. With this announcement partially removed from the public any arbitrary decision having been reached by the Imperial Government, it gives some idea as to what developments are contemplated in re-organizing the Protectorate and moving the line. Should any change in the administrative machinery be contemplated—we do know it is—the question of the rights and the status of Indians in the Colony naturally crops up.

As everybody knows, the Indians being the pre-eminent in the Colony classes, if we possibly possess at least equality of status with the European settlers. His statement very justly demands equal extension of electoral and municipal franchises, equal representation in the General and Municipalities, removal of racial and other disabilities against law with regard to the acquisition and transfer of land and the necessary accompanying restrictions on Indian immigration and finally the extension of Indians to all public services on equal terms.

The Indian delegation headed by Mr. Charles Roberts laid down these claims before the General Secretary, Lord Milner, and pressed him for a declaration that equality of rights and citizenship should be the ruling principle that should guide the conduct of Imperial affairs. His Lordship was also apprised of the foregoing Indian and their determination not to compromise the law nor pay the taxes in the country unless their just and irrefragable demands for equality of rights with the Whites in the land were granted. But his reply was far from satisfactory. While stating that the Governor of East Africa had been instructed as to the policy to be followed—by the by the Governor's latest announcement mentioned above is that no decision has yet been arrived at—Lord Milner commented and upheld the principle of "interests" to that of "equality of rights." Mr. Roberts asked whether the Secretary for the Colonies was prepared to say that no policy based on racial lines and racial problems would be adopted. Lord Milner's reply was that while he would not be actuated by color, he would be an impartial judge between the "interests of interests that are here involved." It is thus clear that it is the sole granting of "interests" and not the "equality of citizenship" that guides the policy of the Colonial Office. We shall wait and see further developments. In the meantime no stone should be left unturned both here and in East Africa in meeting our demands.

**In Non-co-operation Ganges**—Mr. V. P. Khaderjee is reported to have said that non-co-operation was impossible because it was "vague," and therefore could be restricted to only by non-violence. But non-co-operation cannot be demanded quite so lightly. The ordinary method of conducting a thing is to give it a full scope. Mr. V. P. Khaderjee has discussed a novel method of conducting the game, viz. voluntary thing a moral sense to make impression on the administration officials. Some Indians are unwilling to non-co-operation as a moral sense thing and it would be like what is being preached in India, if there was no system as it. But actually considers there to be amongst General Bala Chandra to co-operate with Lord Milner after the time. We believe the game was granted full self-government and in stages as Lord Milner had intended but all at once. He professed such a transaction which upon public opinion that the game got over, then they wanted General Bala was one of the non-co-operation. There was an interest connected with General Bala's non-co-operation. Yet he was not by any means an unwilling man. And we know by the time that General Bala, he right hand man, as a minister of the Union Cabinet. The fact is that we must self-government, we want justice done in the face of the British system, without our having to suffer any inconvenience or loss. We believe that it is an impossible fact we are attempting. 'Verily there is no salvation of us without the shedding of (our) blood.'

**Women in the Congress**—The meeting of the women of Bombay presided over by Mrs. Jagan Lalamba Patil was exceedingly well attended. Most of the noted ladies were represented at the meeting. It was composed of all the classes. It was rightly chaired by Mrs. Bhandari that the women had constituted largely to the extension of the education system in India. And she hoped that the opinion of our talented women on the Punjab affairs would carry equal weight. Her confidence proved at the meeting was certainly comprehensive enough. Mrs. Waghmare gave a graphic description of the way of the Punjab and Mr. Laxmi had stress on the necessity of women progress, the demand for manhood. They were not to buy their own, conduct and comparative ability at the rest of their lives fortunate exists. It was a good thing, for them to have that that situation but it was not easy for them to make up their minds to meet on public being done. They need not consider themselves to be weak (weak). That is an act of the body, and not of the soul (weak). A Hindu girl with her soul awakened could never subordinated before such a English officer as he had left. But that would only happen when the women of India developed the working spirit of India. May we hope that the women of our India will organize under one flag and directed justice for the Punjab.

## Young India.

Published, *Wednesday, 12th July, 1926.*

### COUNCILS BEYOND.

By M. K. Gandhi.

Friend Bhabhai, Lord Chelmsford has sought himself a good deal of support on the matter of the proposed boycott of the Councils. Had he decided, most of the respectable leaders were disposed to boycott the Councils. The Mahatma has pronounced against it as a well-intentioned article. The reasons dropped out of his mind are mainly two: (1) If the Mahatma refuses the Mahatmas will get all the credit (2) even though the Legislative Councils we have made some progress in our history to make greater progress for some of the poor people having been granted in popular representation.

Now the best chance has by now given to a great popular party that is bound to enter the Councils, why should we decide to be just one of the members entering the Councils? Must they participate in the law because moderate will not refuse? Or, as it is concluded that the law can be avoided only if all join the boycott? If the law is the problem it is better to ignore it the principle of boycott. We boycott an institution because we do not like it or because we do not wish to co-operate with its members. In the matter of the Councils the latter is the leading reason. And I submit that at present we cooperate by joining such through the object of obstruction. Most resolutions, and a French legislation, could meet all these open objections. The developed obstruction of the law members made practically no suggestions upon the House of Commons. The Indians have not got the same faith they wanted. The Mahatma says that obstruction would be more and aggressive non-co-operation. I wish to drop it in my opinion it shows want of faith in yourself as in your actions. Let don't and just speak. I do not believe that either the English or the moderate leaders can possibly cooperate with a genuine a national boycott of the Councils. We are now free to live with the country. Will a single moderate leader dare to enter my council if more than half his constituents disapproved of his offering himself as a candidate at all? I hold that it would be unconstitutional for him to do so, because he will not represent his constituents. Beyond me, tempted by our progress, a most severe discipline and material progress and it is based on the assumption that the election themselves will prefer complete to an incomplete boycott as the form of obstruction. If it is stated, I that the people themselves do not want a complete boycott it would be the duty of those who believe in it to adjust the objection to represent the superiority of boycott over obstruction. To note the necessity to be subject to the title of the majority, a non-cooperation

If then we want to stop the machinery of Government, as we want to, could we get together the English and the French nations, we need put our whole weight against the Government and refuse to accept the vote of the majority in the council, because it will neither represent the wish of the majority nor our own which is more to the point on a matter of principle. A minister who refuses to serve is better than one who serves under protest, Service under protest shows that the situation is not sustainable. I consider that the situation created by the Government has become sustainable and therefore, the only course left open to a self-respecting people is non-cooperation in a complete abstention. The real issue related to enter Lord Chelmsford's Council, because he is entirely disapproved of the principle that personal Lord Chelmsford is dealing with the House. And General Duffin suggested to leave to had previously the whole of the Government behind him. Politically considered, serious depends upon the country accepting the boycott movement. Politically considered, serious as this for the individual as soon as he has acted upon the principle he holds and his action has covered national success because he has had the confidence by showing the straight way to it.

The other argument is that we shall succeed by entering the new Councils because we have after all got their spirit so fully in having entered the popular Indian before. The answer to the objection is that the denuding has not then been reached, we had not been confidence in British honesty and justice or we had not confidence in ourselves that to carry beyond to the successful end as we had not thought of the method on the way we are doing to-day. Probably all the three reasons operate today. After all, manners and methods change with the times. We must grow with our years. What was good enough food for our babyhood cannot be good enough to withstand.

### THE LAW OF MAJORITIES

By M. K. Gandhi.

Mrs. Bhabhai having made a report of my speech at the Ganesh Meeting organized by the Home Rule League and the National Union, Bombay, and having stated more than I had intended the resolution asking for the presentation of General Dyer and the impeachment of Mr. Herbert Vivian said here I would make a resolution which even I had not appeared, Mr. Chelmsford has also left many about the same end. I have not even my report of my speech. I am unable to say therefore whether I am correctly reported. My speech was in Gujarati and may have suffered at the hands of the translating reporter. I shall endeavor to explain my own position independently of the reports of my speech. And I do so gladly because I recognize that the principle raised by the two great leaders is very important.

I have often been charged with having an un-patriotic nature. I have been told that I would not bow to the demands of the majority. I have been accused of being ultra-liberal. Now on the occasion of the Punjab Meeting, I was pleased to receive a resolution which did not condemn itself to me. I undertook to do so reserving to myself the right to expressing emphatic opinions to the meeting. And I did so. I have never been able to subscribe to the charge of obstinacy or ultra-liberal. On the contrary I pride myself on my pulling weight in non-violent matters. I demand autonomy. Valuing my freedom and independence. I equally cherish them for others. I have no desire to carry a rough road with me, if I cannot appeal to his or her reason. My unconcernability I carry to the point of rejecting the desirability of the silent Chaitany if they cannot involve my reason. But I have found by experience that if I wish to live in peace and still retain my independence. I must limit the points of other independence to matters of first rate import. In all other cases which do not involve a departure from one's personal religion or moral code, one must yield to the majority. In the case of questions I had an opportunity of discussing my position. Of my so-called un-patriotic nature the meeting had already illustrated. It was happy to find a great measure where I could safely yield. I believe and that the meeting is wrong in asking for General Dyer's prosecution and Mr. Nathan O'Dwyer's impeachment. That is purely the business of the British. My purpose is to secure the removal of the wrong done from my office under the Crown. Nothing I have seen since has altered my view. And I pressed it before the very meeting at which I moved the resolutions in question. Yet I moved it because there is nothing immoral in asking for General Dyer's prosecution. The country has the right to demand it. The Congress Sub-committee has advised that matter at that night and only do good to India. I thought therefore that I had made my position quite clear, namely that I will oppose the idea of prosecution and yet I had no objection to moving the resolutions that involved prosecution because it was not bad or harmful per se.

I don't believe that during the debate we are passing through, my moving the resolution was a dangerous experiment. For, what was our chief aim? To show public opinion and trying to correct, influence or lead the masses, it is not safe to do anything that is likely to confuse the mass and is to appear to be breaking in the middle. I believe that at the present moment it is better to be talked through and corrected than even to appear to be influenced by the multitude for the sake of its approbation. Those who think to lead the masses must resolutely refuse to be led by them. If we wish to deal with law and desire ordered progress for the country. I believe that more persistence of our's opinion and adherence to the mass opinion is as truly not enough but to, neither

of vital importance, leaders must not contrary to the mass of opinion. If it does not concern itself to their reason.

## GENERAL DYER.

(S. M. K. Gandhi.)

The Army General has found General Dyer guilty of error of judgment and advised that he should not receive any office under the Crown. Mr. Hastings has been awaiting on his criticism of General Dyer's conduct. And yet somehow or other I cannot help feeling that General Dyer is by no means the worst offender. His brutality is undeniable. His stupid and unshakable conviction is apparent in every line of his amazing defiance before the Army Council. He has called an unarmed crowd of uneducated children—mostly helplessness—a 'riotous army'. He believed himself to be the writer of the Punjab so that he was able to shoot down his subjects men who were passed on as innocents. Such a man is certainly of being considered a soldier. There was no heroism in his action. He ran no risk. He shot without the slightest apprehension and without warning. That is not a 'error of judgment'. It is a paralysis of it in the face of human danger. It is a sign of mental incapacity and ineffectiveness. But the fury that has been spent upon General Dyer is, in my view, largely misdirected. No doubt the shooting was 'indefensible'. The loss of innocent life deplorable. But the slow torture, degradation and mutilation that followed was much worse, more calculated, malicious and cruel. Killing, and the actions which performed the death deserve greater condemnation than General Dyer for the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. The latter merely charged a few bullets but the others tried to kill the soul of a nation. Who were worse of Col. Frank Johnson who was by far the worst offender? He tortured the helpless Lahore, and by his cruelities added not the least to the whole of the British Law system. But what I am concerned with is not even Col. Johnson. The first business of the people of the Punjab and of India is to red the wrongs of Col. O'Hara, Mr. Emsworth Smith, Mr. Sir John and Mr. Malik Khan. They are still retained on the service. Their guilt was much proved as that of General Dyer. We shall have failed in our duty if the condemnation pronounced upon General Dyer produces a sense of satisfaction and the obvious duty of purging the administration in the Punjab is neglected. That task will not be performed by platonic debates or resolutions merely. More action is required on our part if we are to make any headway with ourselves and make any impression upon the officials that they are not to consider themselves as masters of the people but as their servants and servants who cannot hold office if they misbehave the masses and prove unworthy of the trust reposed in them.

## URGENT.

(By K. K. Ghosh.)

There is something seriously afoot in the legislative councils of South Africa. I had never dreamt that the Indian report had the slightest connection with the Indian Relief Act of 1914. I have now read the full text of that Act and had a discussion with Mr Andrews also. Till the latter drew my attention to the Act, I had even forgotten that there was a section in the Act itself regarding the granting of free passages across frontiers of districts. The Department's memorandum confirms Mr Andrews' information. What wonder was it the fact that it has been found at all unnecessary to have an Indian report in order to reduce the free passage section of the Relief Act. That section falls in the plan of the general sections of different Acts of the Natal legislature repealed by the Act. These sections provided for the grant of free passages to those who were unable to make the payment of the tax or re-embarkate. The section in question though designed to affect those people was made generally applicable. But the debate in the assembly made perfectly clear the scope of the section. The committee at the time was that those who paid the 5 l. tax, really do not become denizens, and if when they intend to pay the tax, they wanted to take advantage of the free passage section, they should prefer the right of denizens which was at that time considered to be an equitable extension of the very highly defunct system of the removal of water, which had been so vague for nearly twenty years. The section applied somewhat alike the scope of the Act, but I was personally not allowed to raise the subject, require a written application for a free passage which was a difficult thing to obtain from any Indian in Natal and it was only happen in the case of those indentured Indians who having become free are at the present moment unable to support themselves. Now every Indian was likely to take advantage of the section and indeed some denizens at the same time I cannot help feeling that no diplomatist was so being attempted to be made of the nation that was designed not to meet areas of poverty but to meet cases of doubtful denizens, a case in which it was open to the Anti-Indian party to argue that denizens had not been acquired. To-day six years after the repeal of the tax, every Indian under liability to pay that tax has acquired statutory denizens. It is against my idea of right that a government should take advantage of distress of men and seek to deprive them of a previous right. It would be better just to leave the section under unequal conditions. However I derive satisfaction from the fact that in spite of the machinery that is being set up, not every Indian would take the doubtful advantage of the section.

## A SUPERINTENDENT'S ORDER

Mr. Ghosh writes to the press—

The Hon'ble French Indian Indian Intergovt has issued to me an order signed by Mr. E. A. Brown, the Superintendent of Police, Guyana (French). The Faculty has given it to me for publication with such alterations as I could spare out of my experience of the Guyanese district, the whole of which I visited during my stay in the People. The order is dated the 20th June 1919. It may be recalled that Superintendent Brown, it was who directed the firing when one of the Railway bridges was set fire to by a Guyanese crowd on the 16th April 1919. Here is the order in question.

### ORDER.

To the Chief Magistrate of Police,

Grand Guyana, the 20th of June 1919.

It is now generally known that Martial Law will be taken off in this district, from those towns upon which it is still in force in a few days. The result of this will be that only those cases actually at the time of removal of the said law shall stand before the Martial Law Commission will be allowed to continue to stand under Martial Law.

All other cases whether under investigation or under trial before a Summary Court, will have to be dropped and run their course to trial under the ordinary law. This will mean greatly prolonging their course under the ordinary law since will proceed slowly in court and there will be appeals also. You therefore superintend that all cases now ready for trial in the Summary Courts should be sent up for trial immediately and that all cases still under investigation which can be completed rapidly should be completed if possible by 1st week of July. In this district so far the police have sent up comparatively few cases for trial and as there must be many persons who are guilty and against whom there is considerable evidence should be sent up for trial without delay.

Great efforts must now be made to complete all pending cases as soon. Investigations pending should be held expeditiously and every effort must be made to call up all witnesses who can help in getting the truth of the accused.

Proper attention has not as yet been paid to meeting the wants of denizens. This must now be done. On such matters, Intergovt are should now be sent out before court, after discussion and every effort must be taken done at once. It is not sufficient merely to send a message to some police stations for their records.

I need not express upon my share the great necessity of completing these cases at once and of getting a sufficient number of accused dealt with before Martial Law is removed. This demand in point of time of numbers sent up for trial or for behind other districts and the naturally common extension on the ordinary and summary courts by the police here. Something now will be done to express matters and all my efforts put their hands and the work done in no reason, why the regulation of all

the investigating staff here should suffer in comparison with those who have investigated in Lahore and Amritsar, but should the question come up for trial evidence as small as accidental will undoubtedly not remove the Guider and expect they are as some witnesses reported to.

1-6-1932

[P.] P. A. Rao,  
Superintendent Police,  
Gujranwala.

Scores of witnesses in the District gave evidence before the Congress Sub-Committee that during the last days of Martial Law, besides other heinous offences were committed in the Summary courts recalled. The prevailing officers sat late at night and without even necessary defence witnesses condemned absolutely innocent men to various terms of imprisonment. One of the officers who then stood up to speak was Ch. O'Brien, and the other was Mr. Rowland Smith. The order reproduced above adds evidence to the evidence recorded by the Congress Committee and throws a hard light on the way in which proceedings took place. And it was in this summary and petty manner that men who were absolutely innocent of any crime were harassed and imprisoned at Alibagach, Bannamangal and other places, and still these officials remain their offices and the power of doing evil.

### OUR MADRAS LETTER

"What are you on the Police Form?" "I am a First Grade constable." "So, you have been some years in service. What is your pay?" "I get Rs. 10 a month." "From allowance?" "All included." "Are you provided with free quarters?" "None at all, but I am not. I pay a house rent of Rs. 5, but Government pays Rs. 1, and I pay the difference." "Your uniform at least, you are given that too, I suppose." "Yes, but I have to pay the dhoty. We pay heavily to look smart and avoid black marks, the dhoty and the buttons are daily rising their rates. Rs. 4 a month is barely enough for the kind of work." "Why do you sell it waste?" "When we have got enough to buy rice and shall and salt, what else but waste in washing and stitching, darning and patching?" "Do you have to buy your own shoes-patch and brass polish?" "Yes and we buy our own shirts and undershirt, and have to keep them clean and white. They get dirty and tear so easily." "After all these odds and ends, what do you have left to buy your food-stuff?" "Sometimes Rs. 12, sometimes Rs. 8, and sometimes less." "Are you married?" "I am not, I have a wife and two children." "Do they work and earn anything?" "Yes, one a constable's wife do nobody's work; however, where is the man? The children are poor, and when the father after the house, I could not possibly to signify at my duty." "Do the children go to school?" He looked sad as he said, "I am trying to send them, but I can't afford it. A neighbour will be would recommend them to a big Yash and get some cheaply

If I started, I can send at least one of them to school." "Do you own anything against others one the police?" "Suppose you get a daughter, what will you do for her marriage?" "Oh, I have some family property which my grandfather left to. He was an efficient administrator. I have been able to live by the land I owned on that property. My uncle has a cloth shop at Vennachulu. He helps my wife who is his daughter. Yes, do you think I could live on that outside?" "ay."

The constable's case is only illustrative. If one supposed into the life of any of the subordinate Government servants one will find the same story of insufficient pay, lower rated to family property, loss acquired by more progressive activities, and help from generous relatives. The question is often asked, why if salaries were inadequate in their so much capacities for the place. The answer is that there is a large body of uneducated functionaries who stand in need of supplemental earnings and who would therefore never, like the higher and paid in salaries, be made paid wages. But simply to raise men offer themselves, it is not desirable that the State should absorb the services of any person unless he is paid the minimum needed for maintaining him and his family. The State must not be a private employer whose only concern is to cheapen the cost of production. As things stand the efficiency of the subordinate Government services is being kept up out of the earnings of other professions or some other class of workers who feel bound to help according to their usual means. To increase the salaries of the ill-paid subordinate Government servants may mean increased taxation, or reduction of establishments. But at present a part of the expense in making a large number of uneducated functionaries who are prepared to undertake such services of Government should make up what is wanted to make both ends meet. That is to say the cost of maintenance of clerks, peons, and accountants is met partly by general taxation and partly by robbing poor families at their unremunerated services by taking advantage of their poverty and their inability to stand out and bargain. What the nation gains by cheap subordinate clerical and other services is lost by the impoverishment of families and consequent permanent injury to the national wealth. One of the very greatest services which the more responsible functionaries can render to the nation would be the initiation of a bold and impartial enquiry into the minimum wage necessary for self-supporting and healthy existence taking into account the social obligations and circumstances of the various strata of Indian society, and a readjustment of salaries and wages in accordance therewith.

HRISUDHAR

It would be sad that even in well-informed circles the reasons of Mr. Gandhi's attachment to masses Indian cloth does not appear yet to be understood. Mr. Gandhi does not prohibit any piece of purchase

who are allowed wearing a special Indian fabric. But these fabrics have now given place to cheap foreign imitations. The cloth that is worn by Mr. Gandhi is knit in no three reasons. The first reason is that it is made made of cotton spun as well as woven by Indian hands. The fine texture stuff woven in India and sold as bombazine was almost all foreign yarn. If you desire your cloth to be from India, you must take account of texture. Otherwise you will depend on Lancashire or Japan to clothe poor Indians. The second reason is that by the imported fabric, the coarse Indian hand-spun is far from completely, and when beneficial than even the machine-made fabric that come for our consumption from foreign countries. The third reason is that it will furnish an occupation to our women, which, when the cloth should come to be valued at the least worth will prevent them on account of drought, from offering to work in planters and circumstances such as we ought not to allow our women to be engaged.

## ONE MONTH LETTER

### THE REPATRIATION CASE

In my previous letter, commenting on the Bahadurgarh case, I had occasion to point out that the defence witness was that Nawab Singh, Jadda of Bahadurgarh, and Nisar Mahmood, Vice-Consul at Bahadurgarh, in getting the application on the case before the High Court presented. I also made reference to the judgment of the Hon. Mr. Justice Harbuzar in which that hon. judge said "It is worthy of note that Nisar Mahmood is not applicant for an appointment as Honorary Magistrate at the Bahadurgarh Bench and that he was told by the Deputy Commissioner of Bahadurgarh about a month before the submission of the charges, that his application would be considered if he did my special session. I did not know at the time that the authorities on their negligence, in regard to the actions of this 'loyal' subject, did not wait for the High Court judgment in which his evidence was established and that he had already obtained the consent of the Governor of his home State. Will Nisar Mahmood have been appointed an Honorary Magistrate in recognition of his loyal services. When a man and who is evidently that a High Court had not before, his statement? Now his own good friend, Nawab Singh, Jadda of Bahadurgarh been benefited in the distribution of business and patronage even though the High Court judgment against his evidence is so absolutely unimpeachable. He has obtained a reward from the Government, presumably for his share of the job done by the Mahadul Officer has got instructions from the Government of India and the Secretary of State, lower down, who carried out the

re-arrangement Government's policy cannot suppose that they have not had these shares. I do not however regard these men the reward of their loyalty, but men who please come. What I feel sorry for is the Indian nation, which has been favouring men who have sold their souls to outsiders, and punishing people who follow the right path as these. All our protests and remonstrances to remedy this evil at the Colonization have failed so far. The only remedy left remains to be non-cooperation, advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and recently by Late Lajpat Rai. I am sure that there is considerable dissatisfaction of opinion over the necessity of this remedy although we can look on it as a very real and successful alternative.

## WHITE AFRICAN OPINION ON REPATRIATION

London White African correspondent of The Times in India writes to it as follows:

With the people whose report of the Commission's views, and its proposals, were equal promptitude, by the Union Government, have been accepted. The Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Johnston, has, it was reported, with considerable reluctance rather than with alacrity, and the various reports presented with such slowness, that it is anticipated. Thus, the Government was not expected to adopt or even to recommend a recommendation for reducing the restrictions on the export of gold as the matter is not primary business, the subject of discussion by a Select Committee of the House of Assembly. However, the Government, perhaps elsewhere, do not weigh such with financial heads when the currency is weak.

The case of report has met with generally general approval. The best for real satisfaction will come when the next report of the Commission, such as you.

What strikes one about the report is that it is quite in accord with the purpose of the Commission's letter of appointment, which is confined to trading, and that it is not being hindered by the various and various of London demand. The various recommendations are, accordingly, being forwarded with the least delay, though not with a sense under the heading of compliance with the conditions. It is, indeed, about the only parting which both Europeans and Africans are agreed.

The Times, December 1929.

It is worth to be noticed that the report of the London Deputy Commissioner to the Government to get teachers for the voluntary repatriation of Indians was being, at the moment. The proposals the Government put forward, of course, perhaps would be a very desirable but one thing is sure is to refer to these. The Indian, and the

if not actually encouraged to do so. We have urged this way many times in these columns. The Rev. C. F. Andrews in the article in issue for the fortnight ending last month says in South Africa and much the same thing. Whether steps may be taken hereafter to solve the Amrita problem, they must be prompted by a wisely calculated effort to meet the reasonable wishes of those who are only prevented from remaining in India, by lack of means.

But this does not explain how the Amrita Commission came to present this extreme report, or in what circumstances entirely outside the scope of their inquiry. None of the heads of influence has anything to do with the repatriation of Amritas, nor was the Commission empowered to collect evidence on the question of the desirability of repatriating, voluntarily or otherwise, the Indian population of this country. In the main, it is a good thing that a Commission should make recommendations outside the scope of their terms. We are constrained to view this sort of report, because already a number of people in our midst are taking opportunities that the Government, by acting on the Commission's recommendations, may send away from this country to some distant market to its "withering." "The men we want out of the country," say, "live within its doors," "are the Am's wives, and are the pretence, in all cases, hard working Am's."

**THE UNIVERSAL PETITION.**

The number Universal petition proper for relief from the Amrita menace presented to the House of Assembly by Mr. A. S. Dalry, the member for Koyambur, hereafter signed, shows the possession of the petition as additional demand signatures have reached the South African League, the promoters of the petition. An analysis of the signatures reveals the very representative character of the petition.

The public bodies signing as a corporate body numbered as fewer than 20 associations, the 28 branches of the South African League, six Chambers of Commerce, five Trade Unions, six School Boards, and eleven Parents' Associations. Among the signatures were 23 candidates for election to Parliament, 20 clergymen, and 12,077 signatures were given on the Standard or Pioneer on the day of the General Election.

Trade Unions returned 54,246 signatures, South African League branches 11,252, and farmers in 201 distributed subscriptions 7,324. Petitions is the only leading municipality whose name does not appear on the petition.

**OUR MADRAS AGENTS.**

Kanna, S. Gannur & Co. (3 Redcrossman, Chetty Street, Triplicane, Madras) are our authorized Agents in Madras.

**MORE ABOUT REPATRIATION.**

**FURTHER EXPLANATION.**

The Government of India have now received further information regarding the scheme of voluntary repatriation of Indians from South Africa recommended in the various reports of the Amrita Enquiry Commission which was published on the 1st July last. The repatriation will be carried out under the provisions of section 4 of the Indian Emigration Act 1874. This section is reproduced below -

(1) The Minister may, under direction, cause to be prepared out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose, a free passage from any port in the Union to any port in India (with or without free transportation by rail or such first mentioned paragraph as herein, either then or before) who is or may become entitled under law No. 22 of 1881, India, to any immunities therein, to such free passage, the Indian writes request for such free passage and (2) agree on a resolution of the general court requests statement that he consents on behalf of himself and his wife and all minor children. (3) may of rights possessed by him or them to lands or tenures in any part of the Union together with all rights incidental to him or their domestic tenures and (4) transfer to an officer designated by the Minister such means of subsistence of such Indian and his wife and minor children. (5) may in the Minister may provide. A condition is signed shall be understood to mean that such Indian and his wife and minor children (6) may have abandoned him or their rights to lands and tenures in the Union and any rights incidental to him or their domestic tenures.

It will be seen that the Union Government can provide free passage only to Indians who submit themselves in writing and who sign as a member of the grant of the passage a statement that they consent on behalf of themselves, their wives and their minor children (if any) all their rights to lands and tenures in Union together with all rights incidental to their domestic tenures. It is understood that the Government of the Union of South Africa have placed Mr. Wynne Cole, Secretary of the State, in special duty to carry out the scheme and that Indians leaving South Africa will be directed to take legitimate transport paid subject to a maximum of £25 per head or £30 per family. The Government of India are assured that repatriation under the scheme will be a purely voluntary and that it will be left to Indians in South Africa alone to decide whether they desire to take advantage of the Union Government's offer.

**IMPORTANT NOTICE.**

**PLEASE NOTE THE CHANGE IN ADDRESS.**

All communications regarding subscriptions, editorial etc should be addressed to the Editors, "Young India", Disraeli Road, Alambathal and not to Chokli St., Fardier Pains, Alambathal.

**Our price of subscriptions**

( payable strictly in advance )

Annual via India (with postage)	Five Rupees
Outside India	Twelve Shillings.
Single Copy	Two annas.

All correspondence should be clearly marked on the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Subscriptions, Alambathal.





my College, Kandy, Ceylon, T. H. Ganesan, Hindu College, Nagpur, R. H. Gray, United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Bangalore, J. H. Heyland, Hindu College, Nagpur, S. G. Jambler, Preraphael, Kumbakonam College, Trincombee, R. G. M. Lamb, Wesleyan Mission, Trincombee, Madras, J. H. Marston, United Free Church of Scotland Mission, Coimbatore, N. Manavel, United Free Church of Scotland, Poona, R. L. Pelly, United Preraphael, Bishop's College, Coimbatore, G. H. G. Shetty, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, K. J. Thangaraj, Wesleyan Mission College, Bangalore, A. R. Tili, Cambridge Mission to India, P. J. Winters, Head of Cambridge Mission to India, C. Knappier Williams, Preraphael, Wesley College, Madras, J. Wastherton, United Wesleyan, Chittoor, G. H. Young, Baptist Mission, H. H. L. Young, Baptist Mission, Palwal, Punjab, H. Young, Baptist Mission, Palwal, Punjab, F. H. F. Young, Cambridge Mission to India, and Frank Young, Baptist Mission, Delhi.

## Young India.

Announced, Wednesday, 17th July, 1930.

### AT THE CALL OF THE COUNTRY.

(By W. E. Gladstone.)

Dr. Sayer delivered before the Kishanji Conference at Allahabad an important address sympathising with the Non-cooperators in their struggle for freedom from subservience to non-co-operation. He was frankly unable to suggest a substitute but was emphatically of opinion that whether there was a substitute or not non-co-operation was surely worse than the system. He said further that Non-cooperators will be taking upon their shoulders a serious responsibility if what they appealed to the general public to join them, they would not appeal to the Indian judges to resign and if they did they would not succeed.

I acknowledge the force of Dr. Sayer's last argument. At the heart of Dr. Sayer's case is the fact that non-co-operation by the general public would lead to disorder and chaos and would do no good. In my opinion any non-co-operation is bound to do some good. Even the Viceroy's disclaimer saying, "From this, I can save the Government no longer because it has lost my critical favour and sympathy" is a step towards and more effective than the negligent speech denouncing against the Government for its position.

Nevertheless it would be wrong to appeal to the law because what one has appealed to the highest in the land. And as I propose, if the necessity arose, to ask the law makers of the Government to suggest's Government how an unjust Government, I propose now to address an appeal to the Judges and the Executive Councils. To join the protest that is rising from all over India against the double wrong done to India, on the Kishanji and the Punjab questions, in both national honour is involved.

I take it that these gentlemen have retired upon their high offices not for the sake of money,

most, nor I hope for the sake of fame, but for the sake of serving their country. It was not for money, for, they were earning more than they do now. It must not be for fame, for, they cannot buy fame at the cost of national honour. The only justification that one of the present moment keep them in office must be service of the country.

When the people have faith in the government, what it represents the popular will, the judges and the executive officials justly serve the country. But when that government does not represent the will of the people, when it supports dishonesty and terrorism, the judges and the executive officials by retaining office become instruments of dishonesty and terrorism. And the least desirable that these holders of high office can do is to cease to become agents of a dishonest and tyrannical government.

For the judges the objection will be raised that they are above politics, and so they are and should be. But the objection is true only so far as the government is on the whole for the benefit of the people and at least represents the will of the majority. Not to take part in politics means not to take sides. But when a whole country has been divided, not will, when a whole country has been divided, not will, it is no longer a question of party politics, it is a question of life and death. It then becomes the duty of every citizen to refuse to serve a government which mis-believes and mis-administers work. The judges are it that except bound to follow the orders if they are generally in accordance.

There were some speakers who argued that I applied to both the judges and the members of the executive. It will be argued that my appeal could only be meant for the Indians and what good can it do by Indian non-cooperation unless which have been won for the nation by hard struggle. I wish that I could make an effective appeal to the English as well as the Indians. But I confess that I have written with the mental reservation that the appeal is addressed only to the Indians. I must therefore excuse the argument just stated. What it is to hope that these offices have been retained after a prolonged struggle, they are of use not because of the struggle but because they are retained to serve the nation. The moment they cease to possess that quality, they become useless and as in the present case harmful, no matter how honoured and therefore valuable they may have been at the outset.

I would submit too to our distinguished countrymen who occupy high offices that their giving up their offices will bring the struggle to a speedy end and would probably divert the danger altogether upon the masses being called upon to signify their disapproval by withdrawing co-operation. If the title-holders give up their titles, if the holders of honorary offices give up their appointments and if the high officials give up their posts, and the world be ourselves beyond the controls, the Government would quickly cease to its enemy

and give effect to the people's will. For the alternative before the Government then would be making half-draught rules pure and simple. That would probably mean military dictatorship. The world's opinion has advanced so far that Britain does not contemplate such dictatorship with equanimity. The taking of the steps suggested by me will accelerate the peaceful revolution the world has now seen. Once the selfishness of non-co-operation is realised, there is no end to all kindred and mature or any steps or form.

Undoubtedly a great deal has grown to warrant the drastic method of national non-co-operation. I do say that the officials in two towns put upon India cannot be regarded for a military India need run now or 'in India', if not for ever, seriously for a military. And I cannot imagine a graver wrong than the massacre of Jallianwala and the barbarity that followed it, the whitewash by the Hunter Committee, the dispatch of the Government of India, Mr. Montagu's letter upholding the Theory and the Hon. Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, the refusal to remove officials who made of the lives of the Punjab's half during the Martial Law period. These acts constitute a complete series of degrading wrongs against India which if India has any sense of honour, she must fight at the expense of all the material wealth the possession. If she does not, she will have bartered her soul for a 'state of politics.'

## THE MUSIC OF THE SPINNING WHEEL.

(By M. K. Ghosh.)

Hardly had I made the music of perhaps the most ancient machine of India in even more promising society. Pandit Haladitya has stated that he is not going to be satisfied until the Kashi and the Maharajah of India spin yarn for the nation, and the Maharaj and the Maharajah of Indore the handlooms and weave cloth for the nation. They have the example of Anwaruddin who made his own caps. A greater master—Khalid-walid-walla weaver and has assimilated the art in his power. The queen of Banega before Europe was taught in Sultan's trap, spin yarn and mastered of a noble making. The very words, quarter and with, prove the national dignity of the art of spinning and weaving. When Akbar desired and Ere spin, who was then a professional, also reminds me of the same fact. Well may Pandit hope to persuade the royalty of India to return to the ancient calling of this sacred land of ours. Not on the latter of arms depends the revival of her property and her independence. It depends most largely upon civilisation, in every locus, of the music of the spinning wheel. It gives greater music and is more profitable than the miserable humdrum, monotonous and the machine.

What Pandit is endeavouring in his infinitely more manner to persuade the Indian royalty to take up the spinning wheel, Shriwasth, Sacha Devi Choudhury, who is herself a member of the

Indian nobility, has learnt the art and has shown a loyal heart and soul into the movement. From all the attempts recovered from her and others, Shriwasth has become a passion with her. She says she feels uncomfortable in her simple dress and is content to wear her Khadiya sari even in the hot weather. Her Khadiya saris continue to reach her Chaudhary more cheaply than her longos. She has spoken in substance at Amritsar, Ludhiana and elsewhere and has succeeded in winning the services for her spinning societies at Amritsar, of Mrs. Batachand and Dugga Choudhary and the famous Ratan Devi who during the bright night of the 23rd April, despite the Curfew Order of General Dyer set, all alone in the midst of the hundreds of the dead and dying, with her dead husband's old hand in her lap. I venture to tender my congratulations in these ladies. May they feel mine in the grace of the spinning wheel and in the thought that they are doing national work. I hope that the other ladies of Amritsar will help Sacha Devi in her efforts and that the men of Amritsar will realise their own duty in the matter.

In Bombay the weavers are aware that India of woven handlooms have already taken up spinning. Their music have been joined by Dr. Wm. Marshall Haladitya who has already learnt the art and who is now trying to introduce it in the Marathas. Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Junjer and her sister Mrs. Aita Begum Sahama, have also undertaken to learn the art. I trust that these good ladies will, having learnt spinning, religiously contribute to the nation their daily quota of yarn.

I am sure that there are friends who laugh at this attempt to revive this great art. They remind me that in these days of mills, strong machines or typewriters, why a master can hope to succeed in reviving the forgotten spinning wheel. These friends forget that the needle has not yet given place to the sewing machine nor has the hand lost its cunning in spite of the typewriter. There is not the slightest reason why the spinning wheel may not succeed with the spinning mill even as the domestic looms compete with the British. Indeed typewriters and sewing machines may go, but the needle and the reel you will survive. The mills may suffer destruction. The spinning wheel is a national necessity. I would ask anyone to go to the many poor ladies where the spinning wheel is spun embellishing their slender resources and ask the ladies whether the spinning wheel has not brought joy to their homes.

Thank God, the reward given by Mr. Rameshwar Jagjivan Mehta has to bear fruit. In a short time India will possess a national spinning wheel—a wonderful invention of a patient Deccan wheelman. It is made out of simple materials. There is no great complication about it. It will be cheap and capable of being easily made. It will give more yarn than the ordinary wheel and is capable of being worked by a five years old boy or girl. But whether

The new machine power which claims to be so efficient, I had concluded that the central of hand-spinning and hand-weaving will make the largest contribution to the economic and the social regeneration of India. The millions must have a simple industry to supplement agriculture. Spinning was the cottage industry years ago and of the millions are to be saved from starvation, they must be enabled to maintain spinning in their homes, and every village must represent the new weaver.

### MR. ANDREWS' DIFFICULTY

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Mr. Andrews whose love for India is equaled only by his love for England and whose concern is often to serve God & a humanity through India, has contributed remarkable services to the 'Sunday Chronicle' on the Khilafat movement. He has not spared England, France or Italy. He has shown how Turkey has been most unjustly dealt with and how the France Emperor's pledge has been broken. He has devoted the last article to an examination of Mr. Mahomed Ali's letter to the Sultan and has come to the conclusion that Mr. Mahomed Ali's statement of what is at variance with the claim set forth in the latest Khilafat representation to the Treaty which he wholly approves.

Mr. Andrews and I have discussed the question fully and was possible. He has asked me particularly to define my own position more fully than I have done. His objection is nothing dangerous as to give strength to a cause which he holds as intrinsically just, and to gather round it the best opinion of Europe so that the allied powers and especially England may for very shame be obliged to revise their terms.

I gladly respond to Mr. Andrews' invitation. I should clear the ground by stating that I reject any religious doctrine that does not appeal to reason and is in conflict with morality. I tolerate unreasonably religious sentiment when it is not immoral. I hold the Khilafat claim to be both just and reasonable and therefore it deserves greater love because it has behind it the religious sentiment of the Mohammedan world.

In my opinion Mr. Mahomed Ali's statement is unimpeachable. It is as doubt clothed in diplomatic language. But I am not prepared to quarrel with the language so long as it is sound in substance.

Mr. Andrews questions that Mr. Mahomed Ali's language goes to show that he would regard Armenians independent against the Armenians and the Arabs against the Arabs. I attach no such meaning to it. What he, the whole Mohammedans and therefore I think also the Hindus regard as the shameful attempt of England and the other Powers under cover of self-determination to annihilate and the murder Turkey. If I understand the spirit of Islam properly, it is essentially republican in the broad sense of the term. Therefore if Armenia or Arabia desired independence of Turkey

they should have it. In the case of Arabia, independent Arabia independent would mean independence of the Khilafat to an Arab shahian. Arabia in that sense is a Mohammedan trust, not purely Arabian. And the Arabs without coming to be Mohammedans, could not hold Arabia against Muslim Powers. The Khilafat must be the custodian of the Holy places and therefore also the trustee to them. He must be able to defend them against the whole world. And if an Arab chief arose who would better satisfy that test than the Sultan of Turkey, I have no doubt that he would be recognized as the Khilafat.

I have then discussed the question satisfactorily. The fact is that neither the Mohammedans nor the Hindus believe in the English Ministerial word. They do not believe that the Arabs or the Armenians want complete independence of Turkey. That they want self-government is beyond doubt. Nobody disputes that claim. But nobody has ever mentioned that either the Arabs or the Armenians desire to do away with all connection, even nominal, with Turkey.

The solution of the question lies not in any ministerial discussion of the ideal position, it lies in an honest appointment of a mixed commission of absolutely independent British Mohammedans and Hindus and independent Europeans to investigate the real wish of the Armenians and the Arabs and then to come to a modus vivendi whereby the claims of the latter and those of Islam may be adjusted and satisfied.

It is common knowledge that Sayona and Throna including Adirampole have been disbarredly taken away from Turkey and that consular have been unreasonably established in Syria and Mesopotamia and a British consular has been set up in Haifa, under the protection of British guns. This is a position that is intolerable and unjust. Apart therefore from the questions of Armenia and Arabia, the dishonesty and hypocrisy that refuse the peace terms appear to be unambiguously revealed. It paves the way to an equitable solution of the question of Armenia and Arabia independent which is thereby no longer and which in practice may be easily guaranteed if only the wishes of the people concerned could with any degree of certainty be ascertained.

### INDIAN'S OVERSEAS

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The meeting held at the Southern Theatre in Bombay to pass resolutions regarding East Africa and Fiji, and presided over by the Marquis Christchurch, was an impressive gathering. The Theatre was filled to overflowing. Mr. Andrews' speech made clear what is needed. Both the political and the moral rights of Indians of East Africa are at stake. Mr. Andrews, however, East Africa matter, showed us a fruitful speech that the Indians were the possessors. An Indian actor named Koro directed the celebrated Yashwantrao Chavan to India. He addressed the audience that Gandhi's resolution

and the records and rebel of Dr. Loringhouse was also listed out by Indians. Indian workmen had built the Uganda Railway at much cost to their lives. An Indian manager had taken the contract. Indian workmen had supplied the fuel, and now their countrymen were in danger of being defrauded from their work.

The episode of East Africa have been depicted a Colony and the fundamental Provisions. There is a similar significance attached to the distinction. The Colonial system gives the European larger powers. It will tax all the resources of the Government of India to prevent the leading episode from becoming a white-man's preserve and the Indians from being relegated to the average level-lands.

The question of Insurance will soon become a burning one. It will be essential to create the structures to support Indians by provision. There must be one general standard rule applying the same qualifications to all the notes. This principle as Mr. Andrews reminded the meeting, had worked well of the Cape.

The second part of the East African conference shows the mediation of our countrymen at the late German East Africa. Indian soldiers fought there and over the persons of Indians it were those under German rule. It is the Englishman suggested that German East Africa should be under Indian rule. The Indian Mission would have stepped off all Indians in German East Africa. The result was that both the proposals went by the board and the expected has happened. The greed of the English spirit has prevailed and he is trying to oppress out the Indian. What will the Government of India protect? Has it the will to do so? Is not India itself being exploited? Mr. Jahangir Patai recalled the late Mr. Sakhai's views that we were not to expect a full satisfaction regarding the status of our countrymen across the sea. What we had got our own lines in order. What is our own country, how could we do better outside? Mr. Patai wants systematic and severe constitution. In my opinion, retaliation is a double-edged weapon. It does not deal with the case of it also hurts the party against whom it is used. And who is to give effect to retaliation? It is too much to expect an English Government to adopt effective retaliation against their own people. They will retaliate, they will retaliate, but they will not go to war with their own Colonies. For the legal instance of retaliation must mean war, if retaliation will not answer.

Let us face the facts frankly. The position is difficult after Mr. Loringhouse and his co. The Englishman and Indians do not agree in the Colonies. The Englishman do not want us where they can live. Their civilization is different from ours. The two main countries would there is mutual respect, the Englishman considers himself to belong to the ruling race. The Indian struggle to show that he does not belong to the ruling race and to the very act of thinking someone his subject. We must have this equality of laws before we can make any real improvement started.

This is not to say that we must not strive to do better than what we are all at once in our own land. We must progress, we must help our countrymen who have settled outside India. Only if we recognize the true situation, we and our countrymen abroad will learn to be patient and know that our chief energy must be concentrated on a betterment of our position at home. If we can raise our status here instead of equal partners not in some but in reality so that every Indian might feel it, all else must follow as a matter of course.

The question of Tax is a different proposition, though it too is influenced by the same main doctrine. There is now longer a question of status. We simply want to know, why these was Martial Law, why these restrictions, why were Mr and Mrs. Masaki (better departed) without trial and without even being heard in their defence? The Government have kept us too long waiting. We must stand on full justice long done and we must bring back as quickly as possible all those who wish to return to the Motherland.

## HUJARAT AND ITS MEANING

(By N. K. Ghosh)

India is a continent. Its articulate thousands have what so considerable millions are doing in thinking. The Government and the educated Indians may think that the Hindu movement is merely a passing phase. The masses of Hindustan think otherwise. The light of the Mahatmas a growing spirit. The newspaper contain paragraphs in out of the way corners referring the matter that a special train containing a hundred with many women, forty dollars including twenty millions, all told 700, have left for Afghanistan. They were dressed as men. They were provided with cash, rifles and other things, and were joined by more Mahatmas on the way. No historical precedent by a Mahatma one make people break up and leave their homes for an unknown land. There must be an abiding faith in them. That it is better for them to have a state which has no regard for their religious sentiment and has a bigger life than to remain in it even though it may be as a present success. Nothing but pride of power can blind the Government of India to the state that is being created before it.

But there is yet another side to the movement. Here are the facts recorded in the following figures. (The newspaper dated 18th instant) —

An unfortunate affair connected with the Mahatmas occurred on the 16th instant at Kutch. Gadh between Pathan and Jinnah. The following are the facts as at present reported. The members of a party of the Mahatmas proceeding by train to Jinnah were detained by the British military police travelling without tickets. Although opposed at Lahore College Station, but the train proceeded to Kutch. A struggle was made to enter from Mahatmas, whereas the military police were stationed by a crowd of some forty Mahatmas and one the British when the movement was already quashed with a quiet. A detachment of British troops

Early Oahu diverging land two columns stood at the Mahaganas for making a wireless message to the British officer. One Mahaganas was killed and one wounded and three arrested. Both the military and the police were arrested. The body of the Mahaganas was deposited in Pualover and buried on the morning of the 10th. The incident has caused considerable excitement in Pualover City, and the Kahuia Royal Commission was approving the military officer's. Ships were closed on the morning of the 10th. A full enquiry has been instituted.

New Pualover is General as a matter of a few miles. It was clearly the duty of the military not to attempt to pull out the fisherman Mahaganas for the sake of a few coins. But they actually attempted force. Intervention by the rest of the party was a foregone conclusion. An alternative moral and British officer was attacked with a spear. Firing and a death of a Mahaganas was the result. The British presence here attracted by the speaker's. Why have not the Government put powerful officers in charge of the frontier, whilst a great religious organisation is in progress? The action of the military will now have to be kept throughout the end of the Hawaiian world around, will be difficult to be successfully and even reasonably as approved in the passage and the fishing boats as it already it will grow in bitterness. The Government says that the Government was looking for their enquiry. Let us hope that it will be full and that better arrangements will be made to prevent a repetition of what appears to have been a thoughtless act on the part of the military.

And may I draw the attention of those who are opposing non-co-operation that unless they find out a substitute they should either join the non-co-operation movement or prepare to face a de-organised wilderness upheaval whose effect on our sea forces and whose spread it would be impossible to check or regulate!

## DEPORTATION OF MR. MANUIL FROM FIJI

To the Editor of the "Young India"

Sir,

The *Miner's Review* of Columbia has reproduced a Hindi notice published by the Fiji Government, which throws some light on the deportation of Mr. Manuil. Here is an English version of the notice:

### NOTICE

Persons have been removed from India regarding that D. M. Manuil should not be deported from Fiji without a trial which shows that many people are wrongly influenced as to the real scope that the Government has taken against D. M. Manuil.

The disturbances that have taken place in the colony of Fiji are well known. They were caused by the instigation of certain Indians, and D. M. Manuil was the leader of those agitators. The result of Manuil's activities was that a large number of Indians in Fiji and Fovea were sent to jail and others have been creating their lands, while in himself was careful to see his aim. The loyal Indians were in the Government's reference, him that the agitators were increasing in number while those followers were being punished.

In order to save the Indians from the ill-effects the Act 1 of 1916 has been brought in Fiji, Manuil was ordered to leave the Fiji Islands but he was forbidden to cross the Viti Levu, Ovalau and Makuluva Districts. This was considered necessary to save the Indians from the ill-effects of a dangerous leader. Manuil has not been deported from Fiji but he has left the Islands at his own request and of his own accord.

By Order:

J. R. FELL,

Colonial Secretary, Fiji.

I am from the Knapikopaka, Suva, Fiji. I am from the most important of the Fiji Islands. Out of the total area of 1485 square miles Viti Levu contains an area of 815 square miles. Suva which is the capital of the Fiji Islands lies on Viti Levu. It is the seat of the Supreme Court and Mr. Manuil was living and practicing in Suva. On the departure of Mr. Manuil from Viti Levu and his absence from Ovalau and Makuluva Districts certainly means his deportation from the Fiji Islands. This affords a striking illustration of the weakness of the Fiji authorities. The Colonial Secretary has not only not even shown courtesy for our friend Mr. Manuil but to remove him and his wife and children to a different land what is more dangerous he has not a great pain when he says that Mr. Manuil has not been deported from Fiji but he has left the Islands at his own request and of his own accord.

I need not say anything about the 'Loyal Indians' who asked the Fiji Government to deport Mr. Manuil. I have been informed that the Hon. Mr. Justice Roder Mahony is the leader of these Loyal Indians in Fiji and I wonder if this is a fact. Now hundred and twenty five Indians have returned from Fiji on the 1st of July, 1920 and I hope they will give us a full account of the recent disturbances in that Colony.

Dr. Manojra Bhadrige.

## OUR MADRAS LETTER.

From P. MANJUNATH, SECRET MADRAS.

The whole march of events in office not visible to those carried along with it. Labour strikes are an exception to this rule. Strikes and lock-outs are often more forcible which do not represent what has taken place. The parties concerned are often unaware of what has really been lost or gained.

This has happened a recent strike among the "Gang-men" or the permanent way workers of a railway line near Madras. The men demanded better conditions and wages. Outbreaks who helped in organizing a Union were treated as industrial agitators. The Labour Commissioner of the Government of Madras was asked by the Railway Company not to trouble about the matter. One of the men who had the authoritative ability to represent the grievances of his brother-unions was for that reason dubbed a "rag-buster," and transferred to a gang 50 miles away from his native village. As if a gang-rooby on the line would not be transferred from place to place like a Deputy Collector or District Magistrate on a pay of Rs. 600 a month!

Representatives were made but the Railway strike riots were fire, and the result was a strike. Even then they needed not to panic, and with the help of the Government, though on village officials and other Revenue Inland Revenue, new orders were issued, and eventually the strikers were dismissed. The Railway officials believe they have caused a victory, and that labour would have been a lesson. The Workers' Union believe that the strike was successful, but by no means was the matter a little more clearly, Railway would show that the Railway has not done yet its own work, but has got them on much higher wages, and is giving them very comfortable conditions and treating them with unparalleled kindness for their strike. Railway has had to give to the workers, wherever they may be, much better conditions on the whole than what prevailed before the strike. From the point of view of Labour as a whole, if we do not take the individual workmen into account, the strike has been most successful. This is inevitable, and capital cannot prevent this. It may be that the wages paid and the good treatment and better conditions are only temporary but such temporary improvement always come, at least a great part, to the Workers' Union should not consider that their struggle was undertaken only in the interests of the particular individuals concerned. They should rather that their battle are fought for the working class in general, and for securing protection of workers as well as their own. So it does not matter and is an indication of any particular group goes out or particular area an element, provided that as a result, the conditions are generally improved. If the Railway Company's past actions are as a consequence of the strike paid more and treated better, it does not matter who is on the ground and who is not. The plan stated by the firm heads, in they are agreeable or otherwise, are available in the increased area, and they should feel quite happy and be content to fill up those places in which their brother-workers had hitherto served contentedly. In fact there would be a slight lowering of conditions even in the better places, as a result of the striking. This is the inevitable march of events in favour of labour. The better cannot be fought except on these conditions.

This matter was the department of a big success resulted, asked for an increase of wages. The managers intended to restrict the trade, and prevent the spread of strikes. The industrial department was consistent with an anti-labour attitude as the part of the employees, but success was properly given to all the workers in other departments. The strikers were dismissed and replaced by others. Here, too the strike may be said to have failed. But the conditions of labour under the company have on the whole improved as a consequence of the struggle, even though the men who struck work are not there to reap the benefit.

If things were rightly understood, there would be less of bitterness or pride on the one side, and less of jealousy on the other. There would be greater readiness to pay for reasonable progress, and on the side of the men there would be no exhibition of hostility or violence against new heads brought in to replace those who had not.

Everything went by custom in the land including labour and wages but prices rose because an exception. Prices rose of themselves, but wages refused to rise except after bitter struggles strike day. Capital appears to think that it is a good thing if strikes and other labour struggles led to their objective. On the contrary every strike that fails is a step in the inevitable progress of the economy of property and capitalism. Every group of workers break out of its history after a defeat in a labour struggle is a capitalist added to the labour force. The individual factory employer may not care, but the State is bound to stand with workers.

#### Political Consequences

The Reform Proved Conference which met at University last week deliberately and finally committed itself and all Congress organizations to the presidency to work as a party organization in the coming elections.

The policy is supported by men who really think that the work of the Congress as a national organization is practically finished. They think that with the establishment of a wide electorate and representative assemblies the latter can do all the work hitherto done by Congress and more effectively. They believe that nothing better can be done with the Congress than turning it up to election week. This position however will not be accepted by the vast majority of the people, who still do not believe that the new councils are, any more than the State-Merby Council could, replace the National Congress, or have done and full scope for doing all that the latter has done for the nation.

Others support this policy on the ground that the Congress should not deal directly with difficulties, but should take steps to alleviate its distresses. But surely this can be done by ways other than converting itself into the official organization of a political party. The members who are as a majority in Congress and conferences, no doubt want a party organization as distinguished not only from candidates but from sections other organized parties and interests. But is it good economy to take the whole of the existing Congress machinery as a ready-made party organization instead of building up gradually a party machinery? The conversion of Congress into a ready-made party-organ may be the cheapest and most effective device from the point of view of the party. A thing over which 20 years have been spent is to do what is better done than anything that we can get up in a few months. But the constitution of the present structure and organization of party politics must under Congress and conferences have been allowed for all other purposes. As we understand the nationalities crowd, there remains many things to be done which cannot be done very well by the legislative council or by the party organizations associated with them. The result will be that new pro-party organizations have to be built up for all the various purposes which cannot get fulfilled, and for which the entire Reform without distinction of party must yet hold its effort. The policy adopted by the Conference at University is not national economy.

The party system itself is in the opinion of many not a desirable thing for our country. Besides, a really-made party organization, without having to build it up, is as harmful in any form of power or wealth obtained without having to work for it, or as an abundance of food forced down a starving man's throat.

#### SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

There was considerable difficulty for the Temporally Social Reform Conference to get through its programme. One by one, Social Conferences were attended by only those who supported or sympathized with the social reform movement. Unhappily did not fear any danger and pursued its own course indifferent to meetings and resolutions of social reformers. Now things have so far progressed that those who believe in the old order need not danger. They feel they stand less than social conferences with indifference. Hence we have seen the phenomenon of opposition at Social Conferences, besides separate organizations for the defence of the old system. What happened at Temporally had made it therefore a proof of progress and a reason for satisfaction, not a matter for regret as some appear to have thought. Our society has now realized that social reformers are in earnest and that their achievement is a reality. It would however be wrong to suggest or pretend that social reformers are in a majority in society.

As long as only those who sympathized attended conferences, there was no need for a creed. But now that reformers have made definite progress and have compassed their advances in vindicating their strength and they wish therefore to attend social reform gatherings and approve resolutions, we must conduct our conferences on the old lines. Social reform resolutions cannot however be always passed on free and unreserved vote at an open conference, for those who stand for change are ultimately a minority in society, and if both sides take part, they must lose on the count of numbers. Their work consists in that they are a majority. All real success are on the hands of minorities either in numbers or in strength. The Temporally social reform work a definite stage, next a creed or other limitations must be incorporated into the Social Conference Constitution as external safeguards, the voting system—to only those who sympathize with reform. Social reformers must look to their faith and others the majority of votes at conferences or general gatherings. A guarantee for the adoption of a social reform creed would appear to be necessary for the future work. Those who do not accept the creed should attend only as visitors, not as delegates. The resolution of the annual conference is two-fold. Its value as a demonstration of the growing strength of social reform, and the opportunity for exchange of ideas among people from various parts of the country working in the field of social reform. Neither of these objects can be attained in conferences where those who are opposed to all change act as overwhelming numbers. Such gatherings would be an ordinary public meeting in the domain for the mere preaching of social reform, but the annual Social Conference have a different object.

#### MEETING ON 1ST AUGUST

The Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay, has issued the following instructions—

Although every effort is being made to secure revision of the Peace Terms it appears to be almost certain that it will not come before the first of August next. The Committee therefore in view of the moral character of the forthcoming demonstration of non-co-operation in a fitting manner. It also wishes to gauge the public feeling in this matter. The Committee, therefore, wishes to see a part of Muslims and other non-Muslim communities in making the inauguration a complete success.

(1) The Committee advised full holiday on the first of August. Muslims, however, are requested not to abstain from work, unless they receive permission from their employers, nor should all those who are capable of absolutely voluntary day-to-day work, viz., hospital work, sanitary work, and other labours. (2) The day should be devoted to prayer. All those, who can, should fast for the day. (3) Meetings should be held all over the country for rendering the smallest village at which the following resolutions should be adopted with or without opinion.

#### THE RESOLUTIONS.

"This is a meeting held at..... of the subscribers resolve itself specially with the movement of the Central Khilafat Committee in order to secure revision of the Turkish Peace Terms, consistently with Muslim sentiment and Islamic Law and approval of non-co-operation adopted by the United Khilafat Committee to be continued till the Peace Terms are revised. The meeting respectfully urges the Imperial Government on the behalf of the Empire which they are supposed to represent, to secure a just revision of the Terms which have been unreasonably and harshly imposed and unbecomingly in breach of Muslim traditions." The resolutions should be sent to His Excellency the Viceroy with a covering letter requesting him to forward the same to the Imperial Government. Khilafat Committee should be advised of the passing of resolution and its dispatch.

#### MOVEMENT NON-CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

It is—There should be no previous speeches should be restricted. It is expected that the meeting everywhere will be very largely attended. All police and other Governmental interference or regulations should be strictly and completely obeyed. No meetings should be held where there is any serious prohibition. It cannot be too often urged that the whole success of the movement depends upon perfect peace being observed by the community and complete abstinence being observed by police authorities in connection with the movement. It should be clearly understood that this is not a movement of Civil Disobedience. What should be done when unapprovable orders are issued interfering with the liberty of the subject will be considered on the merits by the Committee.

#### ADDRESSING TITLES.

It is suggested that all title holders, January Magistrates, Judges of Peace, Members of the Legislative Councils, who feel about the important questions affecting the well being of millions of Muslims, and who are in sympathy with the movement, will refrain from their titles or honorary posts on this day.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 30

JANUARIAN, FRIDAY, JULY 20, 1920.

Price Two Annas  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS.

	Page
<b>Notes.</b>	
Mr. V. P. Mallabawa and Non-Co-operation ..	1
A Further Step in Female Education ..	2
<b>Announcements.</b>	
Mr. Saranga on the Khilafat Agitation ..	3
A Fatal Remedy ..	3
The Fate of Gujarat ..	3
How about the Indian Mahajans ..	4
"Mahajans or Non-Mahajans" ..	4
A Lesson from the French Experiment ..	5
<b>Correspondence.</b>	
Recent Publications by Mr. ..	6
A Self-Denial Officer's Resignation ..	7
How about the Indian Mahajans ..	7

## Notes.

**Mr. V. P. Mallabawa and non-co-operation.**—Mr. V. P. Mallabawa has taken exception to our note referring to him the opinion that it requires a compromise to be able to offer non-co-operation and he has in his speech at Hanoi asked us to quote our evidence for the statement made by us. The like like the Shikhs is our authority. He says the "harvest of India" of this nation. "He (Mr. Mallabawa) went so far as to appeal to us to say that the people here would mean the protest of changes in a national note and was not fit for discussion in a political gathering." During over the proceedings of Thursday we had nothing more reported in his speech, but Mr. Saranga Agastya who made use of the word Saranga has said that he had delivered Mr. Mallabawa in his speech on non-co-operation. But having printed our authority for our statement we do not wish to labour the point any further. It gives us pleasure to find Mr. Mallabawa saying in the speech to which we have referred, "But so far as I can see there is no reason left for us either than non-co-operation if we are to maintain our self-respect." For the treatment we as a nation have received at the hands of the British in all the three provinces, the French atrocities, the Khilafat question (in regard to which we Hindus are so generous with the Mahomedans only so far as the ruler speaks of the question are concerned) and the Reform. And all the while, which have been opposing the public mind."

## A Further step in Female Education—

Writing to express a welcome to the Calcutta University Commission Prof. D. K. Karve emphatically expressed his admiration with regard to the faculty of the women's section specially for women. He wrote, "I am confident that the single College (the Tagore School College) will send out a hundred lady graduates from the Indian Women's University in the next two years from among Hindu India which the Bombay University is not expected to do in the same period." This assurance regarding the proper facilities is not likely to receive any recognition from our universities in near future. Thanks however to some of our private institutions, Prof. Karve has not been left alone to work out his aspiration. The Gujarat State Education Board, Ahmedabad, has been doing its bit for the cause of the women's section. Mrs. Chanda Mehta, Secretary of the Board, informs us that her Board is thinking of starting a college which will be affiliated to the Indian Women's University. We also learn from her letter that the Board has reported the University to recognize the Hindu Vidyapeeth as a High School. The committee appointed by the students in response to Ahmedabad during the current month for suspending the Hindu Vidyapeeth. We hope that the proposed affiliation will be soon brought about and that the good efforts of Gujarat and Maharashtra will show that India has reached the workers in the words "If you will not give women your education, others than yourselves will give them."

## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

PLEASE NOTE THE CHANGE IN ADDRESS.

All communications regarding subscriptions, replies, etc. should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", Chhatrapati Road, Ahmedabad and not to Chhat. St., Parlor, Poona, Ahmedabad.

Our rates of subscription:

(payable monthly in advance.)

Annual in India (with postage) Five Rupees.

Outside India " " Twelve Months.

Single Copy Two Annas.

All manuscripts and printed matter to be inserted in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Subscriptions, Ahmedabad.

## OUR MAHJAN AGENTS

Messrs. K. Ganesha & Co. (5 Mallabawa, Chhatrapati Road, Bombay, India) are our authorized Agents for India.

## Young India.

Amalatal, Wednesday, 26th July, 1895.

### MR MONTAGU ON THE KHILAFAT AGITATION

(By N. K. Ghosh.)

Mr Montagu does not like the Khilafat agitation that is daily gathering force. In answer to questions put in the House of Commons, he is reported to have said that while he acknowledged that I had rendered distinguished services to the country in the past, he would not look upon my present attitude with sympathy and that it was not to be expected that I could now be treated as honestly as I was during the Rowlett Act agitation. He added that he had every confidence in the British and the local Governments, that they were carefully watching the movement and that they had full power to deal with the situation.

This statement of Mr Montagu has been regarded in some quarters as a threat. It has even been considered to be a black flag for the Government of India to re-establish the reign of terror if they choose. It is certainly inconsistent with his desire to see the government on the good side of the people. At the same time if the Executive Committee's feeling be true and if I was the cause of the disturbances last year, I was undoubtedly treated with exceptional leniency. I want to see that my activity this year is brought with greater pain to the Empire as it is being considered to day than was last year's activity. Non-co-operation in itself is more harmless than civil disobedience, but in its effect it is far more dangerous for the Government than civil disobedience. Non-co-operation is intended to force the Government, as to compel justice from it. If it is carried to the extreme point, it may bring the Government to a standstill.

A friend who has been listening to my speeches once asked me whether I did not come under the arbitrary action of the Indian Penal Code. Though I had not fully considered it, I told him that very probably I did and that I would not plead 'not guilty' if I was charged under it. For I must admit that I am prepared to be 'whipped' for the present Government. And my speeches are intended to excite. Unofficially wish that the people might consider it a shame to stand or co-operate with a Government that had facilitated all aids to confidence, respect or support.

I draw an distinction between the Emperor and the Indian Government. The latter has accepted, on the Khilafat, the policy suggested upon it by the former. And as the British and the former has endorsed the policy of terrorism and anarchy, the policy of a brave people infuriated by the bitter British measures have broken their pledged word and manifestly wounded the feelings of the seventy

million Mohammedans of India, innocent men and women were punished by the indirect effects of the British Government. Their wrongs not only were unredressed, but the very officers who actually subjected them to inhuman punishments retain office under the Government.

When at Amritsar last year I pleaded with all the associations I could command for co-operation with the Government and for respect to the wishes expressed in the Royal Proclamation, I did so because I honestly believed that a new era was about to begin, and that the old spirit of fear, distrust and consequent terrorism was about to give place to the new spirit of respect, trust and goodwill. I honestly believed that the Mohammedan movement would be planned and that the officers that had misbehaved during the Martial Law regime in the Punjab would be at least dismissed and the people would be otherwise made to feel that a Government that had always been found quick (and rightly) to punish popular offences would not fail to punish the agents' misdeeds. But to my amazement and dismay I have discovered that the present representatives of the Empire have become dishonest and unscrupulous. They have no real regard for the wishes of the people of India and they count Indian honour as of little consequence.

I am no longer willing to advise a Government so truly stained as this one today. And for me, it is humiliating to retain my freedom and be witness to the continuing wrong Mr Montagu however so nobly might be threatening me with deprivation of my liberty if I persist in endangering the confidence of the Government. For that such be the result of my activity here freely my only regret is that somewhat as Mr. Montagu admits my past services, he might have perceived that there must be something exceptionally bad in the Government if a well-known man as could no longer give his attention to it. It was simpler to meet on justice being done to the Mohammedans and to the Punjab than to threaten me with punishment so that the agitation might be perpetuated. Indeed I fully expect it will be found that even in proceeding disinterested towards an unjust Government I had rendered greater services to the Empire than I am already credited with.

At the present moment, however, the duty of those who approve of my activity is clear. They ought on no account to permit the deprivation of my liberty, should the Government of India deem it to be their duty to take it away. A nation has no right to resort such restrictions imposed on associations with the laws of the State to which he belongs. Much too have those who sympathize with me. In my view there can be no question of sympathy. For I deliberately oppose the Government to the extent of trying to put its very existence in jeopardy. For my supporters, therefore, it must be a source of joy when I am imprisoned. It means the beginning of success if only the supporters continue the policy for which I stand. If the Government

arrest me, they would do so in order to stop the progress of non-co-operation which I pursued. It follows that if non-co-operation continues with unabated vigour, even after my arrest, the Government must institute measures to grant the people's wish in order to gain their co-operation. Any suggestion of violence on the part of the people even under provocation would not be a disaster. Whether therefore it is I or any one else who is arrested during the campaign, the first condition of success is that there must be no resistance shown against it. We cannot expect the very existence of a Government and quarrel with its attempt to save itself by punishing those who place it in danger.

### A NOTED RESIGNATION.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

During the successful tour of the Khilafat party in the Punjab was given a copy of a letter of resignation by a sub-divisional officer over the Khilafat question. It is printed elsewhere in this issue. The letter shows clearly how different classes of Mussalmans are being affected by the Turkish party terms. It is an unalloyable wrong that England has been primarily responsible for doing to the Mussalmans. And as time passes, the movement for compelling its withdrawal will gain instead of losing strength. When an official of twenty years standing and considered to be devoted, unimpeachable, decides to leave a Government in respect of a great wrong to which it has been party, it is time for it to review the act that has prompted a resignation such as Mr. Mahmood Azam has felt called upon to tender.

But my purpose in publishing the resignation is not so much to draw the Government's attention to it (for they have it already) but to congratulate Mr. Mahmood Azam and to present the public with an example worthy of copying. Mr. Mahmood Azam, from a purely worldly standpoint, has sacrificed a position which many would covet. From the standpoint of religion or honour, he has gained by his resignation. What are position and money if the sacrifice of one's conscience for the supreme cause, be it ever so noble, has not recommended it to us as a principle because it has been treated for ourselves' sake. If the higher interests of the Government services were to copy Mr. Mahmood Azam's brave example, the Government might attain the goal without the lowest caste having to give up their employment.

Mr. Mahmood Azam's act is an instance of genuine courage. It is always difficult to find positive courage. But I hope there is enough negative courage in India to ensure that nobody applies for the post vacated by Mr. Mahmood Azam. It is almost certain that no Mussalmans will. But I hope that Hindus will be equally staunch and tenacious in their Mussalmans' feelings. That they are fully alive to the difficulty in which they find themselves and that they will not be behind hand in giving their active support.

The writer may say, it will be necessary for any Indian to apply because it is a post which any Mussalmans will be glad to fill. I do not doubt it for a moment. Only the condition is somewhat different from the ordinary when a post is voluntarily relinquished by way of protest and when no one belonging to the predominant class applies for it. The only thing essential is to ensure to make of Government employment a faith. There are many other avenues open to an honest man of ability to earn a decent livelihood. After all Government services represent a microscopic minority of the population.

### THE FIRST OF AUGUST

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

It is hardly likely that before the 1st August there will be on the part of the Majesty's Ministers promise of abstinence of the press terms and the consequent suspension of the non-co-operation of non-co-operation. The 1st of August must be an important event in the history of India, as was the 6th of April last year. The 6th of April marked the beginning of the end of the Esherford Act. So we can consider the Esherford Act as possibly the end of the Esherford Act. It is not the opinion that has only been suspended—never given up. It must be clear to anyone that the power that exists, power from an unwilling Government in the matter of the Punjab and the Khilafat will be the power that will secure repeal of the Esherford Act. And that power is the power of Satyagrah whether it is shown by the name of civil disobedience or non-co-operation.

Many people dread the advent of non-co-operation, because of the events of last year. They fear confusion from the mob and consequent repression of last year's repression should reappear in their locality in the history of another time. Personally I do not mind Governmental fury so I mind mob fury. The latter is a sign of national disunity and therefore more difficult to deal with than the former which is confined to a small corporation. It is easier to deal a Government that has rendered itself unable to govern than it is to cope with a mob of people in a mob of their nations. But great movements cannot be stopped altogether because a Government or a people or both go wrong. We learn and profit through our mistakes and failures. No general worth the name gives up a battle because he has suffered reverses, or which is the same thing, made mistakes. And so we must approach non-co-operation with confidence and hope. As in the past, the commencement is to be marked by fasting and prayer—a sign of the religious character of the demonstration. There should also be on that day suspension of business, and cessation to pass resolutions praying for assistance to the same terms and justice by the Punjab and concluding non-co-operation until justice has been done.

The giving up of titles and honorary posts should also commence from the 1st of August. Doubt has

been expressed as to the willingness of some regarding surrender of India and necessary steps. It is however quickly dispelled by leaving in mind that the first of August marks the commencement of the surrender of India. It is not the only day on which surrender has to take place. Indeed I do not expect a very large response on the first day & vigorous propaganda will have to be carried on and the message delivered to every mile or post holder and the arguments presented to him proving the duty of such surrender.

But the greatest thing in this campaign of non-co-operation is to evolve order, discipline, co-operation among the people, coordination among the workers. Initiative and co-operation depends upon complete organisation. Thousands of men who have held meetings throughout the Punjab have now realised that the people want to withdraw co-operation from the Government but they must know how. Most people do not understand the complicated machinery of the Government. They do not realise that every citizen should be a politician and should seriously consider the government of the day in ways of which he has no knowledge. Every citizen therefore makes himself responsible for every act of his government. And it requires people to support it as long as the affairs of the government are honourable. But when they become and his action, it becomes his duty to withdraw his support.

But as I have said, every citizen does not know how to do so in an orderly manner. Disciplinary means have to be adopted, orderliness out of intelligent resistance. The first condition therefore of real success is to create upon a chosen district. Various laws to persons representing the Government in its process who don't lose our rank, & the supporters of the Government, women in every non-co-operation movement, cessation of non-co-operation and various kinds of financial laws. Those therefore who wish to make non-co-operation a success in the quickest possible time will consider it their first duty to see that in their neighbourhood complete order is kept.

### NOTE ABOUT THE BULLETIN MURAJAN

(By M. E. Gandhi.)

Last week I dealt with the Khilafat who was shot during the Khilafat party's tour in the Punjab. I was handed a signed statement giving particulars about the incident on which the Government have issued a communique. In the statement, paragraph by paragraph, responsible parties and so contains a variety of versions with that of the communique. I deem it to be my duty to place it before the public and serve the Government's interests to it. If the incident facts in the statement are true, they reflect the greatest discredit on the so-called soldiers who took greatest delight in killing a man who was volunteering to protect the honour of women.

I understand that the H. W. Speaker, Advertiser, London was holding a judicial inquiry into the matter, that the public has become so responsive even about expenses described as political, that unless it is a really independent and honest inquiry, no weight will be attached to its findings. If therefore the Government do not wish to lay themselves open to the charge of having looked up an enquiry set on the part of the English soldiers they will not dread publicity and they will invite the most-learned men to investigate the matter. No legal men surely can possibly be considered sufficient to ensure impartiality.

The incident is of no small importance. General Dyer unfortunately talked of the lives and honour of English women being held sacred in India. I hope that India holds the honour and life of every woman dear and sacred. There is therefore the question of women's honour involved in the incident. There again there is the question of the Indian soldiers being ordered to fire. It is in a fact not if the subject was due to the answer contained in the statement, reaches the highest credit on them. The other aspect derives importance from the fact that the inquiry has caused no commotion with an exception of a moral character. I mention the Government that the matter is being widely talked about among thousands of men throughout the Punjab. Public and private enquiry is continued if they do not understand an unvarnished version should be treated among the masses.

I wish that the version reproduced by me was less from papers and thicker & narrative of certain parts by being free from adjectives and expressions of the narrator's opinion. But perhaps it is too much to expect perfect correctness from unorganised men, especially when they are taken down in English by people who are indifferent to their own and are often eager to misrepresent their own opinions. In any case I would address the readers to careful judgment till they have had the Government version before them.

The incident once over shows the necessity of the Government laying down their policy about Khilafat. If they do not wish to prevent the peaceful and religious protest they should say so. The party officers not knowing the Government policy say not legally and fairly and participate events in a manner not desired by the Government & moreover, what is stirring the discussion that this hole has to do, cannot be left to itself. An open declaration of the Government policy is most desirable for the sake of every interest.

### "HANDLOOMS OR POWERLOOMS?"

Whenever an attempt has been made, as it is being made to-day, to encourage the use and production of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, many have looked askance whether it is intended in this age of mechanical invention to replace the loom by mechanical hand-looms. The issue is placed between the hand power and the power mill. A surprising deal of the Apollonian tale into this concern.

error. Apparently agitated at the idea of extending the home industries, he exclaims, "The real question for consideration with us or with any people to-day is not whether the handloom will or will not be able to hold its own against the power loom, or whether it cannot feed millions of families or clothe millions more in home-made dress, but which will contribute to the economic and political power of a nation or another. Whether it is the handloom or the power-mill, hand-loom or machine industry—that is the real issue."

It is not quite clear from the above what the policies of the superindustrial are about the economic and political power of this country. We cannot imagine him to sincerely believe though his argument runs as if he does—that that power can be achieved without feeding and clothing the millions of our half-starving and half-clothed men, women and children. The political and economic power of a nation depends even in this "age of mechanical industrialism", not on its powerful machines but on its powerful men. Germany was equipped with the best and most powerful and modern machinery, but it failed because at the last moment the power of its nation failed. We want to organise our national power. This can be done not by adopting the best methods of production only but by the best method of both the production and the distribution. Production that is the manufacture of cloth in the particular instance can be brought about in two ways: (1) by establishing new mills and increasing the output or producing capacity of each mill and (2) by increasing the number of handlooms and improving them. All these activities can go together. The notion of a competition between the handloom and the power mill has been shown by such an eminent economist as Prof. H. H. Kinnel Malviya to be "altogether wrong." Says Mr. Malviya in his *Paradoxical of India's Development*—

"The handloom does not compete with the mill, it supplements it in the following way:

- (1) It produces special kinds of goods which cannot be woven in the mills.
- (2) It utilizes yarn below and above certain counts which cannot at present be used in the power-mill.
- (3) It will consume the surplus stock of Indian spinning mills which need not then be sent out of the country.
- (4) Being usually a village-industry, it supplies the local demand, at the same time gives employment to small capitalists, weavers and other village-workers and
- (5) Inasmuch as it will supply the long-felt want of an honest field of work, and livelihood for educated Indians."

But even this is not all that can be said in favour of handloom industry. Mill industry as Swadeshi has been a powerful aid to the production of Swadeshi. But apart from the latter struggle, with and domination of the Capitalist and the workman (as explained by the ancient scholars,

administrators and economists, the late Mr. Bhabha (Chakrabarti Dutt) it has led to, the question is—Can it solve the problem which pure Swadeshi is designed and ought to do and which arises only because of the abandonment? Every writer of note on the Industries of India, whatever his ideas and conclusions about the future of Indian Industries may be, has shown that there was a time and that was even till the early British Rule in India—when spinning and weaving, only used in agriculture, were the great national industries of India, when all the action was upon by hand and a very large portion of the work was done by the farming population which supported its resources by spinning and weaving. Mr. Dutt has given extracts from the statistical observations of Dr. Francis Buchanan's economic enquiries in Southern and Northern India, conducted between 1790 and 1814. They show how many hundreds of thousands of our men, women and children worked on the industry—mostly in their leisure time—each day and earned scores of rupees annually.

How our home industries came to the end plight they are in to-day is an open secret, admitted by all authorities and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the problem to-day is not to bring about that political and economic re-organisation of our country, which demands the first to-day—an organisation which has led to the breaking up of the society by class-struggles, between and rupture between Capital and Labour. We want to work out the real political and economic regeneration of the country by Swadeshi. And the problem of the Swadeshi is the problem of 80 percent of our population who spend more than six months of the year in national distress, hunger, throughout the year a miserable, half-starving and half-clothed existence. We must find out suitable work for them during their idle hours. We must make them a real asset and power to the nation. Pure Swadeshi alone can do it.

## A LESSON FROM THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

It had been a mile with England to use her own ships for bringing foreign goods to her shores. Similarly did she use her own vessels for exporting Dutch and Latin silks to her shores. And it was while making these silks through her veins that England developed. Other European countries also obtained development by similar use. The French language even till the beginning of the 17th century bore marks of an original character as a foreign vessel, a tongue ruled by hourly conversation, for talk-ness and for talk-its. The terms of art and science, and the use of words and idioms were left to Latin as they entered and linguistically expanded.

The best note, however, of the new French literature, as relating to the treatment of the Greek and Latin tongues, was made by Ernest Marey of whom it is told that the persecutions, that he led to undergo in a Huguenot, so far from harassing, helped his literary labours. His school became famous for its polished style and graceful wit. The Mazarins were soon replaced by Bonnard and his famous book. This book called the 'Froids' ceased of teaching the French language, in vocabulary, construction and application, on a level with the classical language by borrowing from the latter. The best of Bonnard's merits and also are such as could not have been previously found in the French language for the simple reason that the medium of expression was wanting. Bonnard and his school constructed the medium for themselves. And the reward they received for this labour was that the literary style was denied for two long centuries. All the treasures of literature, dramatic poetry, poetic prose, prose, history underwent almost equally remarkable changes in this very period.

The expectation of making Ecological Descriptions in Latin was broken as was proved by the Protestants. Their teaching, being imparted in the French language could easily reach the masses. Bonnard's Logic was the last departure from the old habit of composing in Latin all works in any way connected with philosophy. The field of science also was not neglected by the literary genius of this period. The French poet, Bernard Palissy, was not less skilful as a philosopher of words than as a philosopher of facts and his description of the difficulties of his experiments in smelting which lasted seven years, is classical. Thus the work of introducing the French language for all the departments of Science was so enthusiastically but hastily carried out in this century that some teaching agency had become necessary and this teaching agency was substituted by Malherbe and his school.

The literary history of France points out that a remembrance of a spirited people not only escapes from the treatment of a superior tongue but rather prevents of the very struggle more vigorous and more engaged. A similar achievement was made by poets and poets of the 16th century carried for our remembrance so that they ceased to be looked upon as systems in the treatment of religious and philosophical subjects. In England it was nearly through the efforts of a devoted band inspired by the famous Protestant, that the remembrance was shaped out of what may be called a dangerous method. Thus did our forefathers besides in the remembrance the names of all the knowledge that was within their reach, and bequeath to us a rich and noble trust. Shall we, daunted by the false prospects of mastering a richer but alien tongue, now being this trust and allow our remembrance in Latin into more useful languages? We beg as we do not build our remembrance to our needs, so long we shall be blindly creating our temple of learning on shifting sands.

## RECENT DISTURBANCES IN FIJI

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. HOLLAND.

To the Editor of the 'Young India'.

Sir,

The Government of India has published some papers about Fiji riots. They contain a dispatch of the Governor of Fiji, some portions of which have been quoted in the 'Tribune' of 18th July. As far as I can gather from these papers the dispatch of the Fiji Governor does not seem to be reasonable or convincing. While receiving my papers till I get a copy of these papers I will request your readers to read the following report of Mr. H. K. Holland, M. P., about the recent disturbances in Fiji.

It is to be noted that Mr. Holland opposed the action of the New Zealand Parliament when they sent the New Zealand soldiers to Fiji to strike terror into the hearts of the poor Fiji Indians. It is also to be noted that the Fiji Government used their utmost to annoy the two sets of officers, and Sir James Allen, the head of the New Zealand Parliamentary party, visited Mr. Holland and others in reference to discussing the political matters with Mr. J. M. M. M.

There is an extract from the report of the Labour Members of the Parliamentary Committee that investigated into the Fijian labour difficulties. The report has been published in the 'Electoral Worker,' which is an official organ of the United Federation of Labour and the New Zealand Labour Party. It is dated Wellington, April 7 1909, and is signed by Mr. H. K. Holland, Chairman, Parliamentary Labour Party of New Zealand.

### "HIND AND THE INDIANS."

"As Fiji already was very grossly wronged what was it to ascertain from the Indians whether the same which led up to the recent trouble. While the 'Herald' was lying in the harbour on the morning of the arrival Sir James Allen made a descent on the harbour for an undertaking that we should not attempt to get our hands into the matter—on undertaking we were not prepared to enter into and the James was indeed accordingly. Affairs were settled by the whites we understood that the disturbances were widely a political upheaval and the Indians were demanding political and social equality with the whites, and that also was a demand which was undecidable and impossible. On investigation, however, we found that the riots had no origin in an intention by us to resist to increase the taxes of labour on the roads from eight to nine. The subject was raised for a week or so at a day now out of the workers' meeting on the west of Suva, and in our opinion fully justified. The hearing conditions of the Indians we found much the same as when the New Zealand and New C. F. Andrews described them, although related steps are now being taken by the C. F. E. Company to modify the bill, and from the information we derived from the Indians themselves, as well as from some of the whites, we have no doubt whatever that the statement of the Rev. Andrews concerning the existing necessity of the roads laws was in solid fact. We are satisfied that doubling the road tax is still required. We have the word of the

remains for it that the Indians are well treated, and that they are regarded and treated as something less than human. Very many of the writers we came in contact with were women prominent in their denunciation of the Indians, but when we suggested that a solution of the problem could be to send them back to their country, we were at once met with the objection: "But we could have the cheap labour"; yet the Indians themselves agreed to that in the sense they would be glad to leave Fiji as if the economic and political oppression and that the shortage of transport facilities alone prevented an exodus. The Indians love to political rights, as franchise, so even in determining the best method which they are compelled to live, they have no moral status. Hence the strikes they could not wage beyond their share without danger of arrest unless provided with a passport. During the strike quite two hundred of them were arrested, and their sentences range up to twelve months hard labour. If the Indians remain in Fiji it is generally accepted that it is only a matter of time when they will become the dominant race. Whether recent statistics the Fijian population has declined by tens of thousands while Indian population has increased enormously. If the Indians remain in Fiji they must have economic and political equality with the rest of the people their votes as workers workers in their own inalienable rights, but we are completely of the opinion that in the opinion of the Indians has the first responsible step towards the solution of what otherwise threatens to be a serious problem in Fiji.

There are also we have learned by cable that Mr D. M. Kitchin, M. A. L. S. B. (the Indian barrister who was regarded as a "traitor" of the Indians and whose name others we interviewed has been called by the Governor in New Caledonia) of policy which we fear will alienate the Indians throughout Fiji.

We must be thankful to Mr Hillman and the Parliamentary Labour Party of New Zealand for their independent investigation and impartial report. I hope the Indian public and the leaders will think greater confidence to it than is the widespread despise of the Fiji Government.

Yours etc

El. Bhadraya, Hindyoo

### A SUBDIVISIONAL OFFICER'S RESIGNATION

In the Director General,

Military Works, M.S.A.

Sir,

In your invitation of April last and subsequent interview I had the great and my most painful duty that I have never mindfully considered over the Turkish Prison Treaty Draft and had that quite contrary to the several promises proffered by British Ministers the same is made responsibility ignorance and done without seriously hurt the welfare of India.

Whereas the Treaty is exceptionally stiff, severe and brutal in its terms if compared with that given to other hostile Powers which was the ordinary of the

world's peace. This inevitability is sufficiently exemplified and I being a descendant from a well-known, respectable, most religious dynasty of Mysore, must be bound to be a Khatib or Dabir.

Impressed with my most proper, reasonable legal, religious feelings which are so severely shown by the above reasons, I have every reason to regret most痛fully for my constant hard work of 20 years service generally and of 15 months' hard work especially quite single-handed and in most difficult circumstances of border situation in the far off scattered area of the Khyber including the long rugged Sulaiman valleys. It was only then too much work, which constituted the long suit here of some months, which as my leaving it was one had to be employed to work. The stress and all efforts in which I ran the above charge single-handedly resulted in various successful cases, some very particular, hard efforts like Col. W. J. D. Dutton, C. I. E., Major, Col. F. Southworth D. S. O., G. S. R., and Colonel F. Harrison, which was expressed thus:

I He performed the duties of three sub-commands.  
3. The work Malakand Agency had had to do was beyond the capacity of any man and it is owing to his greatest credit for which he has been recognized.

I The work Malakand Agency had in Khyber was the heaviest I experienced during my 15 years' stay in India.

All the above efforts were done not only by myself but by almost all of my family members who are until the present date serving in the war areas of difficult situation, served extremely conscientiously in the deepest sense of the word that is to say as Turkey conquered the British Empire, several efforts in the hands of great patriotic republicans raised up, perhaps of the most loyal Muslims. But alas! Quackery has not been fruitful, and the result is to have supply day leaving.

Under the circumstances I beg to tender my resignation with the request that I must be allowed as early as possible within six months, or hardly before my one month's pay because I intend leaving India for good.

With sincere prayers for the proper sense of judgment for the British Government and wishing to their progress about India for their as good end for the millennium of the future peace of the world,

I beg to remain,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
MUSLIM KHAN,

Sub-Divisional Officer No. 1,  
Sub Division, Abbottabad.

(Through the Assistant Deputy Registrar,

Islamabad, Abbottabad.)

Enclosed in the Resignation application

A. C. Q. E.

Faded please. As this appears to be purely a matter of religion I suppose we cannot do otherwise than accept the proposition that I am of firm opinion that the the promise is being a good amount effort by us doing I understand that the majority of Muslims are not so a superior aspect.

(Sd) W. C. WILSON,

Chief Registrar C. I. E.





# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi.)

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 1

ANANDAS, VARANASI, JANUARY 24, 1919

Price Two Annas  
Per Copy

## CONTENTS.

	Page
Lokamanya .. .. .	1
Sales .. .. .	2
Reviews .. .. .	3
The Congress and Non-cooperation .. .. .	4
Who is Defying? .. .. .	4
Crusade against Non-cooperation .. .. .	4
Our Pedagogues .. .. .	2
Removal of Rikhis .. .. .	4
Letters to L. Abhis .. .. .	4
Mr. Gandhi's Personal Diary .. .. .	4

We request each of our subscribers to date their subscriptions as arrears to remind them to pay when as early as possible. We regret to note that some of the V. P.'s did not cooperate in this regard and refused to do so. They should most remember that this article further lost and credits to us out of our own kindly aid. We would request them also stand down to be on particular friendly attitude to the *Manager-Young India*.—E. V.

## LOKANANTA

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, 1856-1920. It is difficult to believe of him as dead. He was so much part of the people. No man of our time had he left on the scene that Mr. Tilak left. The devotion that he commanded from thousands of his countrymen was extraordinary. He was unquestionably the soul of his people. He was law unto himself. A great name was his life. The work of his life is finished.

What was the reason for his fall upon his countrymen? I think the answer is simple. His patriotism was a passion with him. He knew no selfish but love of his country. He was a lone champion. He believed in the rule of majority with an intensity that fairly frightened me. But that gave him his hold. He had an eye, will which he used for his country. His life was an open book. His notes were simple. His private life was equally clear. He had dedicated his wonderful talents to his country. He was granted the gospel of the Ganga with the opportunity and the means of Lokamanya. His countrymen therefore

implicitly believed him. His message never failed him. His opinions were irrefragable. He had hoped to see Swamy fully established during his lifetime. If he failed, it was not his fault. He certainly brought it nearer by every year. It is for us, who remain behind, to get into resolute effort to make it a reality in the shortest possible time.

Lokamanya was not responsible for the harm done, but that is not to say that he was a lover of Englishness or English rule. I was Englishness against making the mistake of thinking that he was their enemy.

I had the privilege of listening to an oration, learned discourse by him, at the time of the last Calcutta Congress in Hindi being the national language. He had just returned from the Congress party. It was a treat to listen to his voice, the voice of Hindi. In the course of his address he paid a glowing tribute to the English for their use of the Preamble. His English wit, signs of learned experience of English jurisprudence, made him a staunch believer in British democracy and he accordingly made the contrary suggestion that I, as a student, should know the Pledge through the own magazine. I wish that amidst all honour I dare not believe (for I do not) but in order to show that he understood us better for Englishness. But he would not and would not put up with an inferior status of India and the Empire. He wanted immediate equality which he believed was his country's birthright and in this struggle for India's freedom he did not spare the Government. As the faith for freedom he gave no quarter and asked for none. I hope that Englishmen will recognize the worth of the man whom India has adorned.

For us he will go down to the generations yet unborn as an under of modern India. They will regard his memory as of a man who lived for them and that he gave. It is a temptation to talk of such a man as dead. The permanent reason of him who lives with us for ever. Let us erect for the only Lokamanya of India an appreciable monument by moving into our own lives his memory, his simplicity, his masculine industry and his love of his country. May God grant his soul peace.

We very much regret we are not able to give a third photo of Lokamanya as we intended to do.—E. V.

## Notes.

What is in a name?—A writer in the *Times* of India the other day treated Mr. Gandhi by approving beyond the French's vast wheat by-products of exports of British goods. Here there is a clear confusion of terms (or perhaps it was having to write in a foreign language). The writer has overlooked the fact that Mr. Gandhi could not disapprove of all by-products because of disapproval of by-products of British goods. He does not understand it by itself, and often succeeds in by-producting, instead of not. He does beyond all foreign cloth for his own use. Export of British goods is not because it is considered as a positive right, and has no relation to any permanent principle of life such as Swadeshi. Exports of British goods mean war with the nation whereas Mr. Gandhi is engaged in a war with the Government of India, and exports of British goods mean submission to Japanese and other foreign goods, and therefore submission to war conditions and possible difficulties with these foreign powers. Export success being a loss of jurisdiction may be immediate and extensive to its effect. People are not ready for A. H. H. From Mr. Gandhi's opposition to such exports. But exports of the *Times's* 1911 has an idea of jurisdiction behind it. It is merely a refusal to co-operate with the authorities who have for their own ends arranged the war in order to lighten their load in India and to gain from the assumed world a surplus of wealth as Mr. Gandhi calls it. Exports of the *Times's* and therefore because a duty imposed upon all who value national income and who want to make it clear to the authorities that they are in no way to expect help from the people in meeting their power to do so.

**The Cloth Problem.**—The cotton position of 1920 was the subject of a lecture recently delivered by Professor John A. Jodd before a committee of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces. Professor Jodd began by pointing out the whole of the cotton-habit in America. He definitely told her to do so. "America has failed us as our main source of textile fibres, and failed us I think, permanently. And it could only be a question of time, he said, "before we were faced with an actual necessity of cotton." With the best cotton-producing country they have, England and other cloth manufacturing countries will certainly look to India and Egypt for the supply of cotton. Some provisions against the American shortage of cotton has been contemplated since a long time by European cloth manufacturers. Accordingly during the past quarter of a century, the area devoted to cotton in Egypt has been increased by over 50 per cent. The International Cotton Federation founded at the office of the India Office and just before the war actually lifted the cotton crop in India from 4,000,000 to nearly 5,000,000 bales. With ten more years of peace, we have at our disposal the aid of the United States, the

quantity of Indian crop might have been equalled the American crop. Such an effort made by the export to increase the Indian cotton crop would enable us to appreciate the importance of our cotton position. In view of the present shortage of the world's cotton supply, we may be said to be in a privileged position. We certainly produce cotton sufficient in quantity for ourselves here.

Besides, the scope of our cloth manufacturing is not confined to cotton only. It can be seen from Mr. Buckley's book on the silk of India that one of the very important products of India has been shrouded into the background. The author has considered the subject not from the point of our market, but of the French and English markets. We, however, cannot forget that India is now exporting over 2,000,000 lbs. a year of raw silk, and obtaining nearly all of it. If the resources of foreignness have brought it home to us that we produce sufficient raw material for our cloth, our product area may, and can improve its quality also why should we import foreign raw material or foreign silk? Our silk are not cheap too low in value the entire or silk that we get. Our raw silk produce sufficient machinery from outside for a long time to come. Exports and of goods which there have been to be recalled to the reason. It is certain that the cloth we were manufacturing would be more and more than the foreign raw material. But it must be remembered that we cannot build our industries in a day and without any surplus to our part. England has gone through such a stage. In the middle of the 13th century legislation was passed there to secure silk for home made cloth. James De Meville, the founder of English Parliament, passed the first law of the series to protect English weavers cloth from foreign competition. Similar attempts are necessary in India to protect Indian cloth from foreign competition. Will the founders of our parliament or responsible government limit their efforts to that direction? But in the absence of protective legislative facilities in the only remedy to come forward for our hand-made cloth.

### IMPORTANT NOTICE

All communications regarding subscription, renewal etc. should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", 41, Market Road, Alambudai and sent to Ghose Sir, Pundit Mohan, Alambudai.

Our rates of subscription

(payable strictly in advance)

Annual in India (with postage)	Five Rupees
Outside India	Five Rupees
Single Copy	Two annas

All manuscripts and printed matter to be inserted in the paper, as well as all letters in the Editor, should be addressed to *Subscriptions, Alambudai*.

### OUR BRITISH AGENTS

Messrs H. G. G. & Co. (3 Madras Street, Chetty Street, Trichy, Madras) are our authorized Agents for Madras.

## Young India

Disseminated, Wednesday, 24 August, 1920

### THE CONGRESS AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya, for whom I maintain the highest regard and whom I have an affection described as *dharmadatta*, has appealed to me both publicly and privately to suspend non-co-operation till the Congress has pronounced upon it. The *Kalidatta* has also done likewise. These appeals have made me pause and think, but I regret to say that I have not been able to respond to them. I could do much and give much to please Pandit Malaviya and to satisfy his appetition and blessing for all my nation but a higher duty requires me not to turn from the course mapped out by the Non-co-operation Committee. There are persons in your life whom you must not give though you meet every year and friends with you. The 'old and' were' whom you must always be the last to bid adieu when there is a matter of duty.

The reason for asking me to suspend action is that the Congress will probably meet and consider the whole question of non-co-operation and give its verdict. It would therefore be better (page Pandit) to await the Congress decision. In my humble opinion it is not Congress's duty to suspend the Congress before asking my nation in a matter in which he has no doubts. To do otherwise may mean stagnation.

The Congress is after all the mouthpiece of the nation. And when one has a policy as a programme which one would like to see adopted, but one which one wants to cultivate public opinion, one naturally asks the Congress to discuss it and issue its opinion. But when one has an inalienable faith in a particular policy or action, it would be better to wait for the Congress pronouncement. On the contrary one must not and demonstrate its efficacy as to be remained acceptance by the nation.

My loyalty to the Congress requires me to carry out its policy when it is not contrary to my conscience. If I am in a minority I may not perceive my policy in the name of the Congress. The decision of the Congress on any given question therefore does not mean that it prevents a Congressman from any action in the ordinary. And if he acts, he does so at his own risk and with the knowledge that the Congress is not with him.

Every Congressman, every public body has the right at its discretion that duty, to express their own opinion, and give it and then anticipate the verdict of the Congress. Indeed it is the best way of serving the nation. By initiating well-considered policies, we furnish data for a great deliberative body like the Congress to enable it to form a well-considered opinion. The Congress cannot express national opinion with any definiteness, unless at least some of us have already first voiced

about a particular national incident. If all suspended their opinion, the Congress must necessarily suspend its own.

There are always three classes of people in an institution. Those who have favourable views on a given policy those who have fixed but unfavourable views on it and those who hold no fixed views. The Congress decides for the third and large group. I hold fixed views on non-co-operation. I believe that if we are to make anything of the reforms we will have to create a pure, clear and dividing atmosphere instead of the present hazy, confused and debating atmosphere in which there is. I believe that our first duty is to separate India from the Imperial Government as regards the *Khalifat* and the Punjab. In both these matters opinion is being expressed by methods and vehicles. I therefore consider it to be the duty of the nation to purge the Government of the malcontents before they are co-operate with each other. Even opposition or obstruction is possible where there is mutual respect and confidence. At the present moment the governing authority has no respect for us or our feelings, we have no faith in it. So these circumstances non-co-operation is a course. Holding these strong views I can serve the Congress and the country only by refusing them to practice and thus offering up to the Congress material for forming its opinion.

For me to suspend non-co-operation would be to prove untrue to the Hindustani leaders. They have their own religious duty to perform. They religious sentiment has been deeply hurt by a total Congress of love of justice and then one governed by British government. The Hindustani must take action now. They cannot await the Congress decision. They can only expect the Congress to verify their action and then settle matters and their business. Their action cannot be delayed till the Congress has decided on a policy nor can their course be altered by an adverse decision of the Congress unless they action is otherwise found to be an error. The *Khalifat* is a matter of conscience with them. And as matters of conscience the Law of Shariyat has no place.

### WHO IS MISLOYAL?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Meekins has discovered a new definition of disloyalty. He considers my suggestion to be disloyal and some newspapers taking the cue from him have called persons who have made the suggestion 'mis-misloyalty'. They have even attributed to these 'mis-misloyalty' persons the suggestion of 'betraying the Prince'. I draw a sharp and fundamental distinction between betraying the Prince and betraying my nation arranged for him. Personally I would express the heartiest welcome to the Royal Highness if he came to our soil even without official passport and the protecting wings of the Govern-

ment of the day. Being the heir to a constitutional monarch, the Emperor's movements are regulated and directed by the ministers, no matter how much the Emperor may be accused formally diplomatically polite language. In regarding the Emperor therefore the pressmen have suggested topics of an insinuating and disloyal character of His Majesty.

You cannot have it both ways. It is true that under a constitutional monarchy, the royalty is above politics. But you cannot use the Prince as a political vent for the purpose of making political capital out of him, and then complain that those who will not play your game fail, in order to chastise you, produce a boycott of the Royal visit, do not leave constitutional usage. For the Emperor's visit is not for pleasure. His Royal Highness is in India in Mr Lloyd George's words, as the "ambassador of the British nation," in other words, his own ambassador in order to see a synthesis of work to him and possibly to give the situation a new lease of life. The work is designed to consolidate and strengthen a power that exists in India for India. Even so it is, Mr. Montagu has known that the welcome will probably be greeted by my father-in-law extended in Royalty, meaning that the people are not really and deeply affected and stirred by the official attitudes in the Punjab and the unhesitatingly devoted breath of official declarations in the Khitchai. With the knowledge that India should have told His Majesty's ministers that the moment was opportune for sending the Prince I venture to believe that it is adding much to injury to bring the Prince and through his work to deal hasten and further postage for a Government that deserves to be dismissed with dispatch. I claim that I prove my loyalty by a year that India is in no mood, was deeply in mourning, to take part in any welcome to His Royal Highness, and that the ministers and the Indian Government show their disloyalty by making the Prince's visit part of their day-political game. If they protest, it is the clear duty of India to have nothing to do with the visit.

## CRUSADE AGAINST NON-CO-OPERATION.

(By N. K. Ghoshal.)

I have most anxiously read the manifesto addressed by Sir Manojkumar Ghoshal and others denouncing the people from among the non-co-operation movement. I had expected to read some solid argument against non-co-operation, but to my great regret I have found it is nothing but diatribe and abuse concerning the great religious and history. The manifesto says that non-co-operation is deprecated by the religious texts and traditions of our mother-land, viz. of all the religions that have sprung and directed the human race. I venture to affirm that the Bhagavad Gita is a

gospel of non-co-operation between forces of darkness and those of light. If it is to be literally interpreted, Arjuna representing a just cause was required to engage in bloody warfare with the unjust Kauravas. Yudhishthira advised the Lord (the god) to slay the demons (the evil-doers). The Upanishads represent a perpetual dual between Good and Evil, between whom there is no compromise. To say of the Bible that it teaches non-co-operation is not to know Jesus, a peace among peace-lovers, who uncomprehendingly challenged the might of the Babylonians and the Pharaohs and for His sake of truth did not hesitate to die for them their parents. And what did the Peoples of India do? He non-co-operated in Kerala as a man whose power to keep so his life was not to change and waged the death of Jesus all his feet when he found that he and his followers ought have ardently to preach, and did to blasphemy and returned who he was strong enough to give battle to his opponents. The duty of non-co-operation with unjust men and things is as clearly opposed by all the religions as is the duty of cooperation with just men and things. Indeed most of the scriptures of the world seem even to go beyond non-co-operation and prefer violence to efficient submission to a wrong. The Hindu epigious traditions, of which the manifest speaks, clearly prove the duty of non-co-operation. Pineda dissociated himself from his father, Havelock from her husband, Deborah from her brutal leader.

The manifesto speaking of the secular aspect says, 'The history of nations affords us instances to show that it (meaning non-co-operation) has, when employed, succeeded and done good.' One most recent instance of brilliant success of non-co-operation is that of General Datta who inspired Lord Milner's reform councils and thereby proved a perfect justification for his strategy. The Dakhshinans of India offered non-co-operation, and a handful though they were, their presence so deeply moved the civilized world that Canada offered them a home where they form a progressive community. In India instances are to give by the dozen, in which so brave personalities the empire was deeply moved by their deeds have set off all operations with them and have them to their will. I know of no instance in history where such successful non-co-operation has taken.

Havelock I have given historical instances of Uddhar non-co-operation. I will not waste the intelligence of the reader by citing historical instances of non-co-operation combined with violence, but I am free to admit that there are no cases as many instances as failures in violent non-co-operation, and it is because I know the best that I have placed before the country a non-violent scheme in which, if not universal satisfaction, success is a certainty and in which non-violence comes before. For if even one man non-co-

operation, say, by dragging some other, by his present, outlook. That is the ethical or religious aspect. For the political result, naturally it requires political support. I fear therefore no disastrous result from non-operation with the ex-officials of violence on the part of the people whether under provocation or otherwise. I would not, however, recommend those who rule the assemblies of a whole state.

### COW PROTECTION

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Cow protection as an article of faith in Hindoism Apart from its religious quality, it is an economic asset. But we, Hindus, have to-day little regard for the cow and her progeny. In an industry in the world are made in all but all kept as in India. In best-caring England it would be difficult to find cattle with horns sticking out of their heads. Even of our propagandists few are managed and all kept. Instead of being a real blessing to the animal world they are perhaps simply consuming-objects for dining animals. We say nothing to the British or to the whites who take hundreds of cows are slaughtered daily. Each day do not hesitate to provide food for them. English people Cow protection of the cow, therefore, extends to covering her from Hindoism's hand. The reverse method of cow protection has led to reduce food and fuel. Madras, Madhya Pradesh and West-bengal. It has probably caused greater slaughter of cows than otherwise would have been the case if we had kept the propagandist in the right order. We should have encouraged an ex-cowherd cow to encourage, and ourselves and other the land with useful propaganda leading to hindoism in the treatment of milk and cowherd knowledge in the management of milk farms, dairies and propagandist. We should devote our attention to propaganda among Englishmen in the shape of exhibiting them voluntarily to slaughter land us, if they will send us, at least be assisted with improved land. We should remove prohibitions of export of milk from India and we should stop means of securing a cow-purifying our milk supply. I have not a shadow of doubt that if we proceed along these lines we would secure voluntary Hindoism support, and when we have ceased to compel them to stop killing cows on their festival days, we would find that they have an interest in saving or killing them. Any show of force on our part would lead to resistance and suppression of feeling. We may not make Hindoism or anybody respect our feelings religious or otherwise by force. We can really do so only by showing their fellow feeling.

Since it is that I have desired, and I am a little weary, to water with my tongue on the Khalifat question. I consider myself to be among the students of Hindia. I am no longer to see the cow from the Hindoism's hand or any Hindu. But as that very animal. I refuse to make up

support of the Hindoism about in the Khalifat question. I am no longer to see the Hindoism in my tongue. He is an industry. His protection is important and it is my brotherly duty to help him to secure rather by every legitimate means in my power even to the extent of losing my life and property. That is the way I see this permanent friendship with Hindoism. I refuse to support Hindoism. It will, a hand to support to my noble and lovely nation. The ending of the help will be real and satisfactory of it was real and satisfactory. That the result will be the ending of the same is necessary. But should it turn out to be otherwise my view will not be affected in any manner whatsoever. The loss of friendship is a part of loss and neither independent of reputation of my view.

But one object is a part of reputation on the part of the Hindoism. It is my experience to protect the cow we need to regulate through Hindoism and get the satisfaction from the Hindoism's work. I would urge my Hindu countrymen to be patient. Our Hindoism countrymen are sometimes doing more for Hindoism in the matter. I received the notice of Hindoism. Akhil Hindu Hindoism that he would not take any pleasure and unless he is the out Hindoism could see his way there to taking his Hindoism to protect the cow. He has been so good as his work. He has been successfully attempting to create favourable atmosphere for reaching the decision of cow protection in Hindoism and Hindoism generally. Hindoism Ajitkumar or President of the Hindoism League last year started his committee of education from teaching on festival days on the basis of opposition members. The Akhil Hindoism have stopped teaching in their household. We must feel deeply grateful to those who have started Hindoism for their excellent support. We must show them the different problem in their own way. My advice to my Hindu brethren is simply help the Hindoism in their success in a generous and self-sacrificing spirit without expecting the end and you will also naturally save the cow. India we wish faith, Trust in and no Hindoism. We must hold it a crime for any Hindu to talk to them about cow-protection or any other help in any religious matter which the Khalifat struggle is going on.

### RESUMPTION OF MEDALS

Mr. Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the Viceroy—

It was without a pang that I return the Karam-Singh medal granted to me by your predecessor the my predecessor's work in South Africa, the Karam-Singh medal granted to South Africa for my services as officer in charge of the Indian volunteer ambulance corps in 1904 and the Star was made for my services as constant superintendent of the Indian volunteer ambulance corps in 1907-1908. I received in

policy than would be pursued if the means of non-cooperation inaugurated today in connection with the Khilafat movement. Valuable as these lessons have been to me, I cannot wear them with as many emotions as long as my Hindustani ones before have to labour under a wrong done to their religious institutions. Events that have happened during the past month have convinced me in the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilafat matter from unscrupulous motives and a purposeless and have been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their incapacity. I can still neither respect nor reverence the British Government.

The attitude of the Imperial and Your Excellency's Government on the Punjab question has given me additional cause for grave dissatisfaction. I had the honour, as Your Excellency is aware, to read the original correspondence to investigate the nature of the disorders in the Punjab during the April of 1917. And it was this letter revolution that Mr. Marshall C.P.Wyke was lately so kind to hold the office of Lieutenant Governor of Punjab and that his policy was primarily responsible for advancing the work of Anarchy. No doubt the mob excesses were reprehensible, unchristian, unbecoming five hundred Rajaputes and the recently arrived in them thousands were most deplorable and excusable. But the justice administered by General Dyer, Col. French, Johnson, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bennett Smith, the Hon. Raza Shah, Mr. Kishu Khan and other clever ministers of all parties in the case of the people and succeeded in making orderly and unnecessary excesses perpetrated in violent times. Your Excellency's high-handed treatment of the education, poor administration of the Marshall C.P.Wyke, the Manager's display and show of the deplorable operations of the Punjab events and actions throughout the Province of India has outraged by the Masses of India, have filled us with the greatest indignation regarding the failure of the Empire, have estranged me completely from the present Government and have banished me from teaching, as I have hitherto with-humbly rendered, my loyal cooperation.

My humble opinion the ordinary method of appearing by way of petitions, deputations and the like is no remedy for moving to reprimand a Government in hopelessly indifferent to the welfare of its subjects in the Government of India has proved to be. In European countries, maintenance of such governments in the states and the Punjab would have resulted in a bloody revolution by the people. They would have wanted an all over national constitution such as the one we require. But half of India is too weak to offer violence, resistance and the other half is unwilling to do so. I have therefore ventured to suggest the policy of non-cooperation which enables those who wish to denounce their rulers from the Government and wholly if it is maintained by violence and sedition as an alternative, with respect to future attempts and such the wrong committed. But while I shall praise the policy of non-cooperation in so far as I can bring the people with me, I shall not less hope that you will yet see your way to do justice. I therefore respectfully ask Your Excellency to remove a number of the unscrupulous leaders of the people and in consultation with them find a way that would please the Hindustani and be representative the younger Punjab.

Mrs. Sachindar Chatterjee has addressed the following letter to the Viceroy:-

I am the holder of a license granted by your Excellency's Government for my conducting services with regard to the formation of the Durgah Rajaputes. I have been at work for profit and shared it as income to do so. But it is an illegal practice for me to take profit on the possession of the revenues. I have followed the intention of the Khilafat Movement. I have been deeply moved. Hindustani of India including women have been by the suggestion done to the Khilafat as a Hindu woman observing the policy of my own. I have shared as my lot with my Hindustani brethren and sisters who feel the wrongs of their own faith in particular. In pursuance of the policy of the masses of non-cooperation initiated by the Khilafat Committee, I continue with such regard to return the same license.

There is however an additional reason for me to share myself at the time. I am the wife of a Punjab leader of whose reputation I had as much knowledge as of my own. His my husband was torn away from me without warning in connection with other leaders. I was in London throughout the period of Martial Law. I had the painful privilege of meeting and embracing my father who was without any more separated from their husbands or families or parents. I was witness to the trial of Marshal Law trials. I was present throughout the dark days of terrorism in Lahore.

You alone with the necessity of these wrongs done to my soul I rendered the last breath, I conveyed it in the manner that both the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs would be repaired. That it was not to be. The Government, both Imperial and Indian seem to me to have lost all sense of justice and to establish. And as long as the double injustice lasts I must respectfully refuse to co-operate with the Government.

### EAST AFRICA AND INDIAN OVERSEAS ASSOCIATION

To the Editor, "Young India."

Sir,

The following is an extract from a telegram from the special correspondent of the "Herald", dated London, May 23rd:-

"Mr. Jeevanjee, head of the Indian East African Association called this morning. He says the Colonial Office is getting hot against him. He says the representations made as to have recently before him. The interests opposed to Indians in East Africa are most powerful, strongly organized and able to bring great pressure to bear upon the ruling of some in Britain. Only by meeting popular Indian sentiment on the Indian question in East Africa he could. The Indian Government has been slow to remove such sentiment by the Indian Overseas Association to which such services were left by the East African Congress and Mr. Jeevanjee's deputation. That was the correct reason why the Colonial Office was ungrateful."

Mr. Jeevanjee frankly confessed the failure of the efforts Indianists made and says it was entirely wrong to the deputation to demand being received primarily in the India Office and especially the Colonial Office. He authorized me to say if he knew half-hearted work would be the case he would have refused to go. It was agreed

has done much that probably in the general press was not noticed by the government of East Africa.

Mr. Jeevanjee was anxious to put the matter in front of the British public and Parliament. With that in mind he was asking Mr. Jeevanjee's opinion.

Mr. Jeevanjee informed I showed the telegram to Frayser last, the Irish states, thought that he gave very much satisfaction as that represented in the above telegram. My 2 letters in any other form, and that in the first, date did not have any but was not the second which though not had to be continued here in any way to either in printing the matter of the government of East Africa. Indian before the British public and Parliament. He also advised me that he had never made to any press correspondence statement before, upon this matter, but with some interest in the telegram. Before leaving, the other, Mr. Jeevanjee promised that he would send me by Mr. Jeevanjee the following a letter containing the text of the telegram. It is a matter of regret that, in spite of a repeated reminder by me on Thursday, Mr. Jeevanjee has failed to give me a copy of his promise. It is therefore, necessary in order to avoid misapprehension, that I should place it in front of the public.

Very truly, Mr. Jeevanjee's message on behalf of the East African Indian Representatives, the Association had done everything possible to draw public attention to the difficulties and present state of the Indian in East Africa. I feel equally well satisfied to be the present state of which appeared when it was stated by Mr. Jeevanjee. Other Members of the Association, including Colonel Wingfield and Mr. Frayser have the members of the Association before, which has taken had with me, I through the services of my Mr. Jeevanjee of Parliament for a long series of working questions which were put to the Colonial Office. In addition the resolutions passed by the East African Indian National Congress last November, has been given to my Mr. Jeevanjee has not only been included in the report, but in my Mr. Jeevanjee's report of Parliament's committee. In the course of the various discussions of the progress of business, and consultation with Mr. Jeevanjee, the Aga Khan and Mr. Jeevanjee Jeevanjee, who were then absent from England, Mr. Jeevanjee and I had a long private interview with Mr. Jeevanjee, the Secretary of the East African Protectorate, before whom we placed at length the Indian point of view. With the resolution in our hand, the Association had, upon the issue of the arrival of the Deputation, done everything that was possible to obtain publicity for the East African Indian question and the Association was specially represented by Mr. Jeevanjee, who was sent to the representatives of the Indian press, at public gatherings without great reference to the Government's activities. All this Mr. Jeevanjee is well aware of he had a copy of the letter addressed to my Association by the General Secretary. Thus, I think, beyond the slightest doubt, whether made by Mr. Jeevanjee or the general correspondence to the "Herald" that "Indian" work of has been done to secure such popular friendly treatment by the Indian Government as to which such matters were left up to the East African Congress and Mr. Jeevanjee's Deputation. This was the real reason why the Colonial Office was unopposed.

After the arrival of Mr. Jeevanjee's Deputation, the Association immediately set to work to prepare a statement for introduction to the Governor and Indian

Office, and the latter was fully convinced in the British and Indian press in the preparation of the statement Mr. Jeevanjee had his colleagues substituted. It was of course, to give the Government of India for the... and India to receive a Deputation under the auspices of the Government which would include the East African Delegation. The two Ministers intended to give to a Deputation and to give certain new views, two very important points were raised upon Mr. Jeevanjee and Lord Jeevanjee's report. Without the consent of the Government, I was unable to send any Deputation of any number, and evidence could have been arranged by the East African Delegation through the Government of India. It was not by any chance of the Association that the Government at the Indian and Colonial Office made any promise like a matter of fact the present state of India. These were intended to be public, and Mr. Jeevanjee's report in reply for publication. When, however, the second Deputation was Lord Jeevanjee, it was not intended to reply that the Deputation was given to the Government that he wished the proceedings to be kept private and when Mr. Jeevanjee, in the same way, came to know of this he felt that, as a matter of correspondence would be wrong, the proceedings at the Indian Office should be treated as of a private character. This was why he had no more responsibility or blame for the proceedings than Mr. Jeevanjee or the colleagues had. It had no opinion in the matter of the fact of the special request of the Government that privacy should be observed, it was impossible for the Association to bring to the press or the general public any detailed statement of the proceedings, or the interview.

Very truly, when the Deputation was given, it was hoped that a further interview would come up for the discussion of East African Indian affairs at the time of the Deputation in the House of Commons the Indian and the Indian. The question was raised immediately before the Indian, and the Indian of the question of interest, changes but the Indian was brought into prominence upon every to the Government of India to consider matters, which concerned the Indian question in East Africa, especially brought forward by the Aga Khan, however, Mr. Jeevanjee, one of the most able Members of the Association, attended to the House a very interesting debate, in which the Deputation's proposals were Mr. Jeevanjee Jeevanjee, which he pointedly alluded to the difficulties of the Indian Government in East Africa, and the support of the Association Lord Jeevanjee to show to the Government the position of the Indian of India. This Indian would already have taken place just for the response of Lord Jeevanjee that it should be published in the Indian press, to make a full statement of policy regarding East Africa. The Deputation, therefore, has performed all that it could.

I think it will be seen that, having regard to the circumstances, the responsibility of the Indian Government, and the fact that, pending the proposed full consideration of the representation by Lord Jeevanjee, the Association was prohibited from carrying on an active campaign until the Minister had made a public statement of policy and would not have done more than it has done.

It will be seen, I think, that it is not responsible for the telegram above quoted, whether Mr. Jeevanjee





# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by R. S. Sarda)

17615

New Series Vol. II, No. 23 } ANNAMALAI, MADRAS, MONDAY, JUNE 27, 1910 } Price Two Annas The Cost

CONTENTS.		Page
Program of Non-co-operation	_____	1
Notes	_____	1
Articles	_____	
The Question of the Board of Customs and Excise.	_____	2
Development.	_____	
Opinion Under Consideration	_____	4
The Postage Incident	_____	4
Mr. Hastings and Mr. Sarda	_____	7

### Notes.

**Self-taxation and non-co-operation**—The ordinary English papers in giving abstract columns about the late Lokamanya Bhai have attributed to him arrangements which were never made. So far as we are aware Mr. Bhai held very strong views on non-co-operation. We have that he wanted Indian Nationalists that of the Hindustani should non-co-operate for good and the Hindustani general would seriously follow them. He desired not to deal more on the details of non-co-operation including boycott of schools but when Indian Nationalists did with Mr. Bhai would have at least given Indian people going to the Punjab to avoid the Hindustani. He requested the Congress to send his party would be for and for showing change that view should be substituted in the demand which to some had.

**Mr. Hastings versus Mr. Sarda**—In the course of a letter to Mr. Sarda, dated 12th July 1910 London, Mr. Hastings writes:

### PROGRAMME OF NON-CO-OPERATION

Although no lists of resignations of Indian officers have been officially published by the Central Executive Committee and the provincial committees we have received information of some resignations and withdrawals from schools, which we publish below. We shall be pleased to give publicity to such lists from time to time.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Mr. Shantaram Bhatkar   | Has withdrawn his name from the Proprietary High School, Bombay   |
| Mr. Lakshminarayan Parthasarthy of Calcutta                             |   |
| .. R. S. Sarda  | Has resigned the Presidency of the Hindustani College of Commerce and Industry to remain in name from the school list |
| Major Chandra Sati Sahai, Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, Bagalore | Has resigned his Municipal Commissioner's post  |
| Mr. Akbar Khatir of Bangalore   |   |
| Mr. Sita Sahai of Bangalore   | Has resigned his Municipal Commissioner's post and membership of the Board.   |
| Mr. T. Yashwanth  | South Magistrate's post.  |
| .. Tygappa  | Has resigned the Kanara District Council's membership for long  |

"I am in very bad health. For the two years past in the Punjab and the Khilafat work all my congregated energies. But it is now to separate from a man to stand and decide with the resignation of power, the latter part of my life and work and energy and an eternal ignorance of India's condition, progress, state and progress. The debate on the Punjab in the House of Commons last week, attracted the best remnants of my hope and faith in British justice and political liberty in the new years of India. The decision in the House was inevitable and lasting to go. Our friends revealed their ignorance and showed their weakness—and the combination is appalling and heart-breaking.

Mr. Hastings has proved a broken reed, I confess very of my correspondence with him in the last six of the magazine mentioned during the March Law regime upon whom as included in the Congress and Government's report and resolution. I particularly remember that on single state was mentioned in the resolution but has been accepted without the most vigorous and powerful remedy. But the general strength seems to be in the hands of the Congress and Government is strong and to study the responsibility of such changes which cannot be done. In India's condition—the short-term with a response. Speaking at a mass meeting the other day, I said that what we Indian demanded was resignation and not revenge, that we had the spiritual force and means that we needed to be transferred here and elsewhere. In the course of something that might occur, resignation took by ourselves and the British race but that freedom was the only law, protection for the young and

Further Mr. Sarda's demand of Indian officers in the list of resignations of Indian officers we signed three of them being Khatir.

share of the People's ... The specialists think that my heart-disease is an advanced and dangerous state, but I contradict all the heart of the world in my protest over the tragedy of enslaved India."

**Struggle on wages.**—The correspondence is between Mr. Montagu and Mrs. Neale, published elsewhere, goes on a glimpse into Mr. Montagu's mentality. A member of the House of Commons spoke in a meeting held at Mrs. Neale's regarding the charges against Marital Law arbitrators about charges on women. Mr. Montagu hastily wrote to Mrs. Neale warning her of making untrue statements and challenging her to quote her authority or publicly withdraw her statement. The very next day he had to qualify himself by admitting that some authority did exist in the Congress Committee's report but that it had reference to police officers. Mrs. Neale had no way but to refer to the matter in the Indian weekly paper. And this we hear that Mr. Montagu has caused expenses to be made into the statements published in the Congress Committee report. We may surmise the reader's attention to the fact that Mr. Montagu's attempt to induce disinvestment of women in the Indian police was failed. The statements suggested by Mrs. Neale refer to Mr. Rowboth Neale. The charge was investigated by Mr. Andrews himself and then by Mr. Liddle, Barrister-at-Law. Mr. Montagu was satisfactorily dissatisfied. Mrs. Neale is now naturally anxious about the statements made in the Congress report. The correspondents have themselves discussed the way in which they have exercised audience. In any event Mrs. Neale stands severely rebuked. The Congress report may be wanted to take care of itself.

**The Manipalrao incident.**—Further statements which we publish from the witnesses confirm the information supplied by us regarding the drug in a Manipalrao. If the witnesses who have given evidence have told the truth, the matter certainly looks credit to those who were responsible for the control of the traffic on the frontier. For we have over the mouth of the Government inquiry.

**Diapal and Baramal.**—Elsewhere we publish a letter from Mr. Andrews on the removal of Opium Trade with China by "back-door" methods. It is a full of righteous indignation as the measure of the authorities and who in fact have been encouraging the control and illegal trade. This is clear from a recently published book, "The Opium Smuggling," written by an American, Miss L. Neale. The book, it is reported, has caused quite a few among representatives of China as a very useful and timely publication while the British officials all over China are said to regard it very much and are opposing the matter by opposing their system of smuggling the world.

There are seven hundred thousand acres of the best land of India which are not in good shape for the manufacture of opium. There are 10,000 licensed opium fields whose opium is sold to coolies, women and children through opium peddlars.

The best mode of the smoky strongly room, say, positively and white-hotly within the dragging and devaluation of the nation, but to no purpose. The Chinese Government prohibits and penalises the production and sale of opium in China, but the British-ruled China not only by encouraging the illegal traffic in the country from British territories but directly by the export of Morphia manufactured in the territories of England and Scotland. The British and Indian Governments will be loath to discourage the production and trade of this poisonous drug as it incidentally helps them in a great extent financially and even politically. It is, however, left to the people both here in India and in China to master their own strength and boycott the production, consumption and traffic of the fatal drug.

**The Gay-Patriots against the non-attendance.**—According to the new rules, the Standing Legislative Council and the University Senate must consist of representatives of the speakers and not absent in English. A similar step was expected of the Standing Committee. And Dr. Karamlal T. Narayan led over a proposal to the effect as the first meeting of the Morphia Corporation. But unfortunately the majority of the corporation manifested the proposal. One member even went to the length of saying that the resolution would 'take the European members out of the hall. Dr. Narayan had already considered this objection, "It is the same reason as the European members," he urged, "they should look to the convenience of the natives who did not know English." And the proposed change," he said, "was for the good of the people 99 percent of whom knew no English." The conference was mainly meant to facilitate the proceedings when the national corporation with its one-English-speaking members would then take business. Indeed, no one could deny the necessity of the change, but strongly enough a few could misrepresent themselves and with such a persuasive manner. It therefore failed to pass.

Such a success might indeed be the next week. Also in the corporation since in the University Senate at the legislative council, for, the latter would not have the whole Presidency speaking for different representatives, whereas the former is constituted of representatives of a city where two very limited languages spoken. At a first meeting of the Council to be held on 11th August at one night before, we suggested to offset the difficulty of misrepresenting speakers a committee. But the corporation refused this suggestion as an unnecessary complication. The attitude only indicates their contempt towards their representatives and a lamentable disregard of the convenience of the nation. This is indeed the cause of disappointment, as those that belong to our various hybrid growth Dr. Karamlal's meeting proceeded, to his failure. The Englishmen from the corporation seem to look upon the national language as only for the house-boys.

It is fortunate, however, that out of 20 members, 17 at least voted for the resolution. We hope that this failure would pave the way to an early success.

## Young India.

Published Wednesday, 12th August, 1909

### THE DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

In this age of the rule of brute force, it is almost impossible for anyone to believe that any one else could possibly reject the use of the dual expression of brute force. And as I receive every week letters advising me that I must not interfere with the progress of non-co-operation, even though popular violence may break out, I have come to me and concluding the necessity I must be plotting violence, suppose when the happy accident of shaking open violence is averted, they assure me that the English will never yield to anything but violence except to open. Yet others, I am assured, believe that I am the most readily provoked living in India because I never give out my real intention and that they have not a shadow of a doubt that I believe in violence just as much as most people do.

Such being the hold that the doctrine of the sword has on the majority of mankind, and as matters of non-co-operation depend principally on masses of violence during its preliminary or its final stages, I am anxious to state them as clearly as possible.

I do believe that when there is only a choice between non-violence and violence I would advise violence. Thus when my object was what we what he should have done, had he been present when I was almost fatally assaulted in 1905, whether he should have run away and someone killed or whether he should have used his physical force, which he could and wanted to use, and defended me, I told him that it was his duty to defend me even by using violence. Hence it was that I took part in the Boer War, the so-called Sikh rebellion and the late War. Does any one advocate violence as a means for those who believe in the method of violence. I would rather have India swept to ashes in order to defend her honour than that she should, in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence. Violence is more nearly than punishment "AN EYE FOR AN EYE" forgiveness without a soldier. But forgiveness or forgiveness only when there is the power to punish, it is meaningless when it pretends to prevent from a help less condition. A more kindly forgiveness is a virtue which allows itself to be run to ground by law. I therefore appreciate the treatment of those who cry out for the simple punishment of General Dyer and his ilk. They would not have to punish if they could. But I do not believe India to be helpless. I do not believe myself to be a help-

less creature. They I want to see India and my strength for a better purpose.

Let me not be misunderstood. Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. An average Sikh is not any more than a match for an average Englishman in bodily capacity. But his Gurm from an English boy, because he has the boy's purpose or those who will use it for him. His iron death and its terrible in spite of his bulky figure. We so believe in a constant effort. But our hundred thousand Englishmen need not fight; three hundred million human beings, a definite Englishman would therefore mean a definite recognition of our strength. With enlightened forgiveness would mean nothing more of strength in us, which would make it impossible for a Dyer and a Frank Johnson to keep silent upon India's degraded level. It matters little to me that for the moment I do not drive my point home. We feel too determined not to be angry and outraged for I must not release him saying that India was gone away by leaving the right of punishment. We have better work to do, a better nation to deliver to the world.

I am not a warrior. I claim to be a peaceful citizen. The religion of non-violence is not a word merely for the Hindu and Moslem. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit for demand in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit.

I have therefore returned to plain India for the present law of self-sufficiency. For Satyagrah, and its off-shoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The Hindu, who discovered the law of non-violence in the realm of violence, was greater than all these heroes. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms they reached their conclusions and brought a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

Non-violence is its dominant condition cannot co-exist with violence. It does not mean weak, submission to the will of the oppressor, but it means the putting of one's whole mind and against the will of the oppressor. Working under the law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an empire, superior to such his honour, his religion, his mother and by the discipline by that superior will or its resignation.

And so I am not plotting for India to become non-violence because it is weak. I want her to practice non-violence being conscious of her strength and power. No training or stress is required for reduction of her strength. We want to stand it because we seem to think that we are that a heap of loam. I want India to recognize that she has a soul that cannot perish and that she can throughout show every physical weakness and defy the phys-



The critics then argue that the lawyers will starve, if they leave their profession. This cannot be said of the holders of the professions. They do not stand dependent upon the Government or other men. Of those who live from hand to mouth if they are honest men, such local Khilafat Committees can pay them an honorarium against full time service.

Lastly, for Khilafat lawyers, it has been suggested that if they stop their practice, Hindu will take it up. I am hoping Hindu will at least show the necessary courage of not teaching their Muslim brethren a lesson, even if they do not suspend their own practice. But I am sure no religiously-minded Mussalman will be loath to say that they are sorry on the right side if the Hindus stand side by side with them as warriors. If the Hindus do as they mean, it will be to their honour and to the common good of both. But the Khilafat must go forward whether the Hindus join them or not. It is at a matter of life and death with them, they must not count the cost. It is not so too heavy for the preservation of one's honour, especially religious honour. Only they will remember who cannot choose. Forced marches are no marches. It will not last, a movement which necessarily when it is supported by working workers under pressure. The Khilafat movement will become an irretrievable force when every Mussalman learns the price terms of an individual wrong. He may wait for others help or sacrifice in matters of private personal wrong. He will help or fight, but he fights against the wrong just as whether he gains help or not. If he has justice on his side, the wrong has it that he does get help. Such is the help of the helpless. When the Friends of Britain were unable to help Dreyfus, God came to the rescue and saved his honour. The Prophet was helped by God when he seemed to be forsaken by men.

#### Now for the British

I feel that if we have not the courage to suspend the education of our children, we do not deserve to win the battle.

The first stage includes participation of Indians in Britain. As a matter of fact no government between Britain and India is doing more than the former are worth. It would be a bad and vain, vague government which threw away its income in a government based upon a people's will, we give way first to ensure a Britain which is a symbol of service. Under an unjust government which defies a people's will, such Japan, become a sign of servitude and debasement. Thus considered, the schools must be given up without a moment's thought.

For us the whole scheme of non-co-operation is among other things a test of the intensity and extent of our feeling. Are we genuine? Are we prepared to suffer? It has been said that we may not expect much response from white-bodies, for they have never taken part in national affairs and have

bought their business at too great a price ready to sacrifice them. I make a protest of the argument to the objection, and ask, what about the parents of school-children and the grown up college-students? They have no such intimate connection with the Government as the white-bodies. Do they wish they were not enough to enable them to maintain the schooling?

But I contend that there is no sacrifice involved in suspending the schools. We cannot openly vote for non-co-operation if we are so helpless as to be unable to arrange our own education in total independence of the Government. Every village should manage the education of its own children. I would not depend upon Government aid. If there is a real awakening the schooling need not be interrupted for a single day. The very school masters who are now conducting Government-schools, if they are good enough to change their views could take charge of national schools and teach our children the things they want and not make of the majority of these indifferent clerks. I do look to the Aligarh College to give the lead in this matter. The moral effect created by the suspending of our Education will be tremendous. I don't see that the Hindu parents and scholars would not feel to support their Mussalman brethren.

I asked what could be greater education than that the parents and scholars should get religious instruction before a knowledge of letters? If therefore an arrangement could be made to study for the literary instruction of youths who might be withdrawn, it would be a most profitable training for those to be able to work as volunteers for the Government schools. For in the case of the latter, so in the case of boys, my notion of withdrawal does not mean to rob him life. The withdrawing boys will each according to his worth, be expected to take their share in the education.

#### OPEN TRADES RENEWAL

To the Editor of 'Young India.'

Sir

May I call the attention through your columns to the needs of the continuance of the open trade between India on one side and the whole civilized world? We are still sending opium into China by back-door methods. The time to India-China an economic war may not be ready yet that it is sharing through one China road. The time is probably late of the economic talks at the Shensi Settlements under Jern, where very large numbers of Chinese, having direct commercial relations with China, are congregated. The only serious shock upon the world, which has been demanded by the whole civilized world, was 'tariff' upon to each country. Let the maximum for mutual requirements for that country's population be allowed and then prohibit any further sale to that country. But unfortunately increases profits are

to be made out of the milk and from these profits the great military and civil expenditures are partly met. It would, however, no longer be the original method, but requires such a mode of obtaining revenue as, slowly, to the detriment of civilization, which is now being made, before an agreement with the Indian Government can be reached, the evil of the opium traffic should not be left out of sight.

A certain Balkhistan revolution was once fought with the thirty pieces of silver, which represented the blood-money earned by Judas Iscariot. The field was called "Judeitham." This word, being interpreted, means "The Field of Blood." There are many emblematic "Fields of Blood" in India today. They usually cover over 100,000 acres. The soil of these fields should not then be stained by the collection of a penny intended to destroy men's bodies and souls.

Yours faithfully,

C. F. ARNOLD.

Secretary.

### THE FREELAN INCIDENT

STATEMENTS BY THE WITNESSES

Statement of Tana Gul (pseud.) resident Tege, Tehri Chitrawal, District Peshawar:—

I got into the train from Peshawar City. When the train arrived at Iktana College Station, news was made in the female compartment that British soldiers had jumped onto that compartment. Hakim Ullah (pseud.) and myself went to the female compartment. Two soldiers were standing on the platform and one was in the female compartment. We asked him to get down, but he refused, hence we had to put him down. This day began to heat up. We also had them. They started shouting and we threw stones at them. The train whistled and started. The soldiers ran and got into a compartment. We sat in the female compartment with our mothers and sisters. When the train arrived at Kachigacha, some soldiers got down and they whistled and ran towards the front whereafter they brought more soldiers and ran towards the train and surrounded it. In the meantime an officer holding a stick, sword in hand, came running with more men. The officers and soldiers began to reach the train and came to the female compartment where we were sitting. The officers pointed us out to the officer that there we were. The officer ordered us to get down, therefore the soldiers got into the compartment and finally dragged us out. Hakim Ullah martyr was about to get up when the officer hit him with sword and he again fell. The soldiers took the gun from Indian soldiers and began to get us with bayonets and the bullets. I received injury from a bayonet in hand. I ran for help and returned.

Statement given by Miss Chinnia s/o Miss Gulshan Jehan of Mass Ehsal, residence Nisbati Ehsanah Khan, Naryana, occupation mill worker, Peshawar City.

On Thursday dated 24th July 1916, I was taking milk to Amrit by train. When the train arrived

at Iktana College Station, a news came from the female compartment, every man board it. After that there two, one that was alone and the other who was with, ran towards the female compartment. These two British soldiers were standing before and one soldier was standing in the female compartment, while the other dragged down from the compartment. They began to fight. The two parties then three came at each other the train started and the soldiers took their seats in accordance manager. The alone and the wounded sat in the female compartment. When the train arrived at Kachigacha, the two soldiers got down first from the train and whistled and then the third got down and two of them ran towards the front and third remained standing. The two soldiers brought columns of soldiers towards the train and the people after someone changed their gun with cartridge and sat by seats in train and surrounded the train after that one officer with some soldiers, sword in hand, came towards the train from the front and began to march the train in correspondence with those British soldiers. Having seen two or three other compartments they came to the female compartment where the deceased and she wounded were sitting. The white soldiers pointed them out to the officer and he ordered them to come down, hence the soldiers rushed upon the deceased and the wounded, and dragged them down. When they had fallen on the ground, the deceased picked up a stone to throw at them. Upon this the officer attacked her with his sword and ordered the engine to stop at last. But no reply was ever being.

Then the soldiers and the officer took the rifle from the engine handle and began to attack the deceased and the wounded with bayonet and bullets. The deceased caught the bayonet in her hand whereupon the officer releasing the rifle fired at her. Then the British soldiers also fired at her. The deceased exclaimed "Allahu Akbar" and passed away peacefully. The train had to be detained for two hours and then proceeded again and I also went to the train from to Amrit.

Secretary Khwairam Malakani telephoned to the Political Officer not to allow the Kalla to question to proceed afterwards the necessary hand-out went and acted here. The Political Officer however allowed the Kalla to go without even passports, for the simple reason that the truth might not be disclosed.

Witnesses testified by Gulshan Hydar Khan s/o Muhammad, Han Qarwal, teleprinter of Peshawar, C. Division.

On 24th July when the incident happened I was going to Amrit by Railway on personal business. I was in the same train in which the incident happened. When the train reached Iktana College Station and stopped, a line of people was formed, which caught the news of tragedy. It was heard that the soldiers had got into the female

transport, and they were let out. In the meantime the deceased and the wounded were in a distance from which could see, and get into the female compartment. They "Sahars" were asked not to move, and one was heavily dragged out of the female compartment. Upon this the two soldiers, who were standing outside, and one three soldiers at all the men, everything. In the meantime the train whistled and the train started off. The deceased and the wounded both got inside the female compartment. When the train reached Kuchipudi, a sharp curve of which was taken and one or two soldiers were seen coming towards the train, and after a few minutes the more two soldiers with a column of military sepoy came running to the train, and surrounded the train. After that some sepoy and an officer, with a white sword on head, came near the train and one after coming began to search it. When two of these compartments had been searched the deceased and the wounded were both suddenly dragged out from the train and thrown down on the ground. Immediately after falling down the deceased got up from the ground, upon this the officer attacked him with sword and the deceased again fell down upon the ground. The officer ordered to two three the soldiers heavily took the victim from the Sepoy and began to attack, with bayonets and bullets whereupon the man began to throw stones. Upon this according to the order of the officer, they and the officer began to hit at him. Many shots were fired. The deceased after being severely lacerated fell flat on the ground. No man could get out from the train to help them, as the train was surrounded by the Sepoy with loaded guns and loaded bayonets. The Sepoy were talking and all out to get down. After some time one will be that that is in the order of our officer. The train was delayed for some two hours and then the train started for Jambur, I want to demand to deposit of my house. Having seen the police Sahars I went to the main train to Paderam. While returning the train stopped for some time at Kottigehalli because the Political Collector and the Deputy Inspector of Police were making enquire. Then both the deceased and the wounded were put in the train and reached Channarayana station.

Evidence of Paderam Sahars and Sahars, Ahmed Anwar, at present in Paderam assistance service. Mohan Khandaid, Kotha Narayan Paderam.

He says.—When at about three the train reached Kuchipudi, I was standing on the road facing the train. The soldiers got down from the train and whistled and afterwards one soldier got down from the train. After whistling the two soldiers entered the train running. They again came back running to the train, accompanied by a column of Sepoy and surrounded the train. After this an officer, with a white sword on head and with some Sepoy, came running to the train and began to search the train. When two or three compartments had been searched then the deceased and the wounded were dragged out of the female compartment and they fell upon the ground. He was

trying to get up, and the officer gave him a stroke of sword. The deceased again fell down on the ground. The officer gave the order for firing. The Indian Sepoy refused to comply. The British soldiers and the officer searched the train from the Sepoy and began to attack the deceased and the wounded with bayonets and bullet-head. Then the deceased began to throw stones. The officer and the soldiers then began to fire at him. The deceased fell flat upon the ground because of the shots. No body could come out to help them, as the train was surrounded by the Sepoy with loaded bayonets, who said that it was their officer's order that they are getting down will be shot. Coming to this last sentence could get down. The train stopped for nearly two hours and started for Jambur. There I came back to Paderam with my servant by Tongu.

### Mr. HASTINGS AND Mr. SAHU

The following is the correspondence related to in His Majesty's letter to His Majesty—  
(First Letter to His Majesty)

India Office

Whitehall, S. W. 1.

14 July 1920

My dear Sir

I enclose to the Secretary of State 10 India, in answer to a letter of the 10th inst., a copy of a public meeting in Bangalore held on the 1st June, published by the Department of the Secretary. You are requested to place (page 11) in the report of the meeting. The meeting was held on the 1st June and was attended by a large number of persons. The meeting was held in the presence of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State was present.

Mr. Hastings has stated in his letter that the meeting could be one of the most important in the history of the Department of the Secretary. The meeting was held in the presence of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State was present. The meeting was held in the presence of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State was present. The meeting was held in the presence of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State was present.

Mr. Hastings has stated in his letter that the meeting could be one of the most important in the history of the Department of the Secretary. The meeting was held in the presence of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State was present. The meeting was held in the presence of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State was present. The meeting was held in the presence of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State was present.

I am, Madam,  
Your obedient servant,  
(Signed) J. K. HASTINGS

(Second Letter to His Majesty)

India Office,

Whitehall, S. W. 1.

Madam,

16th July 1920

Upon the receipt of my letter to you regarding the statement of the Secretary of State in his letter of the 10th inst., I am pleased to say that the Secretary of State has been notified.





# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by R. K. Gooldie)

New Series } Vol. II. No. 21 }	ANNEWALI, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER, 1906.	Price Two Annas Per Copy.
-----------------------------------	--------------------------------------	------------------------------

CONTENTS	Page
Notes	1
Business	—
Wine Deputation Answered	4
Imperial	4
Additional Policy of National	5
Our Native Letter	6
Remuneration of a Land Agent	7
Dissemination of Education—on Interest	7

## Notes.

**Business in France, a fresh calamity.**—McIntosh says my dear-memo single and so at the top of an article and prolonged because some reports of heavy and sudden floods which we need to have made thousands of people destitute and homeless. We do not yet know the exact magnitude of the distress caused by the floods, but from the report sent to us by Mr. A. K. Saha of the Government of India Society and from what has appeared in press we can well imagine the dimensions of the fresh calamity. We only trust that the charitable relief parties from the presidency will not only not neglect efforts to relieve the distress but will hasten with their timely help so as to avert needless misery and suffering.

**Business in East Africa.**—So the Government of East Africa has after much study decided against the Indian policy. The telegram received last week from East Africa reads as follows:

Example only to my Indian members. Indian racial segregation has been refused. Local-owning facilities are granted to Indians only. Indian citizens as to be accepted. Immigration is restricted, Indians are not allowed to purchase business plots in Kenya.

Obviously the death, traditional doctrine regarding the racial land from the uplands has been abandoned by an equally drastic division of race. The Governor's announcement portends to threaten to an official declaration of preserving the Uplands in the White Man's Country. We are distressed to think that the historical division was to stall.

reference to carry out unconditionally the policy of Indian segregation.

Mr. Keatinge the Younger speaking recently in the Imperial Legislative Council made the following solemn declaration:

"...The position of the Government of India is and always will be that there is no justification in a gross change of Protectorate for changing to British Indian's status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects."

There let us review what the Indian demands have been and how the British Government has tried to meet them.

Indians asked that the encroachments made, during and since the war, on their right to purchase landed property in the Uplands, which had been annulled by repeated administrative date and passed the force of custom and almost the force of law, be forthwith reversed. Indians claimed an equal electoral status for all of His Majesty's subjects in East Africa including themselves. The electoral system inaugurated recently ignored them altogether. The power of vote had been confined to Europeans, and only two unrepresented seats on the Legislative Assembly had been assigned to them.

Indians demanded to be protected against any detrimental law being passed in the future concerning segregation or deportation. Quite recently two very important bills were in the Government programme. The one was entitled 'Colonisation Bill' by which any person could be expelled from East Africa without a trial, without any cause being stated and without appeal, and the other, 'Segregation of Races Bill' by which Indians could be segregated in special areas in townscape. Owing however to our united protests, these measures were withdrawn. Such was always feared that they might be put forward in some other form.

In all these matters what our countrymen have now got is just the opposite of what they demanded. We would like to ask which of them is consistent with the declared policy of the Government of India, the high-sounding and solemn declaration of the Imperial Government and above all the highest principles of justice and equity:

**More about Voluntary Representation**—Only a few days ago I wrote, with my usual disregard for the Africa we get a more telegraphic message from South Africa stating that the Representative scheme is being opposed by carrying away so many Indians as listed as they are message, from which we infer that besides the insufficient communication and the reference was in which the concerned Congress are being opposed by the members, many of them are being forcibly represented. It has to be so, it will be a biggest shame of the future and part of the 'voluntary' scheme will be to have a message to say it will deliver the copy and to have Indians will resist and stand up to any attempt to speak less than representative out of the Colony. Instead of being, you are, and a happy addition any such news of purely voluntary representation, will surely make the work and make the struggle one of greater unity and cohesion.

We have already been apprised of the danger of an oligarchical use of the scheme because we have had before us a speech of Mr. Wynne Cole, the special officer in charge of serving on the Scheme, in which among others he has repeatedly led emphasis on the fact that the Government not only restricts the free passage which were granted under the Federal Act but with the aid of 'executive' orders to encourage or induce the Indians to leave the country (voluntarily) are those 'executive' orders used to 'induce' the Indians to go out of the country as they had been 'induced' to go there. We anxiously await further information.

**An echo of the British Colonial Colonization Scheme**—We are surprised to read Ernest Lambson and Wharton of the B. C. Colonization Department who were here not very long back in connection with their scheme, bring out in their interview to a Quaker paper, *The Daily Jersey*, that their scheme had met with the support and approval of the Indian Legislative Council, the Imperial Indian Colonization Association and a number of public bodies and newspapers and that they had even been given 'permission to start before houses in different Colonies in India with a view to starting the colonization scheme right away, and that at the end of the year or early next year the scheme will be fully started and colonies will be coming from India.' So far as we are aware, no resolution of approval was passed by the Legislative Council, or by any other body, and no Indian paper put its endorsement in the scheme, without what we understand reservations. Even the report of the sub-committee appointed by the Imperial Council was very cautious and only recommended an Indian Committee to go to the United Kingdom to report on the conditions there before the scheme could be finally accepted and adopted. Ernest Lambson and Wharton and the other men of the Quaker Colonization society know this better, they tell us, now as it they tell these gentlemen are now speaking that the scheme met with the ap-

proval of the Indian Legislative Council and that they were given permission to start these colonies and establish before beyond in different colonies. These three I repeat this is a bold and not one they are making, and with the British Government. We think it is better to point to say that a large number of the representative members who arrived in India last December by the S. S. 'Hull' are willing to return to the colony and this is due to the fact that the members in the colony are better than those existing in India. We know nothing about this but it should say much like to know whether this is so and also whether the colonization is carried by the Government or working.

**The threat for Impeachment**—The House of Lords has suggested General Dyer. Yet this was the intention to which most of our countrymen in their other capacity voluntarily descended in appeal. An impeachment is nothing but a trial by the House of Lords according to legal forms, the judgment being by a vote of the House. We now have to see further expressions of our love for our countrymen in the past has even to impeachments were not. They think it that we doubt here to be content with our own Government and well-considered judgment and not longer for the decision of a Government, especially when we know that it is after all the citizens themselves that we are a court. For, it is the undisturbed force spirit of the West were involved there ever by the violence and before of the last war, that we met in April 1918 and sought to protect itself by killing houses and cities in the Punjab and again with unparliamentary action allowed to make demands in the Government, but the spirit could not rest all it readily let itself out in the Lords.

**How British Ministers yield**—The House of Commons is one of the pillars for the European statesmen to solve. To put a war with the Soviet Union and regard the political aims of the European Council for detaching Poland, or to retreat from such a war and avoid the dangerous consequences, has been the two questions behind all the talk of the Allied statesmen. Great Britain, however, it is said, has (for the time, at least) chosen the so war policy as a safer course. And she drifted into a war with Russia, the Government would have, says the *Times* of India, 'formed the war with France, Afghanistan and Mesopotamia.' Perhaps worse than this for Great Britain would have been the other consequences of the war, viz., the general strike of the Labour Party. Speaking of the strike the *Times* says the words 'internal revolution.' It explains 'The King's Government is still vested in the three Estates of the Realm, it is a considerable section of the people not themselves against the Government of three Estates, and much to measure to defeat them, even if these measures take no more violent form than a general strike, it is in effect a revolution.'

It was the dread of this revolution that underlined Great Britain's demands. The effect of the Labour strike has a lesson for us. We see that the answer to Great Britain was by their co-operation or otherwise the foreign policy of the British Government. Why should we not be able to bring about by our co-operation a similar change in the mind of our Government? Our demands are undoubtedly just. Our methods are clean. To plead against them on grounds of our unpopularity and want of organisation is to acknowledge our inability and our incapacity to live as a self-governing and self-respecting nation. We do need the self-confidence and the organising power of the English people, but these can be achieved only by action.

—The *Journal of the Indian World*, as reproduced from another point of view. It is often asked by some Englishmen, what is to be the Indian Movement here in its work for the good of our Indian Movement that the British Government should change their foreign policy? This may not satisfy Englishmen to settle the connection between the Soviet Government and the British Labour, and explain the adherence of the British Government to the latter's policies. They would know that the feelings of the Indian Movement for the Whittaker are of a long-standing and of a higher nature, as distinguished from those of the British Labour for the Soviet Government. The latter is only a product of yesterday, and its connection with the Whittaker is only of a casual nature. But, or so it is, the direct violation of the people in Great Britain has been a constant one in all the years since the present planting of the whole nation seems to fall on their side. It therefore remains for our conscientious people to stand up for the just side till it is vindicated.

The duty of men of religion—King, our conscience created and washed by God, holy priests, was considered a sufficient guarantee of just government in ancient India. From the 15th century the rule of justice and righteousness of the people their demands were accepted by kings as well. Such acceptance of justice and righteousness also found its European history. In India, when a king submitted to the rule of law of a justice, holy priests, would well contend with the narrow policy of our Government. It is with this idea of justice changed the values of a whole nation is consistent with the people's dignity.

Theodore the Great, the Emperor of the Latin Empire, in 1141 A. D. received intelligence that one of his lieutenants was treacherously murdered by the people of Constantinople. He got impatient at the dilatory form of a federal inquiry and ordered that the blood of his lieutenants should be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. His officers, however, seeing the people in whose power, ministered, without discrimination of offences in guilt, a large number from the palace. The

news of this massacre excited the ears of Andrew, bishop of Milan. Filled with grief and horror he returned into the country to expiate his grief and to avert the punishment of Theodosius. He considered that a blood-shed would render him an accomplice of the king's guilt, he represented in a private letter the necessity of the event. He also had a personal interview with Theodosius when the archbishop, in the time and language of an ambassador of Heaven, declared that private vengeance (which the emperor had already resolved to do) was not sufficient to atone for a public fault or to expiate the justice of the offended deity. Theodosius accepted the rigorous conditions of peace and pardon laid down by Andrew, and stopped all the engines of revenge. The emperor suffered with tears and sighs, the justice of his own. Upon this great instance, Gibbon, rightly remarks: "The example of this emperor may prove the beneficial influence of those principles which could have a monarch studied above the appearance of human frailties, to respect the laws and consistency of an inviolable judge."

Under illustrating the duty of a digital ruler, this instance also shows how an undisciplined subject may remain a great sin of his sovereign. Andrew refused to admit Theodosius to the kingdom till he had done public penance. This is one of the very instances even from European history showing how a Christian refused to co-operate with his unjust sovereign till the latter had purged himself of his sin.

If a sovereign persists in his injustice, the duty of his subject, Christian, Hindu or Musselman, is clear. This duty has been bravely performed by men of different religions of different ages and in different countries. In Europe as in India, it was never difficult to perform that duty in a successful way proved that now. But a special word needs to be remembered, when once the duty is clear, an accident from the Mahabharata illustrates it.

When Viceroy Ptolemy was murdered, his wife, and another Regentess was suspected of having a hand in the crime. The minister including Sam Bhadrar, chief judge of the court, resolved that it was no every citizen's duty to subject Regentess's right to the ministers as long as there was even the least evidence in his favour. But when Sam Bhadrar overruled from Regentess herself that he had participated in the fall of his empire, he understood Bhadrar declared to Regentess, "I will neither accept of employment, nor enter Palace, until you provide us the administration." He kept his word and retired to a sequestered village near Ward, says Great Dill.

It is one of Sam Bhadrar's staff that reader a prominent official and enters the service they belong to.

## Swamy Swami.

Amalohal, Wednesday, 12th August, 1930.

### MORE OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

(By M. K. Dasgupta.)

Swamy Swami is one of the most influential Hind leaders of Madras. It is widely read. Every thing appearing in its columns is entitled to respect. The Editor has suggested some practical difficulty in the way of non-co-operation. I would therefore like, to the best of my ability, to deal with them.

I do not know where the objection has been derived from that I have given up the last two stages of non-co-operation. What I have said is that they are a distant goal. I state by it, I mean that all the stages are fraught with some danger, but the last two are fraught with the greatest—the last most of all. The stages have been fixed with a view to running the least possible risk. The last two stages will not be taken up unless the Committee has obtained sufficient control over the people to warrant the belief that the laying down of arms or suspension of taxes will, broadly speaking, be free from an outbreak of violence on the part of the people. I do entertain the belief that it is possible for the people to observe the discipline necessary for taking the two steps. What else they realize that violence is totally unnecessary to lead an unwilling Government to their will and that the result can be obtained with certainty by dignified non-co-operation, they will come to think of violence even by way of retaliation. The fact is that leaders who have not attempted to take concerted and dignified action from the masses. Some day, if we are to become truly a self-governing nation, that attempt has to be made. The present, in my opinion, is a propitious moment. Every Indian feels the need to the Punjab as a political wrong, every Indian resents the wrong done to the Khatris. There is therefore a favourable atmosphere for expelling violence and retained armaments on the part of the masses.

So far as response is concerned, I agree with the Editor that the spirit and the largest measure is to be expected in the matter of suspension of payment of taxes, but as I have said so long as the masses are not educated to appreciate the value of non-violence even whilst their holdings are being sold, so long will it be difficult to take up the last stage with any appreciable extent.

I agree too that a sudden withdrawal of the military and the police will be a disaster if we have not acquired the ability to protect ourselves against robbers and thieves. But I suggest that when we are ready to roll out the military and the police in an extensive scale, we would find our selves in a position to defend ourselves. If the police and the military were then prepared to

leave, I would certainly expect them to perform the more duty as national volunteers, not as law-keeping but as willing protectors of the life and liberty of their countrymen. The maintenance of non-co-operation is one of constant adjustment. If the Government schools are suspended, I would certainly expect national schools to come into being. If the lawyers as a whole suspended practice, they would derive whatever was needed and the nation will have experiences an alternate method of settling disputes and settling judgments to the wrong done. I may add that the Khatris Committee is fully alive to the difficulty of the task and is taking all the necessary steps to meet the contingencies as they arise.

Regarding the leaving of civil employees, no anger is feared, because on one will leave his employment, unless he is in a position to find support by himself and family either through friends or otherwise.

Disapproval of the proposed withdrawal of students belongs, in my humble opinion, lack of appreciation of the true nature of non-co-operation. It is true enough that we pay too many who work for children are educated. But when the agency regarding the education has become corrupt, we may not supply it without partaking of the agent's corruption. When students leave schools or colleges I hardly imagine that the teachers will fail to perceive the absurdity of themselves remaining. But even if they do not, money can hardly be allowed to those who honour or religion are the main.

As to the boycott of the schools, it is not the duty of the Moderates or any other persons that matters so much as the duty of those who believe in non-co-operation. You may not co-operate at the top and non-co-operate at the bottom. A committee cannot become in the council and ask the grounds who dissent the council work to range.

### SWADISHI

(By M. K. Dasgupta.)

In continuing my article entitled "The Basis of the Economy" under the "Swadishi" the other day distributed to me, it is clear that I have rather misinterpreted. And it is necessary for the purpose of understanding the true value of Swadishi, to correct some of the current fallacies. The leader concludes that I am pointing back the basis of the work of progress by attempting to replace well made cloth and well-made yarn by hand woven and hand-spun yarn. Now, I am dealing with well-made cloth as well. I have no quarrel with the well-made cloth now available except India requires nearly 12 yards of cloth per yard per year. This production, I believe, has been half the amount, India gives off the nation the goods she exports several million bales of cotton to Japan and Lancashire and millions worth of a bark to manufacturing nations although she is capable of producing all the cloth and all the yarn necessary for supplying her needs by hand woven

and hand-spinning. India needs in supplement, for mass occupation, agriculture, with some other employment. Hand-spinning is the only such employment for millions. It was the national employment a century ago. It is not true to say that economic pressure and modern machinery destroyed hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The great industry was destroyed or almost destroyed by extraordinary and unnormal means adopted by the East India Company. This national industry is capable of being revived by care and a change in the national taste without destroying the mill industry. Increase of mills is no present remedy for supplying the deficiency. The difficulty can be easily supplied only by hand-spinning and hand-weaving. If this employment were revived, it would prevent only million weavers from being annually drawn out from the country and distribute the support among ten or four million in their own cottages. I therefore consider Swadeshi as an attempt, though partial, mitigation of the problem of India's grinding poverty. It also constitutes a ready-made economic policy in times of emergency of war.

But two things are needed to bring about the social revival—to create a basis for Swadeshi and to provide an apparatus for the distribution of social action and collection of year against payment.

Last year, by the work labour of a few men, several thousand copies have been distributed in Gujarat among several thousand poor women who are glad enough to earn a few paise per day to buy milk for their children etc.

The argument does not apply to the sugar industry as the "leader" has attempted. There is not sufficient cane grown in India to supply India's needs. Sugar was never a national and supplementary industry. Foreign sugar has not supplanted Indian sugar. India's waste of sugar have grown and she therefore imports sugar. But the importance does not constitute a demand in the same as which importation of foreign cloth does. Production of more sugar seems more amicable agriculture, more and better machinery for sowing and reaping. The sugar industry therefore stands on a different ground. Swadeshi in sugar is desirable, Swadeshi in cloth is an urgent necessity.

#### ADDITIONAL POLICE IN NAGAL.

It is more than a year that the ministers of Nagal have been protesting against the increase done to them in imposed published police upon their zone and making Swadeshi and Swadeshi police at Dima did they extract justice in the Assembly for Governor of Bombay I in Legislative Council too was moved in the matter. **Headline** of "Young India" knew the defiling policy of the Government in December last. Government promised, as it still does, that Nagal was a disturbed area in April 1933, and on that ground it proposed to justify, in its September session of last

year the location of additional police under section 35 of the District Police Act in the same session, however, queries regarding the necessity of damages being met of the Abolished Districts, made under the same session, were referred to the House Committee by the Government. Mr. Choudhary Tejpal of Nagal, furnished with the Government's committee officials, applied to the Secretary of the House Committee for allowing him to appear as a witness. The Secretary, however, replied that 'there were no disturbances at Nagal and that place did not fall within the Committee's jurisdiction' in the first of its proposed efforts however, Nagal did obtain a hearing from the Committee. But the Committee held that the measures taken under sec. 35 of the District Police Act did not include the scope of their enquiry. Thus the Government also restricted the role police and articles in the matter of the reported cases in the Abolished and Nagal in recovering money from them under the above section. We need not recall the unavoidable details namely two leaders of Abolished in the history of the fact. The Nagal people however chose to turn the last stone and a resolution was moved next again in the last session of the Legislative Council. The Government on its side came back with its present agreement of the so called increase of the High School by the work and the village level, both of which had been reported to in the petition. Further, while attempting to bring the guilt on the Dima, Mr. Robertson on behalf of the Government quoted from a letter of the Collector in which it was stated that they (Dima) were to blame for causing the spread of opposition to Government, which culminated in the disturbances, and for closing their shops which gave the signal for non-cooperation and withdrawal in the early elements in the town. Sir George Curzon endorsing the official colleagues traced the pedigree of the disturbances to the proceedings (Rev. of Satyagrah) in 1918. The truth however is how however cannot fully wish to tell the Council, 'The Collector, who knew the state of affairs, thought it (additional police) was necessary.'

The last was, the very 'Collector who knew the state of affairs wrote on 23rd April 1933 to the Honorable Board approving the general request for law and order contained by the people during the period of excitement and the chief the leader who need their collection in the direction of non-cooperation. The letter is now carefully enough explained away as meant to be an appeal to the leaders to see that nothing untoward was reported. The Collector also knows that some of the British and Swadeshi have strained every nerve to get hold of the real offenders. These promises to operators and their whole class, who form one-third of the whole population of Nagal, are aimed to cooperate without a tittle of evidence against them, simply because they refuse to take things lying low and because they conduct peaceful, healthy and vigorous political

movements. It has never been proved against them (Russians and Poles) that they participated in the crime, or that although being in the know they did not actively prevent it, or that they were otherwise in some sympathy with the offenders. There was the witness forth by Mr. Robinson last year as principles for locating additional poles. None of them could be applied to this case. The Hon. Mr. Powell, replying in the debate mentioned that the motion of the day was not applied to the case of a town which was peaceful before, and contained great fuel after a particular repugnant incident. The witnesses remain unanswered and unanswered. On being put to the vote, however, it need not be told, the proposition was lost. Thus the Government made its consent upon an unjust use of a dangerous motion. In matters great or small the Government finds "our power" shall be a country in our world which may may share but not control.

### OUR MADRAS LETTER VIJAYA.

Some people believe that they can accomplish work in Indian politics without taking so much to make any serious sacrifice, without taking their much outside the daily round of domestic life. In their opinion, all progressive work of large consequence can be conducted with the least disturbance and cost.

Men of sense discovered long ago that the unobtainable law of nature is that matter and energy cannot either be created or destroyed. No work can be done without the expenditure of a definite quantity of energy. One form of energy may be changed into another, but we cannot create something out of nothing. The law of Conservation of Energy has a counterpart in politics which appears not to be realized by the politicians who loudly profess that political achievements can be made without pain or sacrifice.

ಮಾನ್ಯರ ಸಿರಿ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ ಪ್ರವಚನ ಸಭಾಧಿಪತಿ |  
ಸಿರಿ ಸರ್ವೋಪದೇಶವಿಧಾನಪೀಠಾಧ್ಯಾಪಕ |

Freedom was lost in this country centuries ago, not by mere chance, but owing to the failure on the part of the people to produce Yagna, i. e., to put forth energy by making in the defence of their liberties. To attain freedom again must be that in reality, whatever may be the constitutional formula or which it may be expressed,—the people must necessarily, in some shape or other, put forth that energy which they failed once to put forth. If a stone has fallen down from its place on a tower, in order to take it up again, we must apply a definite quantity of energy. We might employ any number of pulleys or machines but the quantity cannot be obtained, not also, but freedom cannot be re-established, without a definite quantity of sacrifice in some shape or other.

If all people felt that the personal pursuit of daily amusements even to a state of servitude was the right and was thing to do, and that life and domestic happiness were the produce to be cultivated,

and families too dear to be left desolate, for the sake of ideas of freedom, there would have been no work of freedom in the world, foreign nations would not have been repelled, and daughter rule would never have been considered. If freedom, maintained or got by wars and revolutions, means the ready sacrifice of individual life and happiness, can we expect that sacrifice by merely shouting "liberty" if we ask still to retain the same and though without taking? We may try to overcome our weakness by gradual administrative development, or solve quickly by some immediate direct action, or even try to buy it like a piece of money distributed among British political parties, but by no trick in political mechanism can we escape the quantity of sacrifice needed for the work. We may spread the sacrifice daily over a long period of time or put it forth concentrated at one point of time, but the law of conservation cannot be defied. Differences in method involve differences in the proportion of sacrifice and the length of time needed but not in the essential nature of large and ready sacrifice.

The distinction between capital expenditure and expenditure out of revenue is also counterpart to national service. The financial and ethical principles of the two have not necessarily given us the sacrifice needed for national existence. The case of freedom of National Legislature is a proper charge not only on the present but on succeeding generations and has not only been considered on families are not abnormal in a country which has national and permanent peace for generations to come. It is true that the will of patriotism is greater than that of luxury and idleness.

Seeing that sacrifice in one shape or other is necessary, let us clean up one of the paths, and avoid the needless pain and wrings of freedom. A central point has been established in our national life. The cause for freedom is strong the willingness to sacrifice is there but there is no sacrifice,—the necessary is not cleaned up and filled. How can pain and disappointment. What then shall we do?

### NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The only source of education. There are boys and girls in such a manner that sacrifice may be easy and even a natural pleasure. Wringing-up-being-very common at the pain of sacrifice. Avoidable conditions of life make all the circumstances which make sacrifice unnecessarily difficult. Hundreds of boys and girls are made to "run" from early age to live a life simple enough to make sacrifice easy, and to live it with conscious pride and satisfaction, and to store of the luxuries which make and keep up our slavery.

Alliance political effect is held to be an attack on a powerful Government that almost all those of us who are engaged in so-called politics are men whose broad-seeing sympathies or position in society unconsciously lead them to that same Government. It is as if you try to lift the study on which you are sitting. You cannot lift it when

down your feet on the ground, here over your feet you will be on a level with your hands. There is a level therefore, to all of us. You cannot depend for your support on the very thing which you try to lift into heaven. As a partnership joint venture program will say.

True national education for a people is best given, then, not merely the teaching of politics or Indian history, but learning how to live well how to use their intelligence. Education and their role should spread up on all parts of the country, where a new generation will get sound and useful knowledge without being the capacity to use their hands and feet also, when they grow up to be men and women, can live as little and men that trade or wage not dependent on any particular governmental institution and who will therefore be less in the long run of the term. How much labor is a weaver, a carpenter or a blacksmith than a Government Clerk, Lawyer, Magistrate or Tax-collector? The one man can be fed by the labour of his hands and be responsible only to feed his fellow man to survive if he does not serve the Government or choose to serve the world, and has often therefore, made a religion and a communion of the hand-relationship with Government. If all our less educated and other workmen, or even a small fraction of them were given the knowledge that has made us politicians, how great would be the energy that we could put forth. Let us try to do the contrary. Let us make ourselves dependent on blacksmiths or our future politicians and compare them to slaves. There can and should be Ashrams, not alone of Subarnashil or Hardwar, but in a hundred other places where not only (1) hand and mental knowledge is given, and (2) the relation is fully stressed, but (3) a handcraft is taught to every one, and (4) the commerce is developed both industrial and civic.

where also will (5) technical knowledge be imparted, and (6) students be made to be educated, so that the people here may not study and study on the ground when the door is lifted and not struggle helplessly when emergency efforts are made to save oneself. When there are ready all over the country, true politics, beyond the line of mere administrative administration—true Hind. Swaraj—will be founded.

### RENEWAL OF A PROPOSED RICE GRANT.

The following is the copy of a letter that the Kanya Shiksha Board to the Educational Inspector Almedabad District—

Secretary, Almedabad  
August 15, 1918.

Sir,  
With reference to your memorandum addressed to the collector and forwarded to me about my application for a site for a school I regret to inform you that for the present I shall be unable to send myself of the proposed grant, by reason

of my having joined the non-co-operation movement in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab Agitation. From the fact that I hold personally strong views on the Khilafat and Punjab questions, representing as I do a very large number of Hindu non-cooperators for whom the Khilafat is a religious question I should be unable to receive any Government grant from which the latter may derive any worldly advantage. I am anxious to make my position clear in order to prevent the possibility of any misunderstanding or misunderstanding which I have that Mr. Chatterjee, Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Gopal, put himself to considerable trouble in order to benefit the laborers by the proposed grant and that the grant itself would not entail any pecuniary advantage.

Yours sincerely,  
Anoop Shastri.

[It is estimated that the value of the proposed grant was about Rs. 20,000—Ed. Y.]

### A TALK WITH MR. GANDHI NON-CO-OPERATION EXPLAINED

(Part II. The Indian Mind.)

A representative of the general public on the 14th inst. yesterday at his temporary residence in the Panchsarovar High Road for an interview on the subject of non-co-operation. Mr. Gandhi, who has come to India on a tour in one of the principal Indian centers in Bombay India, has long with a number of workers discussing his programme, has he expressed his readiness to answer questions on the chief topics which are agitating Indians and Hindus.

After prearrangement of the background of the subject, he says, Mr. Gandhi, are you still hopeful and confident of the wisdom of non-co-operation?—"Certainly."

"How do you consider the attitude here altered since the background movement of last year?"—"I consider that people are better thought and less than they were before. In this I include even the masses whom I have had opportunities of seeing in large numbers in various parts of the country."

"And yet you insisted that the masses understand the spirit of non-co-operation?"—"Yes."

"And that is why you are pressing on with the programme of non-co-operation?"—"Yes. Moreover, the danger that attended the civil disobedience part of Satyagraha does not apply to non-co-operation, because in non-co-operation we are not taking of civil disobedience of laws in a mass movement. The result therefore has been non-cooperating. For instance, people in India and India, in spite of the existing circumstances upon their history by the authorities, have carried out the Committee's instructions as regards the Boycott of Foreign Products and in the prohibition of putting pressure on the walls which we hold to be offensive but which the authorities consider to be offensive."

"What is the program which you expect to bring to bear on the collection of non-co-operation in villages?"—"I believe and everybody must grant, that the Government must not give for a single moment without the consent and the people, willing to break, and if people will daily withdraw their co-operation in every detail, the Government will soon be shattered."

"But you are not a big 'I' or a 'P'?"—"Certainly there is."

"And how do you propose to proceed against the

ing it?—"Is my plan of campaign completely for naught. If the Khilafat movement has really persuaded the masses and the classes, there need be objection to operations on the people?"

"But are you not begging the question. — I am begging the question, because so far as the Government are concerned, I believe that the Muslims hardly feel the Khilafat movement. It remains to be seen whether there being it is strong enough to make us think the success of non-cooperation not reasonable and operation."

"That is your survey of the conditions, you think, justify your advocacy non-cooperation in the full sense that you have behind you the support of the vast masses of the Mohammedan population?"—"Yes."

"That non-cooperation, you are satisfied, will succeed in compelling Government to open negotiations with the Government?"—"No, not as yet the present moment. My duty there is doubtful. I am simply protesting non-cooperation in the sense that it is necessary to make the Government realize the depth of popular feeling in the masses and the Government will be forced to deal with that fact. It will be done by the Imperial Government, whether on the Khilafat question or on the Punjab question."

"In you, Mr. Gandhi, realize that even amongst Mohammedan there are masses of people who are not Mohammedan and who are operations know not they may feel the wrong that has been done to them?"—"Yes, I do. But I do not believe in methods that those who are prepared to adopt non-cooperation."

"And if you do not feel that there has not been an adequate response to your appeal for indignation of other Muslims and for support of demands of the Government and that you may be placing more faith in their strength of conviction than is warranted?"—"I do not, for the reason that the majority only just now non-cooperation and our people are often work together and do not know. Moreover, the first stage largely affects the upper strata of society, who represent Mohammedan society though they are substantially an advanced body of people."

"This upper class, you think, has sufficiently responded to your appeal?"—"I am unable to say either one way or the other at present. I shall be able to give a definite answer at the end of this month."

"Do you think that without due loyalty to the King and the Royal Family being observed, we can advocate non-cooperation in connection with the Royal rule?"—"Most decidedly, for the simple reason that it were to say anything about the present Government of the Prince's rule, it is disloyalty to the Government of the day and not in the spirit of the Royal Highness."

"When do you think we are going to commence the legislative negotiations with the Royal rule?"—"Rather I want to show that the people of India are not in sympathy with the Government of the day and that they strongly disapprove of the policy of the Government as regards the Khilafat and Khilafat, and then to request of what important issues arises naturally. I consider that the first of the Prince of Wales's completely good opportunity to the people to show their disapproval of the present Government. After all, the rule is established in large Mohammedan political circles. It is not to be a non-political issue, and among that the Government of India and the Imperial Government were to make the rule a political issue of their own operations, namely, for the purpose of strengthening their hold upon India, I do not consider that it is the business duty of the people to neglect the vote which is being engineered by the Government on their own interest, while at the present moment is totally unresponsive to the people."

"Do you mean that you want the legislative proposals because you feel that the strengthening of the hold upon

India is not desirable on the best interests of the country?"—"Yes. The strengthening of the hold of the Government, as much as the present one is not desirable for the best interests of the people. But that I want the best interests England and India to look to is essential for the sake of increasing it but I want the best interests strengthened only in so far as it is able to the welfare of India."

"Do you think that non-cooperation will be the instrument of the Legislative Council's consent?"—"No, because a person who takes up the programme of non-cooperation cannot consistently stand for the vote."

"Is non-cooperation, in your opinion, as good as itself as a means to an end, and if so, what is the end?"—"It is a means to an end, the end being to make the present Government just, whether it has become already unjust. Co-operation with a just Government is a duty, non-cooperation with an unjust Government is a duty."

"Will you look with favour upon the proposal to make the Government to come on to this alternative basis or to decline to take the oath of allegiance notwithstanding its own non-cooperation?"—"No, as it is a matter of fact that I do not think such a proposal is in accordance with the true spirit of non-cooperation. I have often said that the Government should be a Government, and in fact as the proposal is to take the oath of allegiance notwithstanding, I am really not so concerned as it is to make the Government work of a Government which is not in accordance with the true spirit of non-cooperation."

"In other words, objection to the steps of non-cooperation?"—"Yes."

"Are you satisfied that all efforts of constitutional agitation have been exhausted and that a non-cooperation is the only course left?"—"It is not certain that non-cooperation is the only course left, but I do believe that of all the constitutional remedies we have left for us, non-cooperation is the only one left for us."

"Do you consider it unreasonable to object to walk a man actively to participate in non-cooperation?"—"Certainly, it is not so unreasonable, but a person who will not take all the steps that are contemplated. If they are otherwise taken, say I do believe that we are not reacting to non-cooperation in progressive steps because I want to see the steps of non-cooperation taken. I am not going to take any step in non-cooperation unless I am satisfied that the country is ready for that step, namely, non-cooperation will not be followed by any thing or disaster."

"How will you satisfy yourself that anxiety will not follow?"

"The anxiety of I do not see the police to lay down their arms, I shall have satisfied myself that we are able by voluntary resistance to protect ourselves against the Government and soldiers. That was precisely what was done in Lucknow and Amritsar last year by the soldiers by means of volunteers when the military and the police had withdrawn, from whom Government had not taken such measures in a plan, but not of adequate force, I have people have voluntarily protected themselves."

"You have of course laid plans to non-cooperate by not paying their taxes. What is your experience? Will the Government's response to your appeal encourage you to hope that you will be able to rely through all stages of non-cooperation with the help of such people?"

"I cannot say that a Government has yet responded to my appeal. It is too early to say. I have not much hope that I may say that I do not only myself upon this matter, but I have not much hope to be able to make the Government to carry out all the stages of non-cooperation. My hope has more with the masses as far as the later stages of non-cooperation are concerned."







stained him and is reported to have come to have yielded to his accusations. The politics of his time consisted in securing the welfare of the people by leading them not to be misled by the fanatics of the press and the pressmen. The latter then controlled and moulded the life of the people. Today the spirit of government is as degraded as to affect every department of our life. It threatens our very existence. If therefore we wish to conserve the welfare of the nation, we must collectively interest ourselves in the change of the government and exert a moral influence on them by abstaining from obeying the laws of morality. General Dyer did produce a 'moral effect' by an act of heroism. Those who are engaged in forwarding the movement of non-co-operation hope to produce a moral effect by a process of self-denial, self-sacrifice and self-pertinence. It surprises me that Mr. Narayan should speak of General Dyer's sacrifice in the same breath as that of non-co-operation. I have done my best to understand his meaning, but I am sorry to realize that I have failed.

## KHALAFAT AND SWADESHI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It was not without much misgiving that I consented to include Swadeshi as a plank in non-co-operation. But Mahatma Gandhiji has by his clear explanation done me down. I feel however that his reasons for including Swadeshi are different from mine. He is a proponent of boycott of foreign goods. I cannot refrain myself in the distance as I have explained elsewhere in this issue. But having failed in popularising boycott, Mahatma Gandhiji has accepted Swadeshi as the better goal. It is however necessary for me to explain how I have come to include Swadeshi in the programme of non-co-operation.

Non-co-operation is nothing but discipline in self-sacrifice. And I believe that a nation that is capable of heroic sacrifice is capable of doing its best in peaceful struggle. The power that motivates the quickest progress, Swadeshi offers every man, woman and child an occasion to make a beginning in self-sacrifice of a pure type. It therefore presents an opportunity for testing our capacity for sacrifice. It is the measure for gauging the depth of national feeling in the Khalafat wrong. Does the nation feel sufficiently to move it to go through even the preliminary process of sacrifice? Will the nation revive the trade for the Japanese silk, the Manchester cotton or the French lace and find all its resources out of hand—open wool hand-woven cloth? Khadi is the source of people who will refuse to wear or use foreign cloth and be satisfied with the simple cloth that we can produce in our homes, it will be proof of our organizing ability, energy, co-operation and self-sacrifice that will enable us to secure all we need. It will be a striking demonstration of national solidarity.

Such a demonstration cannot be achieved by the mere talk. It cannot be achieved by any man, no

matter how capable and sincere he may be. It cannot be achieved by doing 'looka-looka' Swadeshi cloth. It can only be achieved by non-production and judicious distribution. Production means loss of income owing to their own looms. This requires urgent need to be engaged in honestly distributing credit facilities and collecting yarn and paying for it. It means manufacture of thousands of spinning wheels. It means releasing the handloom weavers by return to their native villages and distributing home-spun yarn amongst them and selling their manufactures. It is then only as an emergency agent that I see plank of Swadeshi as a plank in non-co-operation. But it is not to be despised as that emergency. And I hope that every worker for the cause, even if he can do nothing else, will have done something of his own address Swadeshi task by increasing production and their distribution. He would be simply moving in a circle of benevolence with his spinning cloth that is already being manufactured in India.

## BOYCOTT OF GOODS

OR

## NON-CO-OPERATION PROGRAMME

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Keshab Chandra Agrawal was pleased to survey my argument in favour of the details of the first stage of non-co-operation that I had the honour of explaining at the great Madras Branch meeting. He expressed his dissent from all but the recommendation of action. He suggested boycott of foreign goods in the place of the other three. Keen at the risk of repeating arguments familiar to the readers of 'Young India', I must deal with the question of boycott which has now revealed the importance of its side, published as Mr. Keshab Chandra Agrawal.

In the first place, boycott of foreign goods has been conceived as a punishment and not then as a part of non-co-operation which is achieved in a spirit of self-sacrifice and in a matter of moral duty.

Secondly, any measure of punishment must be work, certain and definite for the effect intended to be produced. Exerted to by individuals, families, groups or a nation, but, it can give no satisfaction unless it is productive of effect, whereas every act of non-co-operation is a direct violation.

Thirdly, boycott of foreign goods is thorough or partial, for, it involves sacrifice of their welfare by themselves. It is in my opinion still more difficult for a community to sacrifice its welfare than for a lawyer to suspend his practice or for a landlord to give up his title or for a parent to renounce his, if need be, the literary contributions of his children. And to this the important fact that Swadeshi has only lately begun to interest themselves in politics. They are therefore not hard and narrow. But the plan, to which the first stage of non-co-operation is intended to appeal, is the political plan which has devoted power to politics and is well equipped for national sacrifice.



marital dominion of our country before outsiders, in which we are expected to play an independent part. This new danger will be in no way much less as magnitude and far-reaching consequences than the previous one, if we do not hasten ourselves. The awakened spirit of India will, we hope, determine for her a sound economic policy and values of it, not through the Indian Government, through the national will itself in the form of a vigorous Swadeshi propaganda.

### INDIANS IN E. AFRICA

See E. FRANKLIN'S MEMORANDUM.

(*From the E. African Chronicle*)

His Excellency General Sir Edmund Havelock visited the office of British Indian Administration by appointment at 10.30 a. m. last Monday and there met the Standing Committee of the E. A. Indian National Congress, to which he made his 15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-36-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100-101-102-103-104-105-106-107-108-109-110-111-112-113-114-115-116-117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130-131-132-133-134-135-136-137-138-139-140-141-142-143-144-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157-158-159-160-161-162-163-164-165-166-167-168-169-170-171-172-173-174-175-176-177-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218-219-220-221-222-223-224-225-226-227-228-229-230-231-232-233-234-235-236-237-238-239-240-241-242-243-244-245-246-247-248-249-250-251-252-253-254-255-256-257-258-259-260-261-262-263-264-265-266-267-268-269-270-271-272-273-274-275-276-277-278-279-280-281-282-283-284-285-286-287-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296-297-298-299-300-301-302-303-304-305-306-307-308-309-310-311-312-313-314-315-316-317-318-319-320-321-322-323-324-325-326-327-328-329-330-331-332-333-334-335-336-337-338-339-340-341-342-343-344-345-346-347-348-349-350-351-352-353-354-355-356-357-358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367-368-369-370-371-372-373-374-375-376-377-378-379-380-381-382-383-384-385-386-387-388-389-390-391-392-393-394-395-396-397-398-399-400-401-402-403-404-405-406-407-408-409-410-411-412-413-414-415-416-417-418-419-420-421-422-423-424-425-426-427-428-429-430-431-432-433-434-435-436-437-438-439-440-441-442-443-444-445-446-447-448-449-450-451-452-453-454-455-456-457-458-459-460-461-462-463-464-465-466-467-468-469-470-471-472-473-474-475-476-477-478-479-480-481-482-483-484-485-486-487-488-489-490-491-492-493-494-495-496-497-498-499-500-501-502-503-504-505-506-507-508-509-510-511-512-513-514-515-516-517-518-519-520-521-522-523-524-525-526-527-528-529-530-531-532-533-534-535-536-537-538-539-540-541-542-543-544-545-546-547-548-549-550-551-552-553-554-555-556-557-558-559-560-561-562-563-564-565-566-567-568-569-570-571-572-573-574-575-576-577-578-579-580-581-582-583-584-585-586-587-588-589-590-591-592-593-594-595-596-597-598-599-600-601-602-603-604-605-606-607-608-609-610-611-612-613-614-615-616-617-618-619-620-621-622-623-624-625-626-627-628-629-630-631-632-633-634-635-636-637-638-639-640-641-642-643-644-645-646-647-648-649-650-651-652-653-654-655-656-657-658-659-660-661-662-663-664-665-666-667-668-669-670-671-672-673-674-675-676-677-678-679-680-681-682-683-684-685-686-687-688-689-690-691-692-693-694-695-696-697-698-699-700-701-702-703-704-705-706-707-708-709-710-711-712-713-714-715-716-717-718-719-720-721-722-723-724-725-726-727-728-729-730-731-732-733-734-735-736-737-738-739-740-741-742-743-744-745-746-747-748-749-750-751-752-753-754-755-756-757-758-759-760-761-762-763-764-765-766-767-768-769-770-771-772-773-774-775-776-777-778-779-780-781-782-783-784-785-786-787-788-789-790-791-792-793-794-795-796-797-798-799-800-801-802-803-804-805-806-807-808-809-810-811-812-813-814-815-816-817-818-819-820-821-822-823-824-825-826-827-828-829-830-831-832-833-834-835-836-837-838-839-840-841-842-843-844-845-846-847-848-849-850-851-852-853-854-855-856-857-858-859-860-861-862-863-864-865-866-867-868-869-870-871-872-873-874-875-876-877-878-879-880-881-882-883-884-885-886-887-888-889-890-891-892-893-894-895-896-897-898-899-900-901-902-903-904-905-906-907-908-909-910-911-912-913-914-915-916-917-918-919-920-921-922-923-924-925-926-927-928-929-930-931-932-933-934-935-936-937-938-939-940-941-942-943-944-945-946-947-948-949-950-951-952-953-954-955-956-957-958-959-960-961-962-963-964-965-966-967-968-969-970-971-972-973-974-975-976-977-978-979-980-981-982-983-984-985-986-987-988-989-990-991-992-993-994-995-996-997-998-999-1000-1001-1002-1003-1004-1005-1006-1007-1008-1009-1010-1011-1012-1013-1014-1015-1016-1017-1018-1019-1020-1021-1022-1023-1024-1025-1026-1027-1028-1029-1030-1031-1032-1033-1034-1035-1036-1037-1038-1039-1040-1041-1042-1043-1044-1045-1046-1047-1048-1049-1050-1051-1052-1053-1054-1055-1056-1057-1058-1059-1060-1061-1062-1063-1064-1065-1066-1067-1068-1069-1070-1071-1072-1073-1074-1075-1076-1077-1078-1079-1080-1081-1082-1083-1084-1085-1086-1087-1088-1089-1090-1091-1092-1093-1094-1095-1096-1097-1098-1099-1100-1101-1102-1103-1104-1105-1106-1107-1108-1109-1110-1111-1112-1113-1114-1115-1116-1117-1118-1119-1120-1121-1122-1123-1124-1125-1126-1127-1128-1129-1130-1131-1132-1133-1134-1135-1136-1137-1138-1139-1140-1141-1142-1143-1144-1145-1146-1147-1148-1149-1150-1151-1152-1153-1154-1155-1156-1157-1158-1159-1160-1161-1162-1163-1164-1165-1166-1167-1168-1169-1170-1171-1172-1173-1174-1175-1176-1177-1178-1179-1180-1181-1182-1183-1184-1185-1186-1187-1188-1189-1190-1191-1192-1193-1194-1195-1196-1197-1198-1199-1200-1201-1202-1203-1204-1205-1206-1207-1208-1209-1210-1211-1212-1213-1214-1215-1216-1217-1218-1219-1220-1221-1222-1223-1224-1225-1226-1227-1228-1229-1230-1231-1232-1233-1234-1235-1236-1237-1238-1239-1240-1241-1242-1243-1244-1245-1246-1247-1248-1249-1250-1251-1252-1253-1254-1255-1256-1257-1258-1259-1260-1261-1262-1263-1264-1265-1266-1267-1268-1269-1270-1271-1272-1273-1274-1275-1276-1277-1278-1279-1280-1281-1282-1283-1284-1285-1286-1287-1288-1289-1290-1291-1292-1293-1294-1295-1296-1297-1298-1299-1300-1301-1302-1303-1304-1305-1306-1307-1308-1309-1310-1311-1312-1313-1314-1315-1316-1317-1318-1319-1320-1321-1322-1323-1324-1325-1326-1327-1328-1329-1330-1331-1332-1333-1334-1335-1336-1337-1338-1339-1340-1341-1342-1343-1344-1345-1346-1347-1348-1349-1350-1351-1352-1353-1354-1355-1356-1357-1358-1359-1360-1361-1362-1363-1364-1365-1366-1367-1368-1369-1370-1371-1372-1373-1374-1375-1376-1377-1378-1379-1380-1381-1382-1383-1384-1385-1386-1387-1388-1389-1390-1391-1392-1393-1394-1395-1396-1397-1398-1399-1400-1401-1402-1403-1404-1405-1406-1407-1408-1409-1410-1411-1412-1413-1414-1415-1416-1417-1418-1419-1420-1421-1422-1423-1424-1425-1426-1427-1428-1429-1430-1431-1432-1433-1434-1435-1436-1437-1438-1439-1440-1441-1442-1443-1444-1445-1446-1447-1448-1449-1450-1451-1452-1453-1454-1455-1456-1457-1458-1459-1460-1461-1462-1463-1464-1465-1466-1467-1468-1469-1470-1471-1472-1473-1474-1475-1476-1477-1478-1479-1480-1481-1482-1483-1484-1485-1486-1487-1488-1489-1490-1491-1492-1493-1494-1495-1496-1497-1498-1499-1500-1501-1502-1503-1504-1505-1506-1507-1508-1509-1510-1511-1512-1513-1514-1515-1516-1517-1518-1519-1520-1521-1522-1523-1524-1525-1526-1527-1528-1529-1530-1531-1532-1533-1534-1535-1536-1537-1538-1539-1540-1541-1542-1543-1544-1545-1546-1547-1548-1549-1550-1551-1552-1553-1554-1555-1556-1557-1558-1559-1560-1561-1562-1563-1564-1565-1566-1567-1568-1569-1570-1571-1572-1573-1574-1575-1576-1577-1578-1579-1580-1581-1582-1583-1584-1585-1586-1587-1588-1589-1590-1591-1592-1593-1594-1595-1596-1597-1598-1599-1600-1601-1602-1603-1604-1605-1606-1607-1608-1609-1610-1611-1612-1613-1614-1615-1616-1617-1618-1619-1620-1621-1622-1623-1624-1625-1626-1627-1628-1629-1630-1631-1632-1633-1634-1635-1636-1637-1638-1639-1640-1641-1642-1643-1644-1645-1646-1647-1648-1649-1650-1651-1652-1653-1654-1655-1656-1657-1658-1659-1660-1661-1662-1663-1664-1665-1666-1667-1668-1669-1670-1671-1672-1673-1674-1675-1676-1677-1678-1679-1680-1681-1682-1683-1684-1685-1686-1687-1688-1689-1690-1691-1692-1693-1694-1695-1696-1697-1698-1699-1700-1701-1702-1703-1704-1705-1706-1707-1708-1709-1710-1711-1712-1713-1714-1715-1716-1717-1718-1719-1720-1721-1722-1723-1724-1725-1726-1727-1728-1729-1730-1731-1732-1733-1734-1735-1736-1737-1738-1739-1740-1741-1742-1743-1744-1745-1746-1747-1748-1749-1750-1751-1752-1753-1754-1755-1756-1757-1758-1759-1760-1761-1762-1763-1764-1765-1766-1767-1768-1769-1770-1771-1772-1773-1774-1775-1776-1777-1778-1779-1780-1781-1782-1783-1784-1785-1786-1787-1788-1789-1790-1791-1792-1793-1794-1795-1796-1797-1798-1799-1800-1801-1802-1803-1804-1805-1806-1807-1808-1809-1810-1811-1812-1813-1814-1815-1816-1817-1818-1819-1820-1821-1822-1823-1824-1825-1826-1827-1828-1829-1830-1831-1832-1833-1834-1835-1836-1837-1838-1839-1840-1841-1842-1843-1844-1845-1846-1847-1848-1849-1850-1851-1852-1853-1854-1855-1856-1857-1858-1859-1860-1861-1862-1863-1864-1865-1866-1867-1868-1869-1870-1871-1872-1873-1874-1875-1876-1877-1878-1879-1880-1881-1882-1883-1884-1885-1886-1887-1888-1889-1890-1891-1892-1893-1894-1895-1896-1897-1898-1899-1900-1901-1902-1903-1904-1905-1906-1907-1908-1909-1910-1911-1912-1913-1914-1915-1916-1917-1918-1919-1920-1921-1922-1923-1924-1925-1926-1927-1928-1929-1930-1931-1932-1933-1934-1935-1936-1937-1938-1939-1940-1941-1942-1943-1944-1945-1946-1947-1948-1949-1950-1951-1952-1953-1954-1955-1956-1957-1958-1959-1960-1961-1962-1963-1964-1965-1966-1967-1968-1969-1970-1971-1972-1973-1974-1975-1976-1977-1978-1979-1980-1981-1982-1983-1984-1985-1986-1987-1988-1989-1990-1991-1992-1993-1994-1995-1996-1997-1998-1999-2000-2001-2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2007-2008-2009-2010-2011-2012-2013-2014-2015-2016-2017-2018-2019-2020-2021-2022-2023-2024-2025-2026-2027-2028-2029-2030-2031-2032-2033-2034-2035-2036-2037-2038-2039-2040-2041-2042-2043-2044-2045-2046-2047-2048-2049-2050-2051-2052-2053-2054-2055-2056-2057-2058-2059-2060-2061-2062-2063-2064-2065-2066-2067-2068-2069-2070-2071-2072-2073-2074-2075-2076-2077-2078-2079-2080-2081-2082-2083-2084-2085-2086-2087-2088-2089-2090-2091-2092-2093-2094-2095-2096-2097-2098-2099-2100-2101-2102-2103-2104-2105-2106-2107-2108-2109-2110-2111-2112-2113-2114-2115-2116-2117-2118-2119-2120-2121-2122-2123-2124-2125-2126-2127-2128-2129-2130-2131-2132-2133-2134-2135-2136-2137-2138-2139-2140-2141-2142-2143-2144-2145-2146-2147-2148-2149-2150-2151-2152-2153-2154-2155-2156-2157-2158-2159-2160-2161-2162-2163-2164-2165-2166-2167-2168-2169-2170-2171-2172-2173-2174-2175-2176-2177-2178-2179-2180-2181-2182-2183-2184-2185-2186-2187-2188-2189-2190-2191-2192-2193-2194-2195-2196-2197-2198-2199-2200-2201-2202-2203-2204-2205-2206-2207-2208-2209-2210-2211-2212-2213-2214-2215-2216-2217-2218-2219-2220-2221-2222-2223-2224-2225-2226-2227-2228-2229-2230-2231-2232-2233-2234-2235-2236-2237-2238-2239-2240-2241-2242-2243-2244-2245-2246-2247-2248-2249-2250-2251-2252-2253-2254-2255-2256-2257-2258-2259-2260-2261-2262-2263-2264-2265-2266-2267-2268-2269-2270-2271-2272-2273-2274-2275-2276-2277-2278-2279-2280-2281-2282-2283-2284-2285-2286-2287-2288-2289-2290-2291-2292-2293-2294-2295-2296-2297-2298-2299-2300-2301-2302-2303-2304-2305-2306-2307-2308-2309-2310-2311-2312-2313-2314-2315-2316-2317-2318-2319-2320-2321-2322-2323-2324-2325-2326-2327-2328-2329-2330-2331-2332-2333-2334-2335-2336-2337-2338-2339-2340-2341-2342-2343-2344-2345-2346-2347-2348-2349-2350-2351-2352-2353-2354-2355-2356-2357-2358-2359-2360-2361-2362-2363-2364-2365-2366-2367-2368-2369-2370-2371-2372-2373-2374-2375-2376-2377-2378-2379-2380-2381-2382-2383-2384-2385-2386-2387-2388-2389-2390-2391-2392-2393-2394-2395-2396-2397-2398-2399-2400-2401-2402-2403-2404-2405-2406-2407-2408-2409-2410-2411-2412-2413-2414-2415-2416-2417-2418-2419-2420-2421-2422-2423-2424-2425-2426-2427-2428-2429-2430-2431-2432-2433-2434-2435-2436-2437-2438-2439-2440-2441-2442-2443-2444-2445-2446-2447-2448-2449-2450-2451-2452-2453-2454-2455-2456-2457-2458-2459-2460-2461-2462-2463-2464-2465-2466-2467-2468-2469-2470-2471-2472-2473-2474-2475-2476-2477-2478-2479-2480-2481-2482-2483-2484-2485-2486-2487-2488-2489-2490-2491-2492-2493-2494-2495-2496-2497-2498-2499-2500-2501-2502-2503-2504-2505-2506-2507-2508-2509-2510-2511-2512-2513-2514-2515-2516-2517-2518-2519-2520-2521-2522-2523-2524-2525-2526-2527-2528-2529-2530-2531-2532-2533-2534-2535-2536-2537-2538-2539-2540-2541-2542-2543-2544-2545-2546-2547-2548-2549-2550-2551-2552-2553-2554-2555-2556-2557-2558-2559-2560-2561-2562-2563-2564-2565-2566-2567-2568-2569-2570-2571-2572-2573-2574-2575-2576-2577-2578-2579-2580-2581-2582-2583-2584-2585-2586-2587-2588-2589-2590-2591-2592-2593-2594-2595-2596-2597-2598-2599-2600-2601-2602-2603-2604-2605-2606-2607-2608-2609-2610-2611-2612

If the principle is to be effectively carried out, it necessarily follows that, at a general rate, no transfer of land should be made by alienation or mortgage between Europeans and aborigines in territories about to be alienated. There may, no doubt, be exceptional cases, in which it would be impossible or undesirable to forbid such transfer, but these can be met by leaving discretion to the Secretary-General in special cases, when some special reason can be shown. Secondly, when territory is to be put up to auction, Europeans will not be allowed to bid for plots in the Indian quarter or Indian to bid for plots in the European quarter.

In the general dated March 1901 from British India in reply to East Africa to the Viceroy of India a request is made for increased administrative facilities. It is extremely desirable that administrative facilities should be improved for all classes in the Colony, the Government has responded liberally during the last few years the provision made for education has, owing to the lack of funds, progressed but not, as far as I could have wished. The question of increasing these facilities has engaged the attention of a Commission of Enquiry whose recommendations I hope will shortly be put into force, the consideration will be given to the claims of the Indian community in this respect.

Mr E. Keating then goes on to refer to the question of medical and legal positions about which he stated that the Secretary for the Colonies "is not disposed to suggest any amendment" of existing ordinances and rules. He then proceeds—

A further complaint made by the members of the Indian community was the privilege of land by gift. It appears to be taken to be taken inappropriately and by gift to Indians as well as to Europeans.

#### RESERVED COMPARTMENTS IN COACHES.

A further point to which complaint has been made is the arrangement as to reserved places on the Uganda Railway trains and coaches. I understood that there is an understanding between Messrs. the trustees or the local line companies as to the Railway but that in general the custom is to hold a certain number of reserved places respectively "European only" and "native only." The Secretary of State for Colonies has no official voice in departing from the present arrangements, except that some second-class compartments are reserved for Non-European should be labelled "African only." This will be done.

#### ECONOMIC COMMISSIONERS REPORT (PART II)

General statements and suggestions contained in the report of the Economic Commission of Uganda with regard to Indian in East Africa have preceded every portion. The Secretary of State wangled to have the opportunity of informing the Legislature what he considered in London that these suggestions of opinion, do not in any way support the views of the Hon. Member's Government as to land and that concerning these various questions of policy affecting the Indian community in East Africa, the Secretary-General is well acquainted from his participation in the report. I need not say that the views expressed in the Commission's report on these matters are not approved by the Government of Uganda or of the Government of the Colony of Kenya.

#### THE EKHALPAT AND THE TURKISH TERRACE.

(The Journal of India.)

I had imagined that the full extent of the breach of faith committed by the Prime Minister, in the name of the British Government, was fully known by us in India. But the hypocrisy, which has infected Constantinople, is only just coming to light. The news is slowly trickling through. It seems a most curious episode. It strengthens the demand for a complete revision of the Treaty of 1838, and makes India's part in such a demand a duty to humanity of the very first importance.

The facts are these. The French and Indians are treaty-bound that Great Britain, by her naval power and her military occupation, is determined to rule the Straits and to remain indefinitely, on the physical coast land of Constantinople, with the ultimate plan that land conditions are too peculiar to contemplate any land retirement. The interests of Egypt is constantly cited as a precedent. In Egypt, it is remembered, Great Britain made more than a hundred separate promises to retire, and based revenue for breaking those all back, it is said, will be the fate of Constantinople.

There has been one terribly prevailing statement of Mr. Lloyd George, when he made in an unguarded moment. He was uttering a diatribe, which would do him no credit to ask him what would happen to America.—"Could not Great Britain undertake the responsibility of America's protection, if America were unwilling? According to the various reports given in all the papers the Lloyd George answered as follows—

"We have got Constantinople we have got Mesopotamia we have got Palestine."

Even if Mr. Lloyd George was speaking somewhat carelessly, and only vaguely,—"we have got, in the mere temporary military occupation, Constantinople"—even then, it was indefensible, that he put Constantinople in exactly the same category as Mesopotamia. To state the very least connection that the word had been, it showed that he regarded the possession of Constantinople as no mere company affair, which would be lost in a day's conflict, but a long and costly business.

Furthermore, we have now the last brought to light, that every other great power appears to regard the British as permanent in Constantinople, just as the French are now regarded as permanent in Aleppo and Damascus and the Greeks as permanent in Smyrna and Adramople. All the military defenses of Constantinople are on the hands of the British. The Sultan himself, his viceroy, and his Cabinet sign treaties and unconditionally British orders. Headquarters officials have been effectively dealt with. Financial control has been taken from the Turkish Government, and the Sultan has been made, not only a prisoner in his own palace,—to all intents and purposes,—but also practically a puppet and a marionette, dependent on the hand

stronger for every penny of his money. It is the attitude, which has made Europe regard the British military occupation as complete and lasting.

Mr Lloyd George's own words, and those of members of his Cabinet, make the position as shown by Mr Winston Churchill—has now become like a deflated balloon. He no longer shows any desire to survey, being newspaper on the Continent manner, to see action, that Constantinople has become a British possession. In France, this is characterized as an immense diplomatic triumph for Great Britain, and the eagerness to make certain of Egypt, as a French possession, has been increased by the news of the British army and navy.

Furthermore, the feeling is now strong on the Continent of Europe, to the point of dangerous irritation, that the English Prime Minister and Mr Winston Churchill have overruled themselves both in conformity and in leaving the hands of the Allies. It is everywhere believed that some financial aid is being given to Greece, and that the Greek Government is deeply involved in the plot. Mr Venizelos is regarded as acting in direct concert with the British Ministry in order to bring about the final overthrow of Turkey, and to place Great Britain permanently as guardian of the Straits and control of Constantinople's destiny. The price paid for this has been the Greek possession of Smyrna and Thessalon.

What the French view is is dated may be seen from the account given in L'Espresso, a French bi-weekly weekly. It is written by M. Berthe George Guicha, who was on the spot at the time of the British exit in Istanbul possession, and recorded it most interestingly.

"An attempt," he writes, "to attack Turkey without the assistance of Istanbul and Ism. It was the first hope to the British army of the Straits zone by which he definitively secured possession of the city he had so persistently sought. Apparently it was an act preparatory to putting into effect a treaty in which England's ally would be bound to her."

"We, the French ourselves," M. Guicha adds "have named all this with complete accuracy. At the end of January of what was happening became evident, our intelligence is correct. Every day great news by the British soldiers covered some one from our side of French and separate from the other to which we felt bound by these facts obligated to which we were towards you who rely upon your justice and honor. Consequently, the moral position of the French in Constantinople steadily became weaker while this. The frequent violation of our agreements, made on the idea of agreement, steadily to which we felt disappointed. All this occurred in the play of a Turkish opening hope. The will beauty of the thing and the weakness of the people there—late days called such acts of apparently good these relations."

"We say the next few days," M. Guicha continues, "the subsequent course of our relations—regarding followed in quick succession. Istanbul news was made. The Turkish Cabinet being disintegrated, the committee the Eastern Conference to which submission. Gradually, the physical weakness of Great Britain's military support is

become less evident. Her military power covers her a moment relaxed. Every influential Turk in Constantinople or Istanbul, was either under arrest, or else a fugitive. He was passing towards Mecca, or towards Anatolia."

We learn from this article and dispassionate picture by the noted Syrian and Moslemologist minister themselves and the young and shrewdness of the Powers with Mr. Lloyd George as the chief minister, stands out more clearly than ever upon and unchanged homogeneity and plundering is surely better by the time this morning announcement of operations under conditions that has become too clear even to deceive the unperceptive. We had another of Mr. Lloyd George's various phrases telegraphed not to us lately in India—"The whole of the property," he declared, "as well of Moslems will belong to the Arab State." Now we find that, just as in the case of the "book and renowned books of Abu Hamud and Tharun," the phrase also means nothing at all. It is "subject to any arrangements which were made before the war. This means, in plain terms, that 10% is to go to France and 10% to Great Britain, with a certain royalty to the Arab State."

Lord Curzon has recently declared the truth in the face of all this double dealing. "We are in the hands," he has said with terrific bitterness, "of an imposture of words (a sham)." Lord Hugh Cecil, speaking concerning another imposture made in the Straits, has given the verdict of all decent people in these words by measured language.

"The British Government have acted, rightly or wrongly, the most honorable reputation for want of example. I have known a great many governments but never one which so had a reputation for making the truth and acting honestly."

Mr H. W. Massingham has expressed the same thing in words that have with others, as follows:—

"A very young student of the world and its ways, as a very naive student might say, the Turks inflicted a measure of appalling hypocrisy and nastiness on itself in this hypocrisy of the Anatolian. One was being approached, who would be pleasant to look the other way and write about Washington and the world's peace. What the first was in the House of Commons, who was later to act by and to depend upon and believe, will see the Government, as the two Gods are doing and tell it in the present Anglo-Turkish words that these words of vanity and vanity are very empty and empty in the world, and saying the best hope of my working of the League, and saying the best hope of the world was that the League should work, the world was that the war has ended in a complete international right and good that success and more democracy by far than the world was doing of Istanbul. He says, who had to face the world to please that he did not make the stress of vanity. How there is no vanity, no hypocrisy. There is a love of honesty, a sympathy of mutual wealth, a disregard of class, prejudice and right, rendered faithful more than because it is indeed an imposture."

I do not think that a single word of all this is too strong for what has recently happened at the Peace Conference and also. What it implies for India is the present position. I shall discuss in my next paper.

C. F. JACOBSON.

## A GOOD EXAMPLE IN NON-CO-OPERATION

(To The Editor, "Young India")

Sir,

I hope you will kindly give publication to the following in your esteemed paper.

The Government of India and the Imperial Government, being grieved of the proceeds from the Indian sources, have ruthlessly disregarded the Indian sentiments and the general interests of India and unscrupulously and high-handedly polluted the P. N. situation.

For the above, demanding the sequestration of my bank and accounts I have decided to devote myself whole-heartedly to the non-co-operation movement initiated by the Mahatma Committee. Therefore I have suspended my legal practice and have withdrawn my two younger brothers from a recognized English school.

I also hereby give up my candidature of the membership for the E. P. Council.

Yours etc.

M. Mahabadi Esq.

Dharampur, Senior Vice-President, Non-co-  
E August, 1906

President, Khilafat Committee,  
Dharampur, Mysore

## DISPATCH FROM THE GOVERNOR OF PUNJ

From Your Issue number

(To the Editor, "Young India")

Sir,

Friend Tota Ram has kindly sent me his copy, not about the Dispatch of the P. N. Government. Friend Tota Ram, as the reader of your paper already knows, has lived in P. N. for twenty-one years and has done very useful work there. His opinion, therefore, carries some weight with it.

(From Your Issue number.)

I got the dispatch of the P. N. Government translated for me from the leader. The dispatch reads like a novel. It has covered many points. I may say here, by the way, that I have also read the report of Mr. Mahabadi, who was Member of the New Zealand Parliament, where the P. N. disturbances and they appear to me to be quite true. The fact is that the P. N. Government played into the hands of Hon. Sir John Gresham, Governor-General, who is better known by his Christian name, John Gresham, and who is a favorite of Mr. Campbell is responsible for many illustrations of non-co-operation in P. N. As regards the meeting of the Indian House in Delhi, the dispatch contains certain statements which are mere distortions of facts. The Government has not a word to say about the troubles and difficulties that the Indians had to put up with on account of the public safety as shown by Civil Commission Ordinances. The dispatch tells us a long story about the three special committees who were formed by the Indians, but it does not mention how many Indians were wounded. No mention is made of the case of Bhagat who was shot dead while he was going to the

house to bring food for his wife. Not a word is said about Gopal Sahai who was made a Judge, was wounded badly and was still engaged in improvement till a year. The Governor's dispatch may give a wrong idea to the ignorant reader that Indians in P. N. were treated very leniently. To me it is quite clear that the dispatch has got many gaps. After reading the whole dispatch the impression that it may read has been that an useful work was to done for the Indian Emigrants whom we have expected representation for them. I suggested this case to Mr. C. F. Andrews when he came to Formosa. I have no hope for a commission being appointed to enquire into the P. N. Tragedy. It, however, the Government of India has a mind to appoint such a commission it ought to do so very soon. I am afraid much of the useful evidence will not be available if any more delay is made. Many Indians have already returned from P. N. and a large number will arrive here in a few months. The quality of the Indian leaders towards our countrymen in P. N. is certainly regrettable.

Friend Tota Ram is quite right when he says that the Dispatch of the P. N. Government has many gaps. Fortunately the latest mail from New Zealand has brought some very important material about the recent disturbances in P. N. It will be published soon in the papers and I hope it may throw some light on the dark portion of the P. N. Tragedy.

Yours etc.

Dr. Marjura Stridaga

## INDIAN OVERSEAS ASSOCIATION

(To the Editor, "Young India")

Sir—I have pleasure in informing you that Dr. A. M. Jeyarajoo has written to the "Hindu" and to the "Morning Chronicle" regarding the alleged interview with the Special Correspondent of London of the "Hindu" to which he was reported to have attended adversely the Association.

I have thought it proper to inform you of this at once in order that the incident may be regarded as closed.

Yours truly,

H. S. L. Prasad,

Hon. Secretary, I. O. Association.

## A COLLECTION.

The letter of the Ananya Karamit which we published under the heading of "Renunciation of a rich gift" was addressed to the Commissioner, Northern Provinces and sent to the Editor of the Dispatch.

## NOTICE.

As we have been receiving numerous applications for separate copies of Y. I., we have to inform such applicants that it is necessary for them to send two and a half annas postage stamps.—Ed. Y. I.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

17613

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 11 } JOURNAL, PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE { Young India Press  
Punjab, India

CONTENTS	
	PAGES
Reviews	
Hindu Epitaph, P. S. Srinivasan	1
The Yashwantrao Chavan	3
Announcement of a Deputy Commissioner	4
The Congress National Conference	5
Our Parties	6
*****	
Neediness of the Congress	7
Reviews	8
South African Negotiations	9
The I. L. Chamberlain Agreement	10
The Times	11

## REVIEWS REPLACING REPRESSION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Had the Government the Yearag not made its ignorance by its direct attacks on the People and the Khilafat, I would have treated the heavy suspensions for substituting restraints for repression in order to kill a movement demanded to have the law from its control instead of itself the Executive functions of non-co-operation in its responsibility. It is a specimen of a solution from strategy to a solution. Putting restraints on non-co-operation is an approved method in colonial politics. And if the method is successfully employed, it will make an important improvement upon the official barbarity of the People. The misapprehension of Mr. Montagu's statement about the movement is also not open to any objection whatsoever. Without doubt a Government has the right to use sufficient force to put down an actual outbreak of violence.

Had I expected to have to make this statement, to put restraints on the movement, and in consequence with the statements on the People and the Khilafat regarding the restraints, never to show that the Executive has made its a virtue of necessity. He has not finally abandoned the method of force being and legalism, but he looks for non-co-operation being conducted in such an open and truthful manner that any attempt to kill it by violent repression would not require the use of force to subvert but through of official-looking men.

Let us however, examine the adjectives used by the Executive to kill the movement by buying at it. It is 'force', 'restraint', 'necessity', 'force', 'repression', 'strategy'. He has accused of the adjectives by describing the movement as 'violence'

of all kinds of things. He would say 'force' is more or less of it that he has used all the force before by showing the magnitude of the violence nature of non-co-operation.

Unfortunately for the Executive the movement is likely to grow with restraints as it is certain to increase repression. No civil movement can be killed except by the unprincipled oppression or lawlessness of the rulers. A movement cannot be 'killed' that is controlled by men of spirit, as I think the members of the Non-co-operation Committee are. It is hardly surprising, seeing that if the people resist, every one thinks that it will subvert the rule. At the same time it is probably true that if there is no response from the people the movement will be popularly described as 'necessity'. It is for the rulers to resist as an effective agency by repressing non-co-operation and change restraints into repression, but it is this repression that will give place to respect when they fail to produce the intended effect.

## THE VIKRAMADITYA PROPOSITION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It may be that having lost faith in the Executive, a party and organ to hold the high office of Young India, I am not for speaking with a heavy hand but the speech the Executive delivered at the time of a meeting of the Council shows to me a mental attitude which makes association with law or law Government impossible for all speaking men.

The I. L. Chamberlain, the People have a duty to give violence. He would have us to concentrate on the problems of the immediate future. The immediate future is to manage repression on the part of the Government on the People's side, if there is no sign of the contrary, the Executive would be tempted to apply to the ruler, making thereby that he has not changed his opinion on the way that violence affecting the honor of India. He is 'content' to have the man in the control of history. How the kind of language, in my opinion, is calculated further to reduce the Indian mind. Of what use are a few words of violence to men who have been managed and who are still under the hands of officers who have shown themselves utterly unfit to hold office of trust and responsibility? The plea for non-co-operation is, in my belief, as pointed in the face of the Government to

refuse justice to the English. This argument also is confusing, when we understand that in conflict by the great language device played before him? Will he not give his testimony on the part of the physician who examined him without seeing him of his pain?

The Kherdary is, if possible, even less happy on the Khafist. 'So far as my Government could', says the Minister for the interior, 'we passed upon the King, Caliph or the name of Indian Muslims. But notwithstanding our efforts on their behalf we are threatened with a campaign of non-co-operation between, hereafter, the allied Powers found themselves unable to accept the contemplated view by Indian Muslims. This is most unfortunate if not disastrous. The Kherdary knows that the peace treaties and the work of the allied Powers. He knows that Mr Lloyd George is the prime author of them, and that the latter has never repudiated his responsibility for them. He has with amazing boldness treated them in spite of his own-day pledge to the Muslims of India regarding Legislation, Taxes and the rule and command of Asia Minor. It is not treated to within co-existence. In the terms of an allied Powers which Great Britain alone has promoted them. The object of the Treaty becomes greater when we observe that he admits the presence of the Muslim class. He would not have agreed to it if he had not done so justly.

I venture to think that Mr. Kherdary by his proclamation to the English has strengthened the nation in its effort to seek a remedy to accept redress of the two wrongs before it can make anything of the so-called balance.

#### ASSASSINATION OF A BRITISH COMMISSIONER

(By M. N. Gadhvi.)

The assassination of Mr. Widdoway is a most unfortunate event which has recently evoked public sympathy and indignation. The murder was a deed of violence and heinous act. It has not advanced but retarded the cause of Khafist. Mr. Widdoway had been sent to the Turkish coast. As it quite probable, he was himself a popular officer. It was only to be expected as violence to kill an innocent man for a crime committed by a member of his race. And yet the fact must not be forgotten that the murder will be regarded by many Mohammedans as a just and worthy act of a martyr. I have found Mohammedans openly avowing that such murder was not only justifiable but meritorious. I have known many Muslims who have argued that it was the throwing of bombs which brought about the removal of the Partition of Bengal. I know that many sensible Muslims to have been a martyr. The Great Powers openly promise murder and other means of violence for the purpose of driving their country from the English domination. Every accident or opportunity is considered by them a lease. It is because

I discovered a result in my mind, that I advised non-violent non-co-operation regarding the Khafist. In my opinion, it is the nature and open possibility of non-co-operation which has prevented murders and assassinations in the land. The murder of Mr. Widdoway proves that the propaganda of non-violence and non-co-operation has not proved sufficient to control individual fanatics and that it is not an easy thing to do so. It proves further that the Khafist wrong is a deep-seated grievance which with the passage of time will not deeper still instead of being forgotten.

I observe that The Power of India criticises the Khafist propaganda with the murder and calls it the 'first lesson'. I venture that the language used is unwise. It contains various aspects of the agitation with the cause. But I venture to suggest that no aspect of the agitation is responsible for the unfortunate murder. It is the grievous wrong, done by the British ministers, which has evoked the cruel deed.

The Power of India is an able general when it says that the tragedy 'is a special call to Islam, for, all thoughtful Mohammedans must realize that the banner of their religion is at stake'. I wish to emphasize that warning. It must be the special duty of every Khafist worker to be more careful than before in meeting an complete freedom from violence or the position prevalent in unadvised non-co-operation. I am sure it is possible to extract from the Quran in confirmation of non-violence and non-co-operation. I can understand violence being done to wrong done in order to compel justice. It is unfortunately the chosen method of the civilized world. It has captured industry, taken a good country to great violence in the wrong done. The unadvised violence of Christianity justly captured violence for the removal of wrong, based on evil. Through the murder attempt the Quran to be a guarantee for war in the cause of justice. It is only a minority (slowly growing in numbers) which religiously believes that violence is wrong in itself and cannot be justified even to vindicate truth. But it cannot (as may be verified) be religious to murder innocent accused men without warning. It is not enough for Khafist workers to be careful only within conditions that (generally as they are) or for the sake of decorum to join them. It is necessary for us to preach privately, publicly and incessantly the necessity of refraining from violence especially when an active campaign of non-co-operation full of promise is going on. We must feel on every fibre of our own being the every moment, every deed of violence must retard the progress of the movement.

This is an opportunity for distinguishing the Sunn Fata in the Egyptian non-co-operation from ours. The former demand and did not depend for success on non-violence. The Sunn Fata resort to violence in every stage and form. There is a 'brightfulness' and white General Dyer's. We may justify it if we

Support those particularities in the representation that is representative Indian Councils appointed by Indian Council Act in South Africa should be immediately constituted to check each year of expediting and secure that its object should and unless the committee is appointed or established that he is fully aware of the consequences of its acceptance of state and the representation and that in particular, attendance or presence was not. My Committee earnestly urge upon Government to give upon the attention of the Colonial Office the necessity of appointing Committee as suggested and of taking all necessary to safeguard the rights and interests of Indians domiciled or born in South Africa.

#### LEAD AFRIKA.

My Committee having carefully considered the most recent report made by Colonial Office Colony concerned important points of Indian Policy, copied it as entirely disappointing and incapable of meeting the requirements of the Indian situation in East Africa. My Committee strongly object to the admission of only two seats in the Indian population and minority group but a general franchise applicable equally to Indians and Europeans and adequate representation of Indian population both in the Legislative Council and the Municipalities in proportion to their number, and with due regard to their interests and their past and present services to the country, my Committee strongly object to finding that subjects were special powers for European majority population even if only in the case of land in the applied districts. In this connection my Committee draw attention to Government to Lord Milner's past and emphatic opinion that it was not consistent with the views of His Majesty's Government to subject restrictions in any particular section of the Community in regard to acquisition of land, as I submit that the requirement suggested by Colonial Office for making such that are completely unworkable and unworkable. With regard to, all Indians to acquire Agricultural lands, my Committee urge that Indian settlement should not be subjected to every petty restriction and unnecessary hindrance. My Committee emphatically object to segregation of races as leading to perpetuate and increase racial hostility and tension by least upon early withdrawal of this point of the relevant scheme subject to rigid enforcement of such that under all circumstances were whether occupied by Europeans or Indians. Referring to Educational facilities my Committee hold that the principle of equality will be maintained. My Committee earnestly urge upon Government the urgency of immediately proceeding upon the Colonial Office the necessity of making these alterations, as otherwise further delay, postponement, or moderate dilatory and consequent neglect will go back home and among Indians in East Africa. My Committee while appreciating the efforts of the Government for securing equality of rights and status for Indians in East Africa, think that there is need for further efforts will and hope that there will not be wanting.

## FURTHER TAXING

Report on the Finance of the Province of the Province  
for the year ended on July 1930

We owe an apology to the public for publishing late the report of the work of our usual members for the month of July 1930. There is a certain amount of the same - but, our members were busy with the writing limited parts of Paper and Catalogue. Although we did not have to their former extent work and recently, the absence of the late Mr. Lalit and our members, caused in connection therewith, amongst us for sometime.

We had 11 noted members - which particularities were given to persons mentioned against the names as under:-

Ashwini—112	Gopi Nath—141
Joshi—130	Supershad—133
Govind—133	Subhag—134
Subhag—137	Pagli—142
Subhag—139	Bahadur—133

Total ..... 1,012

The total number of subjects returned was 845

1. The girls were continued at the following places where the was said at a slightly reduced rate:-

1. Durgach 2. Puri 3. Bhatpali

1. Monthly grants to schools at (1) Durgach (2) Manupura (3) Bhatpali (4) Karam (5) Bhatpali and (6) Bhatpali, were given for meeting school fees, and cost of food and some petty boys.

2. Grants for repairs of boats at (1) Durgach on the north east side of the Chalka lake (2) Bhatpali near Water (3) for a village road near Bhatpali and (4) miscellaneous work near Jamb, were made to give employment to people.

3. A loan of Rs. 10,000 in advance to late Warrier's Co-operative Credit Societies was given during the month.

4. An Uplifting of about 10 children was opened on 1st July at Manupura and on the 15th August it was merged in the Uplifting started by the Arpa Group of Indians at Bhatpali. A school is held about 10 - 15 miles and some children was working at Bhatpali.

5. Our financial position stands like that. We indicated on July 15, 1930, 11/20 and by the end of July the balance on our hand was Rs. 14,000-0-0. Taking as an average one quarter year (100 days) of Rs. 20 per person returned, the daily expenses work to be Rs. 200. Thus we have only one month's balance on hand. The estimated shortage in the Puri district has been aggravated by funds in several districts of the Khandwa which returned large sums of money going into the hands of the Government. More money than Rs. 100 per day might therefore be in need in view of the new scheme created, but instead of that we have been kept to show some very serious of relief slowly, usually, indicated on 10/20 and Bhatpali on 10/20. The relief work is expected to last till the end of October next.

6. We were again appeal with all our members which we are concerned in the kind and generous public, who have shown such eagerness of heart in their charitable work, to help us once again liberally, so that we may be able to carry on the very well responsible work we have undertaken in the past and in the future. We hope that our AFFAIRS will not go on rate and that we will be able to get the further sum of Rs. 40,000 (forty thousand) that is badly needed.

A. V. TRAKER,  
Secretary.

People's Finance Relief  
Committee, Puri.

21-6-1930.

Let us therefore see what that leader exactly means. Have we a national soldier who opposes the opposite strength. We must therefore know the strength of the Government with which we are engaged in a bitter struggle. The Government represents a corporation that is ready in the new politics successful but conservative, the self-defending and preserving past power of organization. We want to make more its activities by completely redemptive policies by soldiers, anti-republican by traditionalists. We want to do things with greater ability than we had already self-started, and its organizing power with greater help among persons. It has showed national measure of weakness. We must meet them with new ideas. We have ourselves to achieve the best, we need to create a strong a sense of morality. You are surprised which the nation an opportunity of showing all the qualities required for organizing the future.

### RESOLUTIONS

passed at the Fourth August Political Conference, Amboise, 1936.

THE LAST RESOLUTION

1. The Conference expresses its deep sorrow at the death of the revered parent of Lohengrin, the Prince of the Holy Land, the great son of Mahomed, leader of the National party, the powerful, profound scholar, the spiritual light upon the human Government of the country for liberty and progress, and sympathize with his family in their bereavement. The Conference trusts that Providence may grant peace to his soul. (From the Chair).

### TUNJANG

1. (1) The Conference trusts the Solahs of the Government approved by the Congress National Government, served as also a complete investigation of the members and acts of members who took place in the Punjab last year as well as opinion that the dangers were caused by the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Keshab Singh, and a law which makes them had not approved the country by reason of the British legislation. It further holds that it is impossible to call the doctrine a rebellion against the Government, and that actually was Mahatma non-cooperation which means in purpose of opposing disorder which had already exhibited—mainly but that it was made and solely with the view of increasing non-violently non-cooperation the people.

(2) The Conference holds that the speedy report of the Hunter Commission is entirely warranted and is to be fully and completely understood, and that it is to be the duty of the Government to officers, and that it is to be the duty of the members of the Hunter Commission. This Commission also states with extreme regret that after accepting the speedy report, the Government of India should also the British Government all the proceedings of members in the Punjab, and only charged Dyer for his treatment of Jalandhar—which they have the right to designate merely as "an act of judgment," and have not only not local party, or officers, but have on the contrary, accompanied by British Dyer and Lord Chelmsford for their work in the Punjab.

(3) The Conference holds extreme pain, indignation and disappointment at the time of the debate in the House of Commons and the various questions made in the House of Lords pursuant to the death of General Dyer, inasmuch as it expects the Conference to hold that a large portion of the British public oppose of the grave against representing the British Government.

(4) Having regard to the recommendations of the Congress Commission, the Conference is of opinion:

- (a) that the law of the Government should be repealed,
- (b) that Lord Chelmsford should be recalled,
- (c) that the War Office should be held liable to hold any responsible officer under the law, and especially in relation to officers provided against punishment, it was his getting that was responsible for the treatment of the Punjab,
- (d) that General Dyer, Sir Frank Johnson, Col. G. Brown, Sir Barnard Smith, the British War Office and the War Office should also be dismissed from service, and prosecuted,
- (e) that a local enquiry should be made into the case of the British soldiers referred to in the speedy report, and that the officers concerned be dismissed,
- (f) that the law concerned from the subject by the ordinary Courts of the Special Tribunal of the Punjab should be recalled, that the laws against non-cooperation should be recalled, that the case should be referred if already occurred, and that the justice officer should be withdrawn.

### TUTING FINE TONG

1. The Conference is of opinion that the British Peace Force in the Punjab are not to be taken in fact the subjects of the British people and the honor of India, and have decided the religious movements of Mahomedans in and outside India. It is also of opinion that they are in contradiction of the pledges given by the British members and the Indian Government to keep peace, the only peace and honor of the Government and of the people of self-determination. The Conference therefore wishes that efforts should be made to get them revised in accordance with the principles of the Government, and with the spiritual pledges.

### WONG CO-OOPERATION

1. (1) The Conference believes that as a result of the absolute demand of the people in respect of the Punjab and the Indian wrong having been consistently refused, some disappointment has spread throughout the country and the people have lost all faith in the British sense of justice. To enter therefore, to eliminate all personal business between the ruler and the ruled, and to get agreement to the agreed exchange of the people to a national cause, and to get release of the government without the use of force, the Conference desires the people to gradually withdraw all help which to the Government in public administration and to continue that non-cooperation until the popular demands are satisfactorily released.

(2) Non-cooperation in its initial stage should be attended with the broad possible rule, and should be attended in the absence of long hours in the advanced stage and leaders of the people, and in the first stage all help which to be applied from the Government should be continued in view of their contribution to the Government.

(3) That all non-cooperation should publicly condemn them and hold from Government.

(4) That the League should support their protest as long as the Khilafat and the League remain unopposed, and should persuade the people not to resort to law courts and have their disputes settled by means of arbitrators boards.

(5) That the Government schools and colleges being powerful means of propagating the influence of the Government should be abandoned, and people should take popular education in their own hands.

(6) That committees with the Government in public demonstrations by means of going to the courts or by voting in annual elections or participating in the people's day, so that just as a riot does to the people in the matter of the League and Khilafat wrongs and the frustrated hearts of the people are not placated and the Government therefore should advise the people not to attend the elections to the new Council, and not to vote for any candidate standing for election, and also to inform the members and the Government in plain and clear language that they are unwilling to send any one to the Council as their elected representatives. (Concluded by an enthusiastic applause.)

[An enthusiastic approving cheer broke out over the not listening League and Khilafat groups, and one of them in the British zone of partition, had mentioned the numerous failure of anti-capitalists, was moved by E. H. Samadani, but was stopped out by an enthusiastic applause.]

#### RESOLUTIONS

1. That Conference expresses its keen resentment at the action of the British Government in asking the officers for leaders of the people in Manipur, Peshawar, Nepal, Arabia, Turkish Egypt and Persia, by the aid of Indian agents, and it appeals to patriotic people to recall all Indian agents from these parts, and not to send any fresh recruits here.

#### INDIAN ABROAD

##### S. AFRICA

1. (1) That Conference expresses its desire to African Government's attitude towards the Indians in South Africa is giving more and more scope every day and that an appropriate action, now received from South Africa various desires are being placed to recall the Indians from South Africa under the severest voluntary regime the African.

##### E. AFRICA

(2) For the benefit of Pan-Africanism recently introduced in East Africa, the East African Government in helping wrongs wrong to the aborigines and natives. India's responsibility in East Africa which has been released by means of Indian Agents, established as a false report, Indians have been robbed of their political rights and right of possessing landed property, and their not recovered the full approval of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner, and the Secretary of State for India.

#### FIN

(3) Though the Government of India have failed to reintroduce into the acts of oppression committed by the P. G. Commission in the P. G. Conference on the grounds of keeping peace in P. G., they appear to contemplate sending Indian labour in P. G. with a view to helping P. G.

The Conference is of opinion that the prolonged discrimination of India amongst in the Conference is unjustified, and that it is not necessary to proceed by adopting non-co-operation. (Concluded unanimously.)

#### RESOLUTIONS

1. (4) That Conference believes that tradeable currencies for the big in being, and the first step movement is to establish National property, and it therefore recommends to the Government the public issue of relative non-transferable banknotes, and thereby to end banknotes transferable check, in particular, and to encourage for use and the production of such tradeable check and establishment of financial credit system for that purpose.

(5) That Conference expresses its willingness and readiness to place contributions to the Indian profession new year, so to afford some relief to the poor in these times of high prices.

(6) That Conference's earnest recommendation to the Government for those who cannot adopt Nationalism, was first by an overwhelming majority.]

#### NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

1. That Conference believes that the educational policy introduced by the British Government has proved to be harmful to the welfare of India, and totally opposed to the needs of the country. It has been barren of results. The Government therefore are in the necessity of starting national educational institutions of various multi-graded which will impart education calculated to make the students self-reliant, of good character, and devoted patriots.

(2) To achieve the right measure of education especially in England, the Conference urges the necessity of starting national schools, colleges, polytechnics, Girls' Schools, Agricultural school of mechanics, and a United University to organize and co-ordinate the above movements.

(3) The Conference expresses its following committee with the power to act, to consider and advise the best ways and means for the organization of a National System of Education as mentioned above.

- |    |                             |              |
|----|-----------------------------|--------------|
| 1  | Mr. Subramaniam V. Sathyan. | } Secretary. |
| 2  | Mr. Ramaswami V. Pathak.    |              |
| 3  | Mr. Rajaji V. Sivas.        |              |
| 4  | Mr. Rajaji V. Sivas.        |              |
| 5  | Mr. Subramaniam V. Sathyan. |              |
| 6  | Mr. Chandra K. Das.         |              |
| 7  | Mr. Subramaniam V. Sathyan. |              |
| 8  | Mr. Subramaniam V. Sathyan. |              |
| 9  | Mr. K. D. Das.              |              |
| 10 | Mr. Subramaniam V. Sathyan. |              |
| 11 | Mr. Subramaniam V. Sathyan. |              |
| 12 | Mr. Subramaniam V. Sathyan. |              |

#### COMMITTEE OF ABSTRACTS.

1. That Conference recommends to students and the people in general that they establish centres of activities to collect and deposit and cash of the standard notes that are lawfully issued, since unnecessary time and money have to be spent in sending notes to their respective areas.

#### NATIONAL VOLUNTEER CORPS.

10. That Conference recommends the establishment of national volunteer corps and leagues in order to train the youth of the country for maintaining peace and order in our towns and villages and to make the people more self-reliant in the matter of protection of life and property.

#### MINUTE SADD.

11. That Conference strongly disapproves of the alleged reports of the local officers' opinion

by the political department of the British Government and the Local Authorities to restrict the use of the Mosier water in Shantala Tehsil and especially as regards the distribution of water over the town of Shappa, and finally regarding the Local Authorities that it should ensure the regular flow of water into the British colonies.

#### REPORT OF L.A.P.H.

12. The Commission strongly objects to the drought of wells which are useful for agriculture and for drinking water, and also to the water laid outflowed by the Government wells although their purpose is essentially for the drinking water or agriculture of the country and for the supply of water to the people.

#### FINANCIAL GRIEVANCES

13. Political action has a long history in the affairs of Government in the case of Mysore, but now that the Government has imposed the condition of non-co-operation, it has to propose to draw the attention of the Government to these acts. The Commission therefore, draws the special attention of the people to the following grievances of long standing (but they may be strengthened) in their non-co-operation:

(a) The hardship the Government of Mysore and His Majesty the King put a burden on the Government of the people for the report of the audit order of deposition against the Ministers.

(b) The Court Act has never been revised although it is destructive of the almost every rights of the people.

(c) The standing rights of the people to represent the Judicial and the Executive branches of the Government has not yet been granted.

(d) The Government and Government of their own newspapers their newspapers and the publication of newspapers who seem to connect with the country have not been in a situation whatsoever.

(e) The weakness of the administration of Mysore is going forward in view of a number of the various policy of the Government, they are disturbed from conducting in and out of the Government, which by Government the change have increased the number of their own own will and without having the completion of educated Mysore. They have not succeeded in any change in the system of education, revenue or control of Mysore to the satisfaction of the public.

(f) There used to be an every village of Mysore pattern lands kept open for grazing the cattle. These lands have now been gradually enclosed by the Government in every village; the condition of cattle has not become good and is becoming poorer and.

(g) Several petitions have been submitted in support of the resolution passed by the special legislative assembly and the Royal Proclamation after the Government has been of Mysore. They are not however yet released.

(h) The agitation caused by drawing away the water of the River, in a way such as to restrict the rights of the people of the Mosier Tehsil to use the water of this River.

#### THE DILEMMA OF COMMUNIST'S VIEW

14. This Commission finally tells that the people should be as party in the arrangements that might be made by the Indian and Provincial Government for the reception of R. B. B. for Duke of Devonshire.

#### NOTICE

15. This Commission congratulates the people of Egypt on having secured their independence lately by means of national non-co-operation involving numerous sacrifices, and hopes that they will secure their independence by reversing their action, they not becoming a nation worthy of imitation.

#### REVIEWS

##### INDIAN NATURE NOTES

English readers in general and folklorists in particular must thank Shyama Devi for her beautiful collection of these stories from Indian world literature. Our best wish there is a definite principle in the arrangement of the stories. The Editor also will derive examples from her collection in the Hindu way of interpreting nature and life's problems. To it has made the book not only an account except for the beautiful style in which the book is written. We would all wish these stories in the English form derived as they are of their own in the book.

The vulgar folk-tale of the Telugu country might not have found a place in this collection of so-called folk-tales.

##### URDUA.

When nations are plunged into a struggle for power and power and when unpopulated lands, the world over is trying to shake the very organization of society, the Mohammedan's question of justice under the able leadership of Shyama Devi's Chhatrapati is shining the narrow light on such unpopulated subjects as art, literature and philosophy. It has created the interest of various elements of the spirit from every level.

The last issue before us presents well of the cause. The story of Dr. Tagore, the thought-compelling article on the 'Art of the People' by Radhakrishnan Bhattacharya the varied reviews of that Greek of Indian Poets, the various elements of the present, the comprehensive review of Shyama Devi's history in the 'History of Literature in India and the Hinduized way of Indian Art' from the pen of Indu Shekhar, all are able expressions of the new life in India. Chances, socialist poetry, Muslim literature or poetry will not only represent change in outlook and express upon us that history is not unaltered into the same. We should like to mention here in passing that the Shyama's will not help India, made under the Indian constitution made in part like the world that Shyama never to write in English when they have not had words for their own, other was India will be the price for their culture and intellectual and advancements of all sorts in our such a high state. Happiness. We wish if a complete review and well on its own.

### BUDGETARY ANNUAL OF CEYLON

A good billiard for the Budget has been a matter of comparison to more than a third of humanity after three ten thousand years and a half, and here comes to our hand an Annual from Ceylon, prettily illustrated and ably edited giving the substance of the Budget as it is understood in Ceylon. The long series of articles on Budgets and Budgets from in Ceylon are as themselves an interesting Ceylon or regarded—and rightly—as the Imperial Magazine in England as the *Los Angeles*—the important substance of public's discourse from the pen of Ceylonese. It is a handsome and useful reading. The editor deserves to be congratulated on his venture.

### SOUTH AFRICAN REPATRIATION.

The "Moral Adventure" of the 11th July then deals with the proposed repatriation in its leading columns—

While the administration in the Indian is our main concern with student votes to show the wrong to be corrected, repatriation is proceeding, that is to say, repatriation of a voluntary or imposed is a compulsory character. There are now two schemes under which the movement is proceeding, one conducted by the Home Office Department and another to replace in their respective substituted Indians and their descendants who have grown up in the foreign country, and the other known as Mr Wynne Ode's scheme, which has in its origin the Government, by the offer of free and full citizens' passports, of Indians of all types to return themselves and their families for ever from the South Africa and if it can be considered wholly for the good of the land then these Indians should depart, then both these schemes are mentioned, but there are several aspects in a controversial question of this sort which it is expedient to quote, and which were the portions of the above every going and is difficult to convey again. The facts in the present movement are that in the beginning of this year there were some calculations under which I have Indians in round figures and more than a hundred of all has been and very a number number in the to have shortly, and of the same thing is allowed to, so may be reported that about 2,500 Indians will leave our shores each year. But this is a drop in the ocean of Indians and will be almost number balanced by the birth rate, and even if there were not strong objections to the whole enterprise, would of itself be no remedy, but merely an amelioration. Further, it is plainly evident that the Indians who are making a profitable living in the country are not likely to pull up the stakes when no employment exists, and in consequence, only the class of Indians, which may be termed the floating population, will avail itself of the opportunities offered. Whether it was the intention of the Legislature that this should be so is quite a good point, but that appears to be the result, and the only result, that is being achieved. Neither the merchant class nor the man in the land is attracted by the offer of a fresh start in what would be to him a new country, albeit the country of his ancestors, and it seems to me that the real, even if it were proved to be harmful to the community generally,

will never be attracted under the present method, which frankly is a case of a case of a case, and here not to do it. Opponents of repatriation of the Indian are apt to ignore two important features in our economic structure. One is that the man who tills the soil and makes his living from there are poor laborers, to be hired or what is a business matter then a business to my country. The other is that of various non-essential factors were entirely removed from our market the resultant state of the profession would be infinitely worse than the present. If it were merely a matter of leaving a small amount of money to those who decline to the Transvaal and Free State who have recently so become in their pastures, the work might be allowed to proceed until the profit was high, but there are others to whom the Indian is a useful factor in the economy, and altogether apart from the treatment of English land and good laborers, a factor which cannot readily be done without, the recommendation upon which the repatriation law was based resulted from requests made the acquisition of land, and rights affecting land in the Union, by American and persons of American descent, by exchanging other persons, and the leading or carrying in of business by such persons generally or in specified business, and whether it was in the public interest to alter this law in any respect. In fact of the all-India—largely the result of the legislation and some judgments—generally maintained against the Union, the law is given, that these terms of reference were intended to make in further evidence that a more voluntary appeal to Indians to return to India, and it may be that, as in the case of the Prophet of Kananah, there are Indians here behind the veil. The Government at present is not compulsory. Under present of all-India public opinion, it may modify here last suggestion. But what will make over the most actual obstacle in its way is the Indian. It does not even a little of opinion in the fringe of the position, and leaves the impression to feel what for the money that is being sent.

### THE I I CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION.

The following is copy of the telegram addressed by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association to Sir George Balfour, Minister of Colonies, Government of India.

#### AFRICA.

My Committee, having carefully considered South African Union Government's Voluntary Repatriation Scheme, raised a strong objection with regard to rights and interests of Indians in South Africa. First, it involves relinquishment of right of domicile acquired and natural Indian status since 1914, on grounds not so compelling in general terms as is referred to previously in similar cases in India. Secondly, the Scheme is framed with present apprehensions in that and of weight to drive out Indians from South Africa under guise of Voluntary Repatriation seeing that such citizens worked out by powerful majority interests of White non-aggrieved Indians are not to be used as agents of Indian pressure in important Indian from the country. Mr. Wynne Ode's original speech at Durban and a Director telegram stating that scheme is already being allowed, confirm the view. Therefore though the relinquishment of domicile, whether granted or required, is voluntary under the scheme, yet

things which started and under its operation that a very possible Indian Committee appointed by Indian Association in South Africa should be constituted constituted to look into each item of representation and advise the Indian Association and advise the committee as appointed to consider them in a fully aware of the consequences of its acceptance or its refusal for representation, and that no formal, formal, representation or petition was used. My Committee extremely urge upon Government to press upon the attention of the Colonial Office the necessity of appointing Committee as suggested and of taking all measures to safeguard the rights and interests of Indians domiciled or born in South Africa.

**LEAD AFRICA.**

My Committee having carefully considered the note most recently made by Government of Union of South Africa in regard to the Indian Policy, regard it as utterly disappointing and incapable of meeting the requirements of the Indian community in East Africa. My Committee strongly object to the allotment of only two seats to the Indian population and earnestly press for a general franchise applicable equally to Indians and Europeans and adequate representation of Indian population both in the Legislative Council and the Executive Council in proportion to their numbers, and with due regard to their services and their past and present services to the country. My Committee strongly object to holding the elections on a special franchise for European citizens, prohibition issue of vote to be done at least in the official language. In this connection my Committee draw attention of Government to Lord Ripon's past and complete opinion that it was not consistent with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose restrictions on any particular section of the Community as regards the question of franchise, and that the Government were urged by Colonial Office to arrange such that were particularly necessary and reasonable. With regard to rights of Indians to acquire Agricultural lands my Committee urge that Indian settlements should not be relegated to swampy marshes and wasteland lands. My Committee emphatically object to imposition of taxes on landings in ports and to increase rural cesses and taxes by which upon only withdrawal of that part of the revenue which is required to equal requirements of Indian tax within all realized some which occupied by Europeans or Indians. Referring to Educational facilities my Committee hold that the principle of equality will be maintained. My Committee earnestly urge upon Government the necessity of immediately pressing upon the Colonial Office the necessity of making these alterations, as otherwise these developments, our admirable all-India and throughout areas will gradually hold back and among Indians in East Africa. My Committee while appreciating the efforts of the Government for securing equality of rights and status for Indians in East Africa, think that there is need for further efforts still and hope that these will not be wanting.

**PURE FARMING**

**REPORT ON THE FINANCIAL POSITION, INCOME TAXES AND THE STATE OF JULY 1930**

We are an apology to our public for publishing late the report of the work of our retail outlets for the month of July 1930. There are two reasons for the same—First, our members were occupied in working finished parts of Ford and Overton's articles in addition to their regular retail work, and secondly, the absence of the late Mr. Tildal and meetings organized in connection therewith occupied our attention.

1. We had 12 retail outlets where groceries alone were given to prevent additional agents the centers as follows—

Jamshedpur—122	Ward, Tebhara—114
Cuttack—120	Tagorepore—104
Cheekaband—104	Balasinghpur—104
Bolpur—107	Baluga—111
Bhubaneswar—110	Pipri—100
	Baluga—100
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>1,170</b>

The total number of villages retained was 14.

2. Rice prices were maintained at the following places where rice was sold at a slightly reduced rate—

- 1. Baluga 2. Puri 3. Bolpur.

4. Monthly profits to amount to (1) Soap (2) Soapstone (3) Khatyari (4) Naxos (5) Dandya's and (6) Khatyari were given for meeting school loss and cost of building some poor boys.

5. Grants for repairs of boats at (1) Bolpur (2) Bolpur (3) Bolpur and (4) Bolpur were given. (5) Bolpur and (6) Bolpur were given. (7) Bolpur and (8) Bolpur were given. (9) Bolpur and (10) Bolpur were given.

6. A loan of over Rs. 500/- was advanced to the 'Warren' Co-operative Credit Societies was given during the month.

7. An Ophthalmic of about 10 children was opened on 1st July at Chandrapur and on the 1st August it was merged in the Ophthalmic started by the Arya Society of Bolpur at Baluga. A lecture in Hindi about 50 persons and some adults was worked at Baluga.

8. Our financial position stands like this. We collected in July Rs. 1000/- (1000/-) and by the end of July the balance on our hand was Rs. 1000/- (1000/-). Taking on an average one quarter (25%) total of the percentage collected the total expenses work to be Rs. 750. This we have only one month's balance to cover. The financial statement in the Pure Farming has been approved by Board to equal distribution of the Rs. 1000/- which is required large some donations being made during the month. This money that is Rs. 250/- by right there to be spent in view of the new situation created, and amount of that we have been forced to close date. Two volumes of retail already, namely, (1) Bolpur (2) Bolpur and (3) Bolpur by 15.5.30. The retail work is expected to last till the end of October 1930.

9. We are again agree with all our employees, which we are committed to the land and persons points, who have done much for us in the past and we are able to help to meet upon liberally, so that we may be able to carry on the heavy and regular work we have undertaken to do and satisfactorily. We hope that our APPEAL will not go in vain and that we will be able to get the further sum of Rs. 10,000/- (Ten thousand) that is fully needed.

**A. T. THAKUR,**  
Secretary,  
People's Service Relief  
Committee, Puri.

11-4-1930



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

19618

New Series  
Vol. II No. 20

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1920

Price Two Annas  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS

Notes	Page
.....	1
<b>Articles</b>	
The Government of India Cooperatives	2
Trade of the League	3
Cooperatives	4
Discussions in Madras	5
Three National Leagues	7
.....	
.....	
A Plea for an open market	10
The Big League	7

## Notes.

**The Fiji government.**—Public opinion in the recent future in England has pointed out the gaps in the despatch of the Fiji Governor and urged the Government of India to arrange for an impartial commission to inquire into the charges of the Fiji ruler and the measures taken to quell these Government's reply to Mr. Mackay's question on the subject is as disappointing as it is unseasonal. The Government of India, without giving any reasons has thrown away the statements published by Mr. Mackay, the leader of the Fiji Indians. It has believed in the statements of the Fiji Government. Nothing better ought to have been expected of a Government that allows the British reply to take place under its very nose. Following on the anti-India statements, the Government of India do not think they would be justified in moving the Secretary of State for getting the Colonial Office to appoint a commission to inquire into the charges of the ruler of Fiji and the measures taken to quell them.

Tied together with this reply the Executive's collapse to Fiji, his refusal on the position of note. On the contrary, as if nothing serious has happened, the Executive talks of raising a commission to Fiji. He even tells us that the colony (Fiji) has guaranteed that the position of the subjects in their own houses would in all respects be equal to that of any class of the Rajah's subjects resident in the colony. Any guarantee given by the Fiji Government in its present attitude is worthless and the Viceroy would let people of his stature down to believe in the honesty of the guarantee. The whole affair is a disgraceful attempt to betray

the people. The Executive's Government has now run short a complete round of its head working policy.

And it is such a Government that Mr. Mackay Mackay's, our correspondent suggests should be requested to ask the colonial office to inform the Fiji colonists that no attempt shall be made in the way of the (British) non-official committee. He should say approach to be made to the Fiji Government must be through the Government of India. But how the Governor reply to the Council there seems to be no likelihood of the Government undertaking to plead for us with the colonial office. We are satisfied that the Government is not in a mood to fight us. And as long as it retains its offices, its approach to with proposals would be disadvantageous on our part. All the present proposals, Khaki's, Pugh's, or Fiji are the outcome of one common and agree that has persuaded the Government, and as such all these have lost one common enemy, viz., non-co-operation. In fighting out the government we fight out all.

**Reversing the Offender.**—Any honour done to the guilty officers of the Government is an insult to India. Such insults however are being heaped one upon another. The total collected on income of the Dyar has already gone up to 2-10-100. This record must make the heads between the contributors of the total and the Indian nation. It was the contribution perhaps that influenced the Government of India to forbid Government servants from contributing to the Fund. The Secretary of State himself however has recommended a great deal in this respect. He has recently sanctioned an unemployment pay for General Dyar to be paid from the Indian revenue. On his retirement (October 1921) moreover he will be given the Government-in-chief, entitled to a pension of 1,000 per annum which will also be met from the Indian revenues. That is how the Secretary of State for India despises of the Indian revenues.

Here again in another instance of the Government directly the wrongs of the same nature, R. S. Rao Rao of Charkheda colorably was the subject of a question asked by the Hon. Mr. Shree in the Imperial Legislative Council. The officer in charge the waterworks, who according to the Congress anti-Commissioner's report, must be held of any portion of responsibility. This is the officer

when the majority of the English Committee condemn her considering the whole village guilty and for resorting to firing with a view to obliterating punishment and making an impression." The Government of India have, however, without adequate grounds, not only thus viewed and have certified that in view of a difficult situation with Portuguese and Germans. They go even further. It is clear from her Writing. Feroze's reply to Mr. Sichel's question that Lady Sikel Grant Sichel's account will be entirely acknowledged by the Local Government.

Thus the co-operators of the Upper Ford, the Secretary of State, the Government of India and the Punjab Government have all in their own way shown how lightly they think of the feelings of the whole nation. The Mahomedan War has come to you hands with them. In the report of "Hindu Mahatma" it is to be believed, the Mahomedan authorities have granted Col. Johnson a licence for oil prospecting. We could not be much surprised at this even if it proves to be a lock. The reflection of dishonesty in our country is not infrequently seen in its worst form in our States. The origin of the evil lies in the spirit of the Government. And this can hardly be remediated by intelligent questions in Parliament. These questions need some form of action behind them. A motion about our noble India will repeat its agonies.

**Wife's Imperialism.**—The pastorage account of various occurrences of Greece have been an interesting reading in the political world. The whole shows however a fact when the reader knows that these occurrences were maintained at the cost of blood—however well-treated they might have been—whose number by far exceeded that of the others themselves. Something similar has been the state of the British Empire. The British constitution has now passed from all students of politics. The experiments however have been being appearing almost stationary in the Empire in order to maintain its glory. The Crown Colonies are the splendour in possession and addition are sought to be made through the agency of the Mahatma.

The Mahatma policy in Manipaliam however has not with opposition from several quarters. The British tea-payers oppose it on account of the heavy cost that the British Government has been making in the oil-fields there. The Manipaliam themselves protest against the British Mahatma because they do not like the British occupation of their land. The Mussalman would condemn the Mahatma as a despoiler of the Turkish Sultan of his sovereignty there. Lastly India disapproves of the Mahatma because Indians are made to fight there for imperialistic ambitions which are by no means holy. Against all these protests a handful of British capitalists have held their own. They prefer to hold Manipaliam for the Manipaliam. Another time they say that they hold it in order to protect India against an agree-

ment Russia. For this same reason they protected France if they arrange to protect their possessions the way they shall have to bring the whole world under their thumb.

The present British policy in Manipaliam has another danger for us. Any reader of the minutes can see how the standard—used of another East Africa. The triangular operations of the Indians, the English and the natives—will naturally conflict, and all the trouble of East Africa will follow in logical succession. We must cut the evil at its very root. We must have no time in overlooking the real position. Unfortunately however that politicians are still misleading us. The Mahatma of Manipaliam has offered his resignation of Imperial Service Industry for service in Manipaliam, which the Government of India have of course graciously accepted. This report must open the eyes of the squibs in our States. They should want the Empire this matter concerns and should themselves stand clear of the use of imperialistic ambition.

#### NOTICE.

We have been informed by the Postal authorities that from 1st September 1900, only registered P.P.s will be accepted. This would involve a further fee of 1 qr for every P.P. sent. The P.P. system seems much unattractive, and being both its working and our readers. We hope our circulating subscribers will in future send money orders in our issue, books and papers.

### Young India.

Abroad, Wednesday, 28 September, 1900.

#### THE INWARDNESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

(By M. E. Gandhi.)

I returned to the attention of the readers of "Young India" the thoughtful letter received from Mrs. Anne Marie Perceval. Mrs. Perceval is a lady who has been in India for many years and has closely followed Indian affairs. She is about to sever her connection with her Mission for the purpose of giving herself to education that is truly national.

I have not given the letter in full. I have omitted all personal references. But her argument has been left entirely uncoloured. The letter was not meant to be printed. It was written just after my Indian speech. But it being extremely important, I asked the writer for her permission, which she gladly gave, for printing it.

I printed it all the more gladly as that it enables me to show that the movement of non-co-operation is neither anti-Christian nor anti-English nor anti-Indian. It is a struggle between religion and religion, power of light and power of darkness.

Praying from a place that Europe to-day represents not the spirit of God or Christianity but the spirit of Satan. And Satan's machine are the

granted when he appears with the name of God on his lips. Europe is to-day only nominally Christian. In reality it is worshipping Mammon. 'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom.' These words apply to Jesus Christ. His so-called followers measure their moral progress by their material possessions. The very national anthem of England is non-Christian. Jesus, who asked his followers to love their enemies even as Heaven loves, could not have sung of his enemies, 'Confound his enemies, break his Self-lovers' breaks.' The last book that Dr. Wallace wrote set forth his deliberate conviction that the most material advance of science had added not an inch to the moral stature of Europe. The last war however has shown, as nothing else has, the selfish nature of the civilization that dominates Europe to-day. Every means of public morality has been broken by the nations in the name of virtue. No law has been considered too foul to be violated. The nations behind every crime is not religious or spiritual but purely material. But the Mussulmans and the Hindus who are struggling against the Government have religion and honour as their motives. Even the great massacres which have just shocked the country is reported to have a religious motive behind it. It is certainly necessary to purge religion of its materialism, but it is equally necessary to expose the hollowness of moral pretensions on the part of those who prefer material wealth to moral gain. It is easier to wear an agnate's boots than to wear them as a uniform received from the world-demon.

There however is no Indian set against individual or even national. Thousands of individual Europeans are dying above their consciences. I write of the tendency in Europe as reflected in her present leaders, England through her leaders is consciously crushing Indian religion and national sentiment under her boots. England under the false plea of self-determination is trying to exploit the oil fields of Mesopotamia which she is about to have because she has profited so much. France through her leaders is leading her sons to treasure Constantinople as soldiers and is shamelessly betraying her trust as a mandatory power by trying to kill the spirit of the Empire. President Wilson has thrown on the scrap heap his promise limitless peace.

It is the combination of evil forces which India is really fighting through non-violent non-co-operation. And these are the Non-Patrons, whether Christian or European, who feel that the only way to diminish non violence the proceeds of doing it by joining the non-co operation movement. With the honour of Islam is bound up the safety of religion itself and with the honour of India is bound up the honour of every nation. Listen to its words.

## PARIAHS OF THE EMPIRE

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The memorable Conference at Dardanelles on the resolution on the status of Indians showed how given it is to us again that even this question may become not more reason for non-co-operation. And so it may. Nowhere has there been such open debates of every name of justice and propriety as in the shameless language of manifestation of Indian rights in the East Colony sanctioned by its Government. This document has been supported by Lord Milner and Mr. Montagu. And the Indian colleagues are satisfied with the document. Indians who have met in West Africa, who outnumber the English, are so proud presently of the right of representation on the Council. They are to be segregated in parts not habitable by the English. They are to have neither the political nor the material comfort. They are to become Pariahs in a country made by their own labour, wealth and intelligence. The Viceroy is pleased to say that he does not like the outlook and is considering the steps to be taken to work into the picture. He is not met with a new situation. The Indians of East Africa had wanted him of the impending doom. And if Mr. Montagu has not yet found the means of removing violence, he is not likely to do it in future. I would respectfully ask the Indian colleagues whether they can stand the robbery of their countrymen's rights.

In South Africa the situation is no less deplorable. My colleagues seem to be growing tired, and representation is more likely to prove compulsory than voluntary. It is a response to the anti-Semitic agitation, not a measure of relief for indigent Indians. It looks very like a trap laid for the untary India. The Union Government appears to be taking an unethical advantage of a system of a relieving law designed for a purpose totally different from the one now intended.

As for Fiji, the arrangement honestly is evidently to be looked up. I do hope that unless an empire is built into the Fiji Market Law change, an Indian member will voluntarily to go to Fiji. The Government of India appears to have given an undertaking to send Indian Indians to Fiji provided the commission that was to proceed there in order to investigate the conditions on the spot returns with a favourable report.

For South Africa I observe from the papers received from that quarter, that the manner that came here is already declaring that Indian labour will be forthcoming from India. There seems to me to be no real prospect for Indian enterprise in that part of the world. We are not wanted in any part of the British Dominions except as Pariahs to do the menialing for the European nations.

The situation is clear. We are Pariahs in our own home. We get only what Government intend to give, not what we demand and have a right to. We may get the crumbs, even the hull. I have seen huge and tempting crumbs from a horse's table. And I have seen the eyes of our Pariahs—the slaves of

Handloom—highlighting is not these heavy weights filling these baskets. But the superior Hand, who is filling the basket from a safe distance, knows that they are safe for his own consumption. And so we in our turn may realize even Governmentship which the real values no longer require or which they cannot retain with safety for their material interest—the political and material hold on India. In a time we reached our true status.

### SWADESHI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Swadeshi propaganda has been going on in a more or less unbroken manner ever for the past eighteen months. Some of its results are our printing and printing; It has taken a fairly free hold on the Punjab, Madras and the Bombay Presidency. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving are steadily increasing in these parts. Several thousand copies have been distributed in houses where women never do any work before. And it seems much of this kind has not been done. It is due to want of workers.

There is however written more to note the mistakes of the past than to set up the bright side. My observations lead me to the conclusion that whilst the inauguration of the three yarn and five dala stores have greatly stimulated the Swadeshi spirit, it is no longer possible to advocate the taking of any of the three yarn or the opening of new Swadeshi stores for the sale of self-made cloth. The result of the propaganda has been to send up the prices of yarn and cloth rather than increase production. It is clear that the purpose of Swadeshi is not served until the quantity of yarn and cloth produced is increased. The gain therefore is merely moral and not material. The people have begun to perceive the desirability of wearing only Swadeshi cloth if the real interest of the country is to be advanced.

But it is clear that we must take practical steps for meeting the growing demand for Swadeshi cloth. One way, at least, is to increase the mills. But it is obvious that capitalists do not need popular encouragement. They know that India undoubtedly more cloth than is manufactured by our mills. But will do not spring up like mushrooms. It is a matter of getting machinery from outside, but even the difficulty of getting labour. And after all, India cannot become truly and economically independent so long as she must rely on the supply of machinery from outside for the manufacture of her cloth.

The easiest and the most popular form of Swadeshi, therefore, is to advocate hand-spinning and hand-weaving and to arrange for a judicious distribution of yarn and cloth so manufactured. With a little talent and a little industry this there is easy even to such home made as one find without difficulty, so may such home made be one's own. And not so in spite of every home having its own looms, reweavers machines to flourish, so will self-reliance to supply our individual needs. But

even so because of our private interests we would not share if every individual was through some accident blind, so would we, by reason of human spinning, not have to go naked even if every mill, by a mistake than the west, had to stop work. Not long ago, we have thousands of our own cotton independent and it is possible for us to expect that independence by a little effort, a little organizing agency and a little sacrifice.

Therefore when Swadeshi concerns is introducing the spinning wheel in every household and every household spinning its own yarn. Many a Punjab woman does it today. And though we may not supply our own cloth entirely, we shall be saving yearly masses of rupees. In any event there is no other Swadeshi than increased production by hand spinning and hand-weaving. Whether we take a hand spinning wheel or not we do not, it is not least necessary to understand what true Swadeshi is.

### DEMOCRACY

vs.

### MONOCRACY.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Looking at the current there is but a thin dividing line between mob-law and the people's law. And yet the distance is complete and well marked in all time.

Little is today quickly passing through the mob-law stage. The use of the sword signifies my hope. It may be our reluctance to have to pass through that process even in slow stages. But it is wisdom to adopt every means at our disposal to have done with that stage as quickly as possible.

There is much tendency on our part to yield to the rule of the mob. There was mob rule at least, on the 11th April 1930. There was mob rule at Ahmedabad on the same festival day. It is a potential undisciplined intention and therefore a new discipline, positive, worked and learned. We are disciplined, distressed, much more likely than any yet assembled by mobs. And yet war has been monopolized because we have been deceived by the temporary but brilliant results achieved by some men. So, if India has to achieve her freedom by violence it will have to be by discipline and heroism (under it is possible to associate heroism with violence) violence would not. It will then be an act not of necessity but democracy.

But my purpose is—by it will be that of necessity of the discipline type. I intend to deal with the type with which I am more familiar. The Congress are democrats for the mob and in that sense and that only. Through organized by discipline men and means it may be called a mob-demonstration. Our popular demonstrations are unquestionably mob-demonstrations. During the memorable hour of the Khilafat warms through the Punjab, Madras and Madras, I have had a series of mob-demonstrations. I have been advanced to violence at every meeting, though less through something disposition of power.

luggage by the volunteers who on their return of their boxes, have ignored everything else and everybody else. They have made much of the discomfort of their boxes, comfort and health none. They have trampled upon one another. They have allowed one another. All have shouted, all at the same time on the holy name of God and Jesus. The volunteers have been told, to give the same order at the same time. Volunteers often become demonstrators instead of training people police men. It is a task often dangerous always uncomfortable, let the leader to be connected through a broken chain of volunteers from the platform to the march intended for them. Often a very good march, although it should come as it is, the less sensitive are accepted, I can hear. The crowd instead of joining but protest it was in the future and who therefore appear to be protected. The crowd is taken possession of by anybody who dares, volunteers being the greatest enemies. The leader and other helpful organizers have to remain with the intention that they may not touch the footboards in that necessary feature. The head of the march is roughly handled by the participants. It is not often that I have seen heads of marches left unchanged by crowds. On the same street of crowd, during the events, they follow the march. The result is confusion worse confounded. Every witness there is larger of accidents. That there is rarely any accident at such demonstrations is not due to the skill of the organizers, but the crowd is determined to get up with all pushing and running to perform good however in spite of everyone judging everyone else, one has the slightest need to accommodate one's neighbor. To break the policy there is the meeting, an ever-growing stream of activity. The less nothing but disorder, the pushing, pulling and shoving, then, a good speaker arrests the attention of the audience and there is order such that you can hear a pin drop.

All the more this is necessary, that is at the mercy of the mob, to bring to them in sympathy between you and the mob, everything goes and immediately that a riot is broken, there is havoc. An Abundant speaks with all that gives you the mob goes along.

We must then order order out of chaos. And I have no doubt that the best and the speaker should be to motivate the people's are instead of with law.

One great stumbling block is that we have no fixed times. Many more of the radio in which is discussed is constantly motion. I have seen in European countries a successful experiment of police by starting a popular song regarding the maintenance of order of mobs. Unfortunately like our Shastee, crowd has been the proponent of the law, rather the better of prostrate or legs also religious display. It has never known considered in the matter more. If I had my influence with volunteer key agents and their financial organizations, I would

write compulsory a proper program in company of national songs. And in this and I should have great assistance attending every Congress or Conference and "meeting goes home".

With greater discipline, method and knowledge must be created from volunteers and no chance comes should be accepted as a halfhearted volunteer. His only leader rather than helping. Besides the consequences of the introduction of an untrained soldier. Finding his way into no easy at war. His own discipline is to a second. My greatest anxiety about non-cooperation is not the slow response of the leader, certainly not the well-meaning and even ill-meaning criticism, never unadmitted repression. The movement will overcome these obstacles. It will go to great strength from them. But the greatest obstacle is that we have not yet emerged from the mobocratic stage. Not my conclusion has in the fact that nothing is so easy as to form mobs, for the simple reason that they have no need, no prohibition. They act in a frenzy. They repeat quality. Our organized Government does not respect its British crown at Jhansi, Lahore, Kanpur, Aligarh, Banu Nagar etc. But I have shown here from repeated mobs at Durgamchalli and everywhere. I have known judgment of separation from those who learned the way during that crucial month of April. Non-cooperation is no discipline ever used in order to create harmony. And I respectfully urge all the working leaders to help by refusing to continue, in anticipation of a process of national purification, training and service.

Next week I hope to present observations of how in a mobocratic order was evolved out of such disorder. My faith in the people is boundless. There is an amazingly competent nature. Let not the leader distrust them. Distribution of responsibilities of non-cooperation when properly equipped means nothing less than distrust of the people's ability to control themselves. For the present I conclude this somewhat lengthy article by suggesting some rules for guidance and possible attention.

1. There should be no raw volunteers accepted by the demonstrators. Whoever come but the most experienced should be at the head.

2. Volunteers should have a general instructions book in their pockets.

3. At the time of demonstrations there must be a series of volunteers at which special instructions should be given.

4. At various, volunteers should not all be met at one point, namely, where the main gathering should be. But they should be posted at different points in the crowd.

5. Large crowds should never enter the station. They cannot but demonstrate traffic. There is no mob house in staying out or in entering the station.

6. The last duty of the volunteers should be to see that other passengers' luggage is not trampled upon.

7. Demonstrators might not enter the station long before the scheduled time for arrival.

8. There should be a clear passage left in front of the train for the passengers.

9. There should be another passage if possible left way through the demonstrators for the train to pass.

10. There should be no chain formed, it is humiliating.

11. The demonstrators must not move till the horses have reached their coach or till they receive a prearranged signal from an authorized volunteer.

12. National songs must be fixed and must be raised not any time, at any time or all the time, but just on the arrival of the train, on the horses reaching the coach and on the route at few intervals. No objections will be raised to this on the score of the demonstrators becoming monotonous and not spontaneous. The spontaneity will depend upon numbers, the response to the cries, above all the general look of the demonstrators, not in the greater number of songs or the length. It is the feeling that a nation possesses which characterises the nature of its demonstrations. A Mahatma is always ready, say in his capacity as a law demonstrator, that a Hindu temple-gate making a noise either through his voice or his gang or both.

13. On the route the crowd must have and not follow the carriage. If pedestrians form part of the moving procession, they must, steadily and in an orderly manner take their places and not at their own will join or shirk.

14. A crowd should never press towards the horses but should move away from them.

15. There is no last line at the circumstances should never press forward but give way when pressure is directed towards them.

16. If there are women in the crowd they should be specially protected.

17. Little children should never be brought out in the midst of a crowd.

18. All meetings whatever should be dispersed among the crowd. They should learn to give and receive help in order to pass restrictions from one to another when it is impossible for the voice to carry.

19. It is no part of the audience to preserve order. They do so by keeping motionless and silent.

20. Above all, everyone should obey volunteers' instructions without question.

This list does not pretend to be exhaustive. It is merely directive and designed to stimulate thought and discussion. I hope that all the vernacular papers will translate this article.

#### OUR NARRAN AGENTS

Messrs. S. GANESH & Co. (3 Madhavpura Chattri Street, Trichy, Madras) are our selected Agents for Mysore.

#### THREE NATIONAL CRIES

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

During the Madras tour, at Srirangam I had occasion to remark upon the national song and I suggested that it would be better to have cries about which there was a united sentiment to replace "Vande Mataram" and "Mahanadhi Shikha Shikha" by "Vande Mahatmanam" and "Bharat Mata". I had, however, previously had some talk with the Hindu-Muslim League, despite of the Hindu-Muslim unity he had observed that of Hindu-Muslim unity's nature, the Madras sang out with "Aloha Akbar" and vice versa. This is rightly and justly on the one and still showed that the people did not act with one mind. There should be therefore only three cries returned, "Aloha Akbar" to be joyously sung out by Hindus and Muslims showing that God alone was great and no other. The second should be "Vande Mahatmanam" (Hail Mahatman) or "Bharat Mata" (Victory to Mother India). The third should be "Maha-Mahatmanam" without which there was no victory for India, and as true demonstration of the greatness of God. I do wish that the newspapers and public men would take up the Mahatma's suggestion and lead the people only to use the three cries. They are full of meaning. The first is a prayer and a confession of our littleness and declares a sign of humility. It is a cry in which all Hindus and Muslims should join in reverence and gratefulness. India may not fight shy of Arab words when their meaning is not only totally different but even opposing. God is no respecter of any particular tongue. "Vande Mahatmanam", apart from its wonderful associations, expresses the one national wish—the rise of India to her full height. And I should prefer "Vande Mahatmanam" to "Bharat Mata" as it would be a general recognition of the intellectual and material superiority of Bengal, since India can be nothing without the masses of the Hindu and the Muslim heart. "Maha-Mahatmanam" is a cry which we may never forget.

There should be no disturbance in these times. Immediately when one has taken up any of the three cries the rest should take it up and not attempt to pull out their heads. Those who do not wish to join may refrain, but they should considerate towards others to intercede themselves when a cry has already been raised. It would be better too, always to follow on the three cries in the order given above. No doubt when a movement is started. One who knows an excellent jail when a popular leader is passing through a station. I doubt if the movement now does the slightest good to the nation except to provide an excellent exercise for one's lungs. Moreover it is necessary to think of one hour's service and not time. It is a national wish to keep him occupied in going of a crowd and making a cry or keeping or any other for full thirty minutes. We must maintain the sense of proportion.

**A MISSIONARY ON NON-CO-OPERATION**

The following letter has been received by Mr. Gandhi from Miss Anne Marie, waitress of the Danish Mission in Madras. Most personal references have been omitted.—

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I cannot thank you enough for your kindness and the way in which you answered me and I feel that nothing more or less could my letters. I have shown myself at the best of India. At the same time I know that as Christ abides in my blood and I have a longing and no desire but to live Him, my wonderful favours, and reward. But for those with whom I come in contact I just cling to His feet and pray with tears that I may not disgrace Him as we Christians have been doing by our inaction in India. We go on studying Christ while we long to produce the Power of His conversion by which He has conquered nations and we righteousness. If we who bear His name were true to Him, we would never bow ourselves before the Powers of this world, but we would always be on the side of the poor, the suffering and the oppressed. But we are not, and therefore I feel myself under obligation not only to Christ but to India for the sake of the tens of millions of ignorant people for her future.

Truly it matters little what I, a lonely and insignificant person, may say or do. What is my position against the common current the more to which I belong in taking and (what grieves me most) which the necessary sacrifice seems to follow? None of a respectable number presented it would not be of my use. Yet were I alone against the whole world, I would follow my convictions and my God.

I therefore do not feel sorry when I see people saying you should have created the defence of the Nation of Congress before starting the non-co-operation movement. You have a message for the country, tell the Congress in the name of the nation—do not let the matter & majority lose its right simply because it is a majority.

But we must try to win the majority. And it is easy to say, that say the Congress is going to be with you. Would it have done so if you had kept quiet and not lost your voice to the feelings of the people? Would the Congress have known the mind of India yet?

I myself was in much doubt before I heard you. But you answered me that that I was not such in the question of the Khilafat. I meant I was not what some people are doing in India, if you was present the Mahomedans from using the sword in order to take revenge and get their rights. I can see that if you spoke the Hindu and the Mahomedans, it will be a matter of time. Now I wish the Christian world also come forward and walk with you by the side of these country and the become not only of their Masterland but of Christ. I may not feel much for Turkey, but I feel for India, and I can see the [Indians] has no other way to protect against being completely done and crushed than non-co-operation.

I also want you to know that many in England and all over the world, you, I can not only from Christians, will feel with you in sympathy with India in this struggle which is now going on. God forbid that in this struggle between right and right, truth and untruth, the spirit and the flesh, there should be any division of men. There is not. The true struggle is going on all over the world. What does it matter that that we are a few? God is in our side.

There have often been to get the upper hand but righteousness always has and always shall conquer, be it ever through much suffering, and which may even appear to be a defeat, Christ conquered, when the world crucified Him. Blessed are the meek, they shall inherit the earth.

When I read your speech given at Madras it struck me that it should be printed in a pamphlet in English, Tamil, Hindustani and all the most used languages and then spread to every nook and corner of India.

The non-co-operation movement once started must be worked on as to become successful. If it is not, I stand to think of the consequences. But you cannot expect it to win in a day or two. It must take time and you will not despair if you do not reach your goal in a hurry. For those who have faith there is no time.

Now for the education of the children and students from Government schools, I think it a most important step. Taking the Government help, even if it is very small they pay you back we must submit to its orders, its rules and regulations. India and we who love her have come to the conclusion that the education the foreign Government has given you is not healthy for India and we certainly cover under her real growth. The movement would lead to independent educational schools. Let them be a few but let them spring up through self-reliance. Only by religious education can India be truly uplifted. Why then appeals so much to us as a people because I belong to the part of the Danish people who started their own independent, no dependence school system. The Danish Free Schools and Free-High-schools, of which you may have heard, were started against the opposition and permission of the State. The opposition was and there have represented the nation. With my truly heart-felt thanks and prayers for you,

I am  
Yours Sincerely  
Anne Marie

**THE FLU TRAGEDY**  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIAN UNION  
(To the Editor of the "Young India")

Sir,

After all the Government of India have expressed their views about the Flu tragedy. Mr. George Jackson replying to Mr. Denny's question regarding the Flu trade has said "In view of the very detailed account of the recent trade given in the dispatch of the Governor of Flu dated the 12th March last, which was published in the Gazette of India of the 17th July, the Government of India do not think that they would be justified in entering the territory of State for getting the Colonial Office to appoint a Commissioner to inquire into the origin of the recent trade and the measures taken to quell them." In the Government of India have concluded that "the very detailed account" given in the dispatch of the Governor of Flu is quite true, but by what steps have they come to this surprising conclusion we are not told. It is an unfortunate, the Government has not reached the conclusion of the situation at all. There are some of the facts and figures about the recent tragedy in Flu.

ANNALS AND STATISTICS

Outing telegraph wires—It was reported, was estimated for work, was suspended.

Bridge workings—17 men arrested and 20 arrested  
Working with minimum men and 2 women arrested  
and arrested for food

Unlawful assembly—2 men arrested and 2 arrested.

Intimidation—1 man arrested and 2 arrested

Wages—11 men and 3 women arrested and 20 arrested  
for food

Eviction Inhabitation—11 men and 12 women arrested,  
111 men and 14 women arrested, 40 men and 5  
women were dismissed, all arrested had

#### STRUCTURES

(1) Mr. Nandlal B. Maniwarid, III (Royal Mahara)  
and 177 (Royal Mahara) were arrested and 100  
houses in the houses are the houses

One was killed and many were wounded

Publicanaries or Mahara Law

A set of Mahara Law was promulgated according  
to the Public Safety in houses of Civil Commission  
Officers. The Government legislated against the  
Indians working in groups of more than ten or less  
of more than seven together under a roof. They were  
deprived of their shops and it was made penal for them  
to sit out of their houses without a permit

#### AMERICAN AND CANADA

The number of papers mentioned a very large. Many  
Indians who started to come out of their houses were  
beaten by the constables. Mr. Mahalal was arrested  
and Mr. Durgabhai was beaten.

#### HOUSE STRUCTURES IN THE AMERICAN

The ordinary people mentioned the law of Indians  
whose the supposed system had killed and captured these  
houses of all persons without distinction of age or sex.  
There are instances from the dispatch of the P. G. Govt.  
The Indians who had been participating in the  
class can take some lessons in the neighborhood. Civil  
Governing advised these houses to be demolished and  
seized all local houses to be destroyed, and collected  
in one spot. A party of 175 men and 14 women were  
marched there in the Police Station under escort.

#### AMERICAN STRUCTURE

Mr. Mahalal writes "The whole world resembles  
around women's bedrooms at night and who is there  
to give them against them? Women are beaten and  
beaten in houses and rarely separate up with or not,  
and men and women are supposed to accept and follow  
these conditions under the crushing eye of the men  
and women were to death and kept on beds or no  
bed. Men are dead or dying—no great party when it was  
to India a few are going to be killed in the beds, because  
have passed through the streets of men and women  
through the houses of others." Indians who have  
suffered from P. G. have used in their houses many things  
about the deplorable condition and various instances  
of the whole address towards the poor Indian women.

Add to these things the report of the working from  
Australia, address from New Zealand and the doing of  
the military or as estimated Indian cases and you will  
realize the seriousness of how cruel addition of the  
American house.

Obviously the Government of India because that  
the very detailed account of the Governor's dispatch  
is at least as surprising, for, the disappointing and un-

satisfactory reply given by the Governor has been  
in other manner. What is more unfortunate than the  
rest, this sympathetic reply of the Government of  
India will spell altogether the end of the P. G. Indians,  
who had been protected by a Royal Commission. The  
Colonial Office has even got a ready-made answer. They  
will just give the words of the Governor's "In  
view of the very detailed account given in the dispatch  
of the Governor of P. G. the colonial office does not think  
that it would be justified in appointing a Commission  
on the spot." The P. G. largely may be summed up in this  
way in a few words: hundreds of Indians men and  
women are arrested, searched and imprisoned, their  
houses are destroyed, and their houses are  
deprived. After the months after the Government of  
India comes out with an amazingly bold reply that they  
do not think that they would be justified in appointing  
for an independent enquiry! It is to be noted that  
the Governor has not even a single word about the P. G.  
except in his speech. In fact of these facts it is not  
a large piece to talk of "equal justice" within the Empire!  
The "London" was quite right when it wrote in its issue  
of the 4th June: "When a Government in  
India, with the sanction, or at all events, the approval  
of the Government of India, could treat British  
Indians indignantly as they have done, it would not be  
surprising if the Government of P. G. did the same. In  
fact, it is not surprising if the Government of  
India should be willing to improve upon these methods  
in dealing with men and women." And so the Government  
of India failed last year to exercise its authority in  
one instance, the official answer in the P. G. we would  
not be surprised if it has also failed to address inquiries  
and make arrangements to the P. G. Government  
on behalf of the Indian laborers."

So the Government of India has failed and failed  
again in their duty towards the Indians in P. G. But  
why should we blame the Government of India alone?  
Have not the people of India also failed in their duty  
towards the authorities in P. G.?

What have we done for them?

A conference by the Indian Association, a telegram  
by the secretary of the Congress, one meeting in Bombay,  
a few editorial articles and notes in the "Leader", the  
"Chronicle", the "Illustration" and some other papers, a  
speech by the Hon. Mr. Bhabha in the Council and that  
is all we have done for our countrymen in P. G. But  
a single Indian leader has taken up these cases in right  
earnest! How pathetic are the letters that I have re-  
ceived from the P. G. Indians. One of my correspondents  
writes "I will not elaborate anything else up the cases  
in a letter back from the jail of P. G."

What shall we do next?

Some non-official members of the Young's Congress  
should get a committee to visit the Government  
of India requesting them to allow a non-official Com-  
mission going to P. G. The Colonial Office ought to be  
asked to inform the P. G. authorities that no demands  
shall be placed in the way of the non-official commis-  
sion. If the Government of India do not think they  
would be justified in doing even this, then I think we  
shall have to stand in the Empire.

THURSDAY

Dr. Mahalal Mahalal



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by K. K. Gandhi)

17618

Year Seven  
Vol. II, No. 27

JANUARY, FRIDAY, JYESTHI 25, 1920

Price Two Annas  
Per Copy

CONTENTS	
	Page
<b>Articles</b>	
The Congress	1
Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi	2
Self-Denial and Non-Resistance	3
<b>Correspondence and Reviews</b>	
A Call to our Sons	4
A Salute to Gandhi	5
Mr. Gandhi's Congress-Speech	6
The Non-co-operation Resolutions and Amendments	7
Mr. Gandhi Interviewed	8

## THE CONGRESS

(By K. K. Gandhi)

Never has the Congress been called upon to make an issue so momentous as the one it was called upon to decide at its special session (concluded over by Late Lajpatrai). Never perhaps has the Congress witnessed such determined opposition as was offered to the non-co-operative resolution. And yet never before has any opposition, less a dissenting opinion, entered with such respect and tolerance to the opposing argument as it did at the last session. Again never has there been such united opposition shown to a Subject Committee resolution by the noted leaders of the party.

Mr. Das has a fine record of service to India. Prof. Madan Mohan Malhotra is a man to compare with. He has to his credit an unblemished record of many years' brilliant service to the country and an unblemished character. Mr. Das has a party now growing in influence and strength. I felt the late Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak's absence most keenly at such a juncture. Mr. Das has led the League. Mr. Keshav Dasg. Ayaz, the talented editor of the "Hindustan", led the United National party. All these and many other leaders unanimously opposed the non-co-operative resolution. I wanted that great audience against accepting my proposal unless they were prepared to refuse and were assured that their non-co-operation was possible only through the programme suggested by me. But the audience treated me, with a most unkindness. The voting was elaborately registered. The Congress party was elected for the purpose of voting. Late Lajpatrai personally represented the opposition. It lasted for six hours. All the provisions of the Central Resolutions and the Rules noted in favour of my resolution. The Central Resolutions

vote for my proposition 30		vote for the opposite 21	
For	For	For	For
Bombay	121	51	51
Madras	127	120	120
Bengal	151	103	103
C. P.	129	38	38
Uttar Pradesh	124	90	90
Assam	80	12	12
South	56	16	16
Dakshin	37	3	3
Other	104	50	50
Europe	14	4	4
C. P.	20	45	45
Other	4	10	10
Total		Total	
1022	373		

By resolution adopted the principle of the whole of the Khilafat Programme, even non-payment of taxes, and abroad for some time adoption, respect of India and non-payment of taxes, law courts by Muslims schools and colleges and returned students. Late Lajpatrai had proposed a motion to suspend the demand for demands until committee to establish national schools, formulate educational system and to suspend the demand. The motion was not carried. It was a fine motion, which should be the motto and then probably respecting educational system. This meant a virtual postponement of the real struggle to the next general session. The opposition therefore chiefly centred on the demand for demands. And the Congress has decided by an overwhelming majority that the demands must be suspended. I hope that those who do not believe that boycott of schools would give the attainment of Swarajya (independence) will work with all their might to achieve the purpose of the Congress.

An analysis of the votes shows that the country wants non-co-operation. Mr. Das was manfully, fearlessly and bravely opposed it and very few adherents. I do not propose to discuss the merits of the case at the present moment. My argument is before the country is in favour of boycott of schools and colleges. Nothing I heard on the Congress platform has shaken my belief in the necessity of the efficacy of these steps. But I would respectfully submit a few words to the majority and to the minority.

To the majority I would say. The hour of the greatest struggle is the hour of the greatest loyalty. The majority has taken upon its shoulders a tremendous responsibility. Every individual may

in favor of my proposal has certainly found favor with the parents, to withdraw his children from common schools subject in any way to Government control. Every other being a lawyer is bound at the earliest opportunity to request his province and promote the cause of nobleness of dispatch by private resolutions. Henry considers for the moment, who has voted with the majority, has undertaken to withdraw his children, every man votes to refuse from voting at the election. Every delegate voting with the majority has bound himself to abstain from opening and hand-weaving and in his own person to use only hand-loom and hand-woven cloth. Every part of the majority having accepted the principle of non-violence, self-denial, hand-loom cloth as right in non-co-operation is bound to meet the minority with respect and justice. We may not use physical or bodily non-cooperation then. We must endeavor by our citizens' position and by intelligently honorable methods to convert it to our views. Those who voted with the majority were either wool, or not wool, looms for despised the opinion of self-denial, children from schools for instance. But since they are clothed being engaged, mutual schools engaging this being, lawyers respecting justice and yet are starting, and the majority voted at law by the best of individuals, they will now begin to believe in the proposition, then their conduct and be themselves ready to vote so. We must not distribute the complaint with the majority is over it does not set eye to eye with us.

In the minority I would say, they have lost a bright light. Unless now the others it is a matter of conscience with them, they have since forward to promote the proposition of non-co-operation in a very superior manner. Those who think that the majority has previously voted we no doubt entitled to carry on a campaign of conscience of the majority in their views, it is the largest number in the majority has ever here accepted the principle of non-violence in private, abolition-society and mutual schools. They received only a proposition of the non-violence of the boycott of women. It requires us suggest to them now now that the majority has decided in favor of a question put, the minority should accept the verdict and help to make the proposition a success.

Export of foreign goods think a piece in my conclusion. I am sorry for it. I may not state how it came to feel a plain thing. But as it did not reflect with us, we cannot and we wish to show my responsibility. I wish to be more a reader in a whole world because we received by a letter from. Boycott of foreign cloth is included in French cloth. Boycott of all other foreign goods is a complete proposition of only French cloth is a total non-violence. But if the introduction of the up-dating committee to establish our interest and cooperation, it would be served a good purpose. It is especially our righteous duty to support every-thing foreign that is injurious and even something foreign that is necessary if we can position or management it to our country.

## TEACHINGS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND.

European nations have been more after less shifty, than economic policy according to their needs. History of England's economic policy is an apt illustration of the great cycles taken backward and forward as noted the particular needs of the time. The economic policy of England when it was just a-building would be more useful to us to-day than the latter stage developments.

At first only coarse cloth was made in England, and wool was exported to the Netherlands and fine cloth imported in return. From the mid-thirteenth England was noted for its wool, and thence came a great deal of domestic weaving. The first attempt at producing finished cloth was made by Thomas de Wintonif during the reign of Henry III. He introduced any cloth to be worn, that was not of English make, and was the first politician to maintain that England would live on her own resources and ought to be independent of foreigners.

Edward I followed him and also began to provide that the country should keep its wool for itself. In 1286 it was forbidden to export sheep. About the same time no foreign cloth was to be worn without a license from the king. Edward III also attempted changes to improve the woollen manufacture. The manufacturer was also encouraged by giving heavy export duties on wool, with the view of making it cheaper at home and hence clothed. This policy led to a stagnation on the part of England, and there was a suppression of high strength-requirements and consequently shortening.

With the growth of the cloth-trade the policy of protection was abandoned. By the end of the fifteenth period what were afterwards looked upon as cheap luxuries were viewed against the exportation of their wool—years in the reign of Henry VII the export of unmanufactured cloth was forbidden. Henry VIII attempted to encourage English wool-making by prohibiting the exportation of books printed or bound abroad. These were treated by the Government as the same principle as sheep. Even in the reign of Henry VIII only those cloths could be exported which were better in quality than the average price being 2 L to 3 L. Thus we have that was about to be exported would be demanded for to.

Now in this period we find all the elements of what is now known as the protectionist system. It was through such rigid protection of manufactures introduced through the agency of Government that Colbert had the foundation of French industrialism. And it will be by means of this system since it may take a different form here than that our industrial one be built. We have to track back our various disadvantages as distinguished from the other England or France. We are under an alien Government which is interested in our commercial competitors. It is the will of our producers and consumers that have to do the work of Heaven, and Colbert. We have however been engaged

suspension to him. It is mentioned in London that an important trade mission including not only cotton spinners, manufacturers and exporters but also trade representatives of the trade unions concerned, will be sent from Manchester to India in October to inquire into the prospects of exports of cotton goods. This project is stated to have the support of Mr. Amersyth, His Majesty's minister in Manchester for India, who has been recently advising the British manufacturers to establish selling agencies in India. It is expected that creation of a hundred agents may follow this mission. We ought to see our way to stand foursquare against the flooded products of these concerned countries to India the English and the Japanese tried to use what Finland were to England of the medieval period. England protected its wool and trade, we have now cotton to protect. If we ourselves have to run for our cotton no longer will the duties be this in quality of our wool for our trade, we will be stronger like Mr. Charles Cross. This is a regard cotton.

With regard to export of cotton we have to consider the measures that Henry VIII used against the export of horses. The Marquis Launay of Calcutta has been spinning near the mills year long. They rightly place the difficulty of making the agriculture. Foreign implemented agriculture may mean to replace our bullocks, we may be brought into the disposal of our cattle in good hand. This depends upon the foreign implements however well made our lands are. Working machines and industry both considered, we shall be completely self-reliant in the production of all things in our own hands. Already we have been importing foreign machines, and the result of such a policy has not been a success story last year the import of machines amounted to Rs. 1,00,000. China is a method of our agriculture, now the eggs, but the things have foreign sources or our foreign implements, we can have our place in our agricultural system. Speaking in this connection the President of the Mysore Economic Conference stated that with the old methods but with better and equal care or power the Mysore and world's N. India is much as it did today. Any system of promoting an agriculture and industry, against foreign interference and competition may be brought into our range by English economists. But it will be like a countryman suggestably looking after his recovery or the market that was suggested. We learned that the a market system can have effect to those who are the masters of self-protection, viz., Swadeshi.

#### NOTICE.

We have been informed by the Postal authorities that from 31 September 1920 only registered F. P. will be accepted. This would mean a further fee of 2 or for every F. P. we send. The F. P. system seems most unnecessary and delay full to ourselves and our readers. We hope our editorial subscribers will in future send money orders or some time, trouble and expense.

#### HAND-SPINNING AND HAND-WEAVING

These people were the blue of making in the age of economic hand-spinning and hand-weaving a national industry, but they forget there are millions of these countrymen in the age who for want of suitable competition are doing with a most miserable existence, and thousands who die of starvation and underfeeding every year, whereas only a hundred years ago hand-spinning and hand-weaving proved an immense gain to a people's health. The extent to which relief was provided by this industry is revealed by Mr. Dutt in his 'History of India. Victorian age' from the investigations conducted by Dr. Buchanan for some years, 1817-1820. Dr. Buchanan travelled throughout of the whole country and his observations and statistics revealed him that next to agriculture hand-spinning and hand-weaving was the great national industries. We make an apology for giving some of the facts and figures collected by Dr. Buchanan.

In the District of Feroz and Bahar with a population of 24,126 souls the number of spindles was 70,400. "By the greater part of these," states Dr. Buchanan "one only a few hours in the afternoon and upon the average estimate the whole value of the thread it is worth spun in a year is worth Rs. 2-3-0 giving a total annual income of Rs. 2,00,000 and by a similar calculation the raw cotton at the present price will amount to Rs. 1,75,000 having a profit of Rs. 1,00,000 for the spinner or Rs. 3-4-0 per spindle.

In the District of Shahjehan, spinning was the chief industry. The women were employed in spinning and upon an average the value of Rs. 1,25,000 a year. Delivering the value of cotton made women had done thing had to be added to the income of the District in which she belonged.

In the Shahjehan District with a population of 20,14,000 where all had to be provided to spin, 2,00,000 women spent a part of their time in spinning and each made an annual income of Rs. 44 after deducting the cost of cotton. This was added to the family income. In the Shahjehan District (population 1,70,475) 1,15,000 women found employment in spinning and made an annual income of Rs. 25 per head. In the Dinapore District (with a population of 200,000) cotton-spinning which was the principal manufacturing industry, the women have of all women of higher rank and of the greater part of the labouring women. These Rs. was the annual income each woman made by spinning in her afternoon hours.

In the Feroz District (population 2,004,000) all women considered spinning housework and a very large population of women of the District did some spinning in their leisure hours.

In eastern Mysore or women of all ranks except Brahmins brought cotton and wool in weekly parties, spun at home, and sold the thread to weavers. Men and Women have found a profitable occupation. In Coimbatore, the women of all the low class labourers were great spinners.

The statistics of weavers show that they also were as numerous as the spinners. In the Poona city and Dehar District, the total numbers of looms employed in the manufacture of shudhara and table cloth was 750 and the value of the cotton manufactures was Rs. 1,45,000 leaving a profit of Rs. 51,400, deducting the value of thread. This gave a profit of Rs. 105 for each loom worked by three persons or an amount of Rs. 30 a year for each person. But the greater part of the cloth weavers made coarse cloth for country use to the value of Rs. 1,10,000 after deducting the cost of thread. This gave a profit of Rs. 20 for each loom.

In Shindhad weavers worked in cotton only 7,225 looms of weavers worked in cotton and had 7,800 looms. Each loom made an annual amount of Rs. 500 a year and each loom required the labour of a man and his wife as well as one boy or girl. But as a family could not be supported for less than Rs. 40 a year Dr. Buchanan estimated that the income of each loom given above was undervalued.

In the Bhagalpur district were worked in all places a great many near the towns with fewer looms of silk and cotton combined, 3,775 looms were employed but the annual profit of each weaver employed in the mixed silk and cotton industry was estimated to be Rs. 40 besides what the weaver made.

For the weaving of cotton-cloth, there were 7,370 looms. Each loom yielded a profit of Rs. 25 a year. But by another calculation, Dr. Buchanan estimated it to be Rs. 35 a year.

In the Guwahati district there were 1,475 families of weavers possessing 3,714 looms and each loom brought an income of Rs. 35. Dr. Buchanan thought this was too low an estimate and believed that each loom brought an income of Rs. 50 in the year.

In the Shajapur district "Matta" cloth was manufactured. It consisted of silk, wool and cotton wool. 4,000 looms were employed in the work and it was said that each loom made 20 Rs. worth of cloth in a month, which Dr. Buchanan considered too high an estimate. About 500 looms were employed in making larger pieces in the form of Bedies.

In the Pannaji district was one weaver. In Coimbatore Mysore a coarse-cotton cloth for household use was produced a strong web fabric. Weavers who made cloth with silk looms earned 600 a day and those who used silk cloth earned 400.

Thus we see that scores of types were made by these spinners and weavers by following the old and honest calling. The decentralization of the industry—every village, town and district being always at the command as much supply as is needed—automatically facilitated the distribution and made the consumer from Bombay India and all parts of India, and ultimately profits that

he is a victim to-day. If we cannot return to these days—though there may be reason, except one very true and solid, why we should not—can we not at least to organize ourselves so as to do so—without much delay with the things which with which our markets are being dumped to day?

### A CALL TO OUR STATES

A Grand Free National Conference is being called.

Writing to several newspapers in India a few years ago, a member of the Grand Table group remarked that people in villages had not kept pace with those in cities. A similar remark may be made to-day, and with greater truth, in respect of that class of the land which is called "State" lands as distinguished from British India. People in our States have so long remained idle and helpless spectators of the manifold wrongs that have been passing over their motherland. Indifferently stood-astounded as they are, they have their own share of responsibility in the building up of their nation. The least they could do was to thrust out the national wrongs and take up their share in them. They have not even responded to the call of Swadeshi, perhaps only because it has a political association. Indeed Swadeshi is much more than British subjects. The Rajas and Ranas can easily depose the Swadeshi-ists. They by their paternal example can do the work of a thousand preachers. Unfortunately however, they are the worst offenders in this respect. They whom their power and power with foreign nations and nations. It is then for their subjects to reject the old sets and stand the State markets with home-made articles.

No doubt now and then one comes across instances where State authorities and people have engaged themselves in building up home-industries. One often reads in papers of the enthusiasm of the Mysorees in organizing home-industries. The Mysorees had that they have to fight out their way in face of the organizations that are more for the convenience of foreign exporting our raw material than for our own. It is the plight of the whole of India that raw material collection in the very place of its production, then is distant when it is Bombay. It was for this reason that the Director of Industries and Commerce of the Mysore State was asked by a State order to arrange for the supply of raw materials to the home-workers. The question of exportation will be more and more serious as the stimulus of Swadeshi, raw cotton in Bombay market. The States that grow cotton, will have to meet the difficulty local sale of cotton, as it disappeared with the local spinning and weaving, will have to be renewed with the revival of spinning and weaving. The old, honorable class of weavers is fast dying out and it therefore stands money support before a state in its own legs. This huge work of organizing the States and British India together have to shoulder. British India has led the

way and is further pledged to it by the Congress resolution. Suggestions for successful organisation are pending in Mr. Harrell's articles and Industrial Revival in India, propose a scheme which deserves the serious attention of all those who have the good of Hindustan at heart. Another scheme on the lines of co-operative schemes is set before the public by Cap. Dattal. Whichever scheme we may prefer, it must pass the simple test. It should not be entering self-interest in respect of the summaries of life for the general profane. The scheme should also, if put into execution, interfere as little as possible with our neighbourly trade or purchases in preference to the more distant one. It is true that we all hesitated, but today, and also for the reasons that I stated, either as necessary or for the part of Hindu and British subjects whose economic interests are so consistently interwoven.

Whether the political problems of India affect both British India and British India equally or differently, and whether the latter should join hands with these Indian-organisations in British India, are grave questions which cannot be lightly disposed of but which need serious attention from both. Anyhow, even if it be decided that the State subjects should do their bit by solving the present political problems, it is better that British India, desirous the more advanced part of the country, should make a beginning even just as in British India itself according to the Congress resolution, classes are to give the lead in working and discipline. It is however necessary that the State subjects as legislators their march that there should be no such striking gap between the two parts of the nation as was observed by our Honoured Table friend in respect of villages and cities. And for such a synthesis of these march the State subjects should take up the question of Hindustan without any delay.

#### A SCHEME FOR SWAZISEL

The Hon. Mr. R. Dargwara has been favoured as with the following extract from the "Articles and Industrial Revival in India" by Mr. Harrell, which we gladly make room for. The reader may not be forgetting that the Swaziland Department of the Fitzgibbon Scheme is being run on the same lines as the scheme suggests.

"It should be understood that though good management would undoubtedly secure a fair return on the capital invested, the first object of a scheme should not be to secure dividends for the middle class investor, but to get a great industrial industry upon a sound economic basis—on a basis which should carry economic credit to the whole-hearted support of every Swaziland reformer. I would fix the initial capital at one lakh of rupees, a sum amply sufficient to finance fifty model weaving villages with an average of one hundred weavers in each. It would equally well be started with half a lakh

of rupees and twenty-five villages. The scheme should be managed by a Committee or Board of Directors, located at a suitable centre, where a depot for the yarn, dyest, and all other raw materials of good quality required by the weavers should be established. In charge of each of the fifty or twenty-five local houses—the weaving villages—there should be a trained manager capable of instructing the weavers in the use of the fly-shuttle and other simple mechanical improvements such as those now used in Benares. To win the confidence of weavers should be the local manager's first aim: over. At first he should have himself in working on the lines of Mr. Macintosh's scheme, relating to the weavers at a small profit the materials supplied from the central depot, at the same time the security of financial status to help them over the start season, and assisting them to dispose of their cloth in the best markets, etc. Gradually he should show the most intelligent of the weavers the use of simple labour-saving appliances and supply them free of cost with being to return after three months trial, a fair percentage of the increased output which they were enabled to make by the use of them, some of the Members of the Central Board, or Inspectors appointed by them, would have to visit the local weavers from time to time to satisfy themselves of the conduct of the local managers.

"I believe that in less than three years under a scheme of this kind, the first fifty or twenty-five model weaving villages would send little further assistance. The best weavers, at least, would be released from the clutches of the local Serrans, and would have realised the advantages of simple labour-saving appliances. The Directors of the scheme would then, of course, devote their attention to other centres. With men of good business capacity and power of organisation at the head of it, the scheme would do more for India in ten years than all the Technical Schools have done in fifty. India does not require to create the industrial skill for her great weaving industry, the skill is already created. It is only cordially wanted for want of proper organisation.

"The scheme of Mr. Macintosh, I. G. S., referred to here is that, while he was Collector of Malabar in the Bombay presidency, he took interest in reviving the lost weaving industry by making arrangements to provide the weavers with raw materials on reasonable terms, advancing them such of reasonable rates in the start season and assisting them to obtain the best market-places for their labour. In three years the number of three hundred weavers had greatly increased, twenty-five of them had paid off all their old debts, and recovered their mortgaged property from the Serrans, and at the same time the scheme itself had given a fair dividend on the capital used."

### MR. GARDNER'S CONGRESS-SPEECH.

Mr. Gardner moved his resolution on non-co-operation with the following speech.—

I am aware, more than aware, of the grave responsibility that rests on my shoulders in being privileged to move this resolution before this great assembly. I am aware that my difficulties, as often yours, because of you are able to accept this resolution. I am also aware that the adoption of my resolution will mark a definite change in the policy which the country has hitherto adopted for the maintenance of the rights that belong to it, and its honor. I am aware that a large number of our leaders who have given the time and attention to the affairs of my movement, which I have not been able to give, are ranged against me. They think it is duty to count the policy of non-co-operation, the Government's policy at any cost. Knowing that I stand before you as one of God's children of duty to put their belief on the part of your hearty cooperation.

#### THEIR EXPRESSION

I ask you to listen to me, for the last time, from your consideration. I have been charged with sickness and a desire for quietness. I continue to say that I do not stand before you either as a man or a craftsman for quietness. I stand before you to present to you the results of my many years' practical experience in non-co-operation. I think the change that it is a new thing in the country. It has been accepted as a method of working attended by thousands of men, and has been placed in working order since the first of August by the Government, and many of the things in the programme are being achieved to a more or less extent here. I ask you again to discuss impartially in the consideration of this important question, and bring to bear patient and able judgment as to the true significance of the resolution, then not the work. Every individual has to follow the same of the resolution, that is to say as they apply to him. I demand you to give me a patient hearing. I ask you neither to stop me to him. I do not demand that as I am a man, but I demand that the law of thought, discipline and training under the process of non-co-operation become a speaker and his audience. You will not have out of the range my rights speaker. For non-co-operation is a manner of discipline and method and a standard practice and range for specific work. And when we were able to create a spirit of mutual interest, for the shamelessly selfish work, non-co-operation is an responsibility. Non-co-operation is an every man for an responsibility. I have heard through bitter experience the one agrees, hence to receive my offer, and as has occurred to me in the country, even in our days controlled can be transferred into a power which can move the world. To those who have been attending the Congress, as leaders to come I ask what can be better change than that, which we should receive between ourselves.

I have been told that I have been doing nothing but weeping and that by bringing forward the resolution I am bringing up the political life of the country. The Congress is not a party organization. It exists to provide a platform for all shades of opinions, and a solidarity need not mean that organization, but may look forward to establish itself into a majority, in course of time,

if an overwhelming force be the contrary. Only let us stick to the basis of the Congress—non-co-operation policy which has been established by the Congress. And if you continue my policy I shall not go away from the Congress, but shall stand with them to convert the minority into a majority.

#### EXPERIENCE UNDER EXPERIENCE.

There are at two aspects as to the wrong done to the Kutchi, Muzumbari and other as low-caste men and before that Panchajit they do not maintain their honor at any cost. The Panchajit has been cruelly, brutally treated, and therefore as a man in the Panchajit we made in an act on his side the work of India created on her belly and of we are worthy men and daughters of India we should be pledged to remove these wrongs. It is in order to remove these wrongs that the country is agitating itself. But we have not been able to touch the Government's wrongs. We cannot even struggle with a more vigorous of angry feeling. You could not have had a more prominent demonstration of the Panchajit wrong than in the pages of the Presidential address if the Congress cannot work, justice from our side, hands for our work, in our own and in the interest. How can it do so if it cannot remove their indignation, before receiving a single gift, however small, from their kind-hearted hands.

#### REMOVE THE GREAT OF NON-CO-OPERATION

I have therefore placed before you my scheme of non-co-operation to remove this evil and want you to expect my other actions, unless you have different help even to the resolution that it is a better scheme than mine. If this is a resolved speaker in my scheme, I make bold to estimate my statement that you are your language in the course of my year. But the passing of the resolution will bring change, but the enforcement of the resolution from day to day in a progressive manner, does regard being had to the conditions in the country. There is another remedy before the country, and that is changing of the event. If that was possible India would not have taken to the ground of a non-co-operation. I want to suggest to you that even if you want to avoid a system by methods of violence, discipline and self-sacrifice are necessary. I have not known of a war gained by a method, but I have known of a war gained by disciplined action and if you want to give battle to the British Government and to the national power of Europe we must have discipline in discipline and self-sacrifice. I realize I have become impatient. I have another one thousand things to say, but we have not yet the spirit of national sacrifice. We have not yet thought of national affairs, and I have come to ask you to attend it. In other affairs I have been travelling from one end to the other of the country to see whether the country has received the national spirit, whether or the other of the nature of it ready to debate the nation, children, etc. all, if it was ready to make the national sacrifice. Is the country ready? Are the children ready to receive the first of the? Are parents ready to receive the first of the children of their children for the sake of the country? The schools and colleges are really a factory for making out checks for Government. If the parents are not ready for the sacrifice, if the children are not ready, strength is very easily an responsibility. We cannot bring order to other nations, we cannot give us a look of the non-co-

day starting in thoughts, inspired by the inspiring action. Immediately the inspired country resolved its majority that any political rights were to be won for the benefit of the masses, but for the benefit of the masses, that moment it should reject every form of voluntary submission to law. There are the basic moral standards of success in the struggle for the independence for the country, whether within the Empire or without the Empire. I hold a real educational unity between Hindu and Mohammedan is absolutely essential to the British cause and if I had to make a choice between the unity and the British cause, I would have the first and reject the other. If I had to choose between the honour of the Empire, stability, respect of others, and taking out of all legislative activity, and British interests, I would choose the honour of the Empire and if it means, even expatriation, striking out of all schools etc, without slightest hesitation.

If you have the same feeling burning in you as in me for the honour of India and the Empire then you will unreservedly accept my resolution.

#### DISCUSSION BY MEMBERS

I am sure in the future, before the Empire of the outside the great differences of opinion existed regarding this, and if the issue has to be decided, it should be decided. It is most desirable you will accept this as a moral clause in our case as whether Congress has to be passed through the courts or without the courts. It is most desirable that the British Government and we have a clear view as clearly independent how can you believe that the matter will lead to Congress and not against the British left in India.

#### DISCUSSION

I am sure to conclude. The beyond of foreign goods is included in the resolution. You have got here, I am sure, an assembly for which I am not originally responsible. But I have accepted it as I will not go into the history of how it came to pass into the condition, of which the success in discipline and self-control. It is therefore a matter of expediency. But I have taken it as, because I could not reject it as a matter of conscience. I have, however, it as a physical expediency. So long as we have to reject the past and ourselves and henceforth we are not being about a complete boycott of foreign goods. It is not possible to say that there were the moral boycott, if I may state it without really, of the programme. I feel that these words do not the opportunity of the programme. But I can not have the opportunity of the programme as for the worldability.

I repeat to you not to be influenced by generosity. Forget out of your consideration my words that I have done. You things only I have. Independence is not a great thing, because my programme, and withstanding determination to bring it about. You may take only those things from me, and bring them to me on my programme that you adopt.

#### OUR INDIAN AGENTS

Messrs. S. Gurner & Co. (S. Madras) 100, Chetty Street, Triplicane, Madras.] are our well-trusted Agents for Madras.

## THE NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION.

### MR. GANDHI'S RESOLUTION

In view of the fact that on the 14th day, 1930 both the Indian and Imperial Governments have equally failed in their duty towards the Mohammedans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them and that it is the duty of every Mohammedan Indian to every legitimate manner to meet his Mohammedan brother as his attempt to remove the religious violence that has prevailed here.

And in view of the fact, that in the matter of the events of the April of 1930 both the said Governments have greatly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Empire and punish those guilty of an unprovoked and heinous behaviour towards them and have committed the Mohammedans who proved themselves justly or unjustly responsible for the acts of the said violence and failure to the suffering of the people placed under his administration, and that the House in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and brutalities adopted in the Empire and that the latest Government pronounced a good and stable chance of independence to the masses of the Mohammedans and the Empire.

The Congress of opinion that there can be no settlement in India without the aid of the two chambers based on the fact that the only effective means to achieve such a settlement is to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future to the satisfaction of the Empire. This Congress is in favour of opinion that there is no sense left open for the people of India but to approach and adopt the policy of non-co-operation and violent non-cooperation until the end wrongs are righted and Congress is established.

And henceforth as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto benefited and privileged classes and members of Government authorities for power through their and through bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, the law courts and the legislative councils, and Government as it is desirable in the programme of the movement to take the maximum risk and to call for the best possible sympathy with the attainment of the desired object, the Congress hereby resolves—

- (1) withdrawal of Indian and temporary classes and resignation from all official posts in India India,
- (2) refusal to attend Government Courts, Districts, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their houses,
- (3) general withdrawal of children from schools and Colleges and refusal to attend or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges establishment of National Schools and Colleges in the various Provinces,
- (4) general boycott of British Goods by boycott and boycott of all establishments of private individuals owned by them and for the withdrawal of private deposits,
- (5) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves or services for service in the Empire,
- (6) withdrawal by members of their constitutions for giving to the Government Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may support the Government unless after being in the opinion,

(2) The reports of foreign goods, and imported raw-materials has been considered as a source of cheapness and self-reliance without which no nation can make real progress, and research as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of non-co-operation in every man, woman, and child, for such discipline and self-reliance, the Congress always adheres to. It is in progress as a necessity, and research in the making, only of India with indigenous capital and method for its manufacture without any aid and without the requirements of the State, and are as likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress always commends establishment of further manufactures in a large-scale by means of reviving handicrafting in every town and hand-weaving in the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honorable calling for wretched unemployment.

#### MR. PALSI ABHISHEK.

Whereas in the matter of the events of April 1942 both the Indian and the Imperial Governments have greatly neglected or failed to protect the interests of the European people of the Far-Eastern people whom they are nominally and barbarous behaviour towards them and have associated Sir Michael O'Dwyer with proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the blood and violence in the aftermath of the people under his administration and that the debate in the House of Commons and especially in the House of Lords betrayed a total lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the measures and legislation adopted in the Far-East.

And whereas the bulk of the European community in India, officials and non-officials, have expressed their sympathy with the real policy of lawlessness and lawlessness and not merely making India and taking other steps to keep them who have been proved to be policy of rule of the British and terrorism.

And whereas in the Chamber of Deputies both the Indian and the Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Marabout of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them.

And whereas the Government of the British Empire and the British people have refused as proposed in the Peace Treaty as a source of prospective danger to India.

And whereas the only effective remedy against these measures is the immediate recognition of India's right to full autonomy.

It is resolved (1) that the Prime Minister be asked to present a measure composed of representatives Indians to be selected by the All-India Congress Committee to lay before him the statement of India's government coupled with a demand for immediate autonomy, (2) that in case of his refusal to receive the matter or in the event of his refusal to receive the British Act of 1935 by a common agreement, full autonomy to India, a policy of such nature may be considered as adopted to avoid any doubt in the minds of the British people that India can no longer be governed in a despotic way, (3) that in the meantime the Congress is committed to the strategy for the purpose of a complete and total independence, (4) that the

British Government of non-co-operation with non-co-operation, abstention and withdrawal either for the whole of India or for particular provinces to suit special conditions may be recommended by a joint committee consisting of (1) twenty representatives of the Indian National Congress, (2) five representatives of the All-India Muslim League, (3) five representatives of the United Provinces Committee, (4) five representatives of each of such Indian State League as accept the principle of non-co-operation, with Mahatma Gandhi as the president of the joint committee, (5) that in the meantime the Congress recommends the immediate adoption of the following measures as preparatory to the total ending of the present of Mahatma Gandhi's programme—(1) the abolition of the abolition in the principle of non-co-operation, (2) the establishment of national schools, (3) the establishment of self-reliance units, (4) transaction of affairs and such necessary affairs as are not interfered by the will of the people, (5) refusal to attend Government offices, (6) refuse not only other functions, (7) the suspension of labour save such services, (8) the general withdrawal of Indian capital from European banks and such other industrial and commercial concerns in India as are controlled by Europeans, and also of Indian labour from such concerns, (9) refusal in the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for services outside India except in the event of a foreign service, (10) the abolition of Statehood, especially in provinces, on a new scale, and the removal of law-enforcing and law-making

#### MR. GANDHI INTERVIEWED

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed in questions of Indian news, made a definite statement of his views. He said the dispatch of the Governor of P.W. was corrected and would be withdrawn almost at once. He disapproved the idea of sending out a commission to P.W. on Indian conditions unless the commission is armed with power to investigate the actions of the natives. He would oppose any attempt to encourage migration to P.W. He would advise Indians to P.W. to return to India.

As regards New Britain, Mr. Gandhi said the Government of that place was prejudiced, partial, and anti-Indian. The Indians there should vote en masse and withdraw. They must organize themselves. They were powerful enough to resist the violence of the white police.

Mr. Gandhi was very set in favour of a single Indian Government going to British Guiana. Being asked as to how he proposed to visit the Indian abroad now that he had taken up non-co-operation, he said his health on British conditions had been shattered. Till they had obtained complete responsible Government they would keep away from the Government in the event of the police in India the presence of these countries abroad, and the absence of independence of the country would be such that Government cannot resist its presence and would be compelled to take effective steps, because any wrong brought in their action would speed the process of non-co-operation and to that extent the process of disintegration of the form of slavery, injustice, and exploitation which dominated the Government of India and the Imperial Government at the present moment. They would continue to call public meetings and house party on





The map of our brains is now filled during the closing years of the 'corrupt' century. Mr. Socrates could not have his assistance in the Temple. The Indian victims of Jallianwala died in 1914, the English victims of non-co-operation passed here. The officials who were guilty of crimes against those whose murders they were, were expatriated. And the scoundrels were admitted. If India were powerful, India would not have stood this addition of death to her injury.

I do not blame the British. If we were weak as nations as they are, we too would perhaps have resorted to the same methods as they are now employing. Terrorism and discipline are weapons out of the strong but of the weak. The British are weak as nations, we are weak as spite of our numbers. The result is that such as dragging the other down. It is common experience that English men have no character other conditions in India and that Indians has no courage and discipline by contact with Englishmen. This process of weakening is good neither for us, two nations, nor for the world.

But if we Indians take care of ourselves the English and the rest of the world would take care of themselves. Our contribution to the world's progress and therefore success in setting our own house in order.

Training is wrong for the present as well of the question. I go step further and believe that India has a better chance for the world. It is within her power to show that she can achieve her destiny by pure self-reliance as a self-organization. This can be done only by non-co-operation. And non-co-operation is possible only when there is no connection to or dependence upon the process of materialism. If we can cut free ourselves from the material ways of Government-controlled schools, Government law-courts and legislative councils, and truly control our own education, regulate our discipline and be indifferent to their legislation, we are ready to govern ourselves and we are only then ready to set the Government servants, whether civil or military, in charge, and the tax-payers in charge of payment of taxes.

And it is such an important proposition to expect parents to withdraw their children from schools and colleges and establish their own organizations or to ask lawyers to suspend their practice and devote their whole time and attention to national service against payment, where necessary, of their maintenance, or to ask candidates for examination to enter schools and lend their powers or services unconditionally to the legislative machinery through which all control is exercised. The movement of non-co-operation is willing but unwilling to realize the true form of the March from all the support under which it is hidden and to show that India has by itself means for our stage success and aid.

But I frankly confess that, and the three are different methods by me was failed, there is no

way. We may not go on taking our college degrees, taking thousands of papers monthly from students for whom which can be finished in five months and making the innocent delight in making soldiers, take so the normal force and still expect to give national self-reliance.

The best thing out the best important part of the days still remains to be considered. That is Swadeshi. And we get abandoned Swadeshi, we need not have been in the present false state. If we would get rid of the economic slavery, we must manufacture our own cloth and of the present material only by hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

All this means discipline, self-denial, self-sacrifice, improving ability, confidence and courage. If we show that in one year during the course that to-day meant, and under public opinion, we certainly gain Swadeshi within one year. If I am told that some who had have not these qualities as we, these qualities will never be Swadeshi for India, but that we shall have a right to blame the English for what they are doing. Our education and its title are solely dependent upon us.

#### SOME ILLUSTRATIONS

(I. D. H. Gurdial)

I presented in my article on Democracy vs. Monarchy in previous issues of my magazine with of my own experience, I was however unable, owing to the protracted Congress proceedings, to give those characteristics the work. I do so now. When we reached Madras, a large crowd awaited us at the station. Our compartment was crowded and fortunately drove up in front of a reserved platform. What would have happened, if we had to fight together with the other passengers in a later compartment than described. But even so the reserved platform we were not able to get out for some time. The volunteers were in the way. Instead of dispersing themselves among the crowd and keeping it back, they clustered together to do as leaders as they thought. The result was that the pressure was all directed towards where they and we were standing and there a ring had become the usual work of non-cooperation. The forming a ring is a humiliating spectacle and yet it has become such an institution that even when there is no one else but volunteers a ring is formed round the leader to be "honoured".

To prevent with my description, the crowd was large, the volens they made were so large that the directions given by the volunteers could not be heard at all. All was chaos. My good luck was very moment in danger of being crushed in a pulp. I often very nearly lost my balance through the jostling of the very volunteers who were trying to protect me. And but for the very good men with whom they grouped me and the assistance rendered to them by the student Mahatma Shrihari Aji, I would have had more work than I did. The atmosphere was suffocating. Those struggling

It took scarcely three quarters of an hour to reach the water, and whereas ordinarily it would not have taken three minutes to walk out of the station to the porch having reached the car it was no easy job to get into it. I had to be shoved into it in the best manner possible. I certainly heard a sigh of relief when I found myself in the car, and I thought that both the Madras and I deserved the credit we received from the crowd after the dangerous station; we had gone through. With a little less thought this necessary, for such it was could have been changed into a splendidly organized and effective demonstration. And it would have been a direct line of all rail to life. The appearance of Madras was typical of most. We had an atlas military experience, at least on our way to Salim. I was fairly fagged out. My voice had become hoarse with speaking. At all my stations there was here too a *madam*, *madam*. It was thoroughly disappointing, though this everywhere also perfectly good humoured and respectful. I appealed to them not to make all kinds of commercial noises, told them to suppose to my orderly women as they had already seen or I told them the fact if they intended to take their share in the rebellion and the Punjab struggle, they were expected to undergo discipline. I was able to make my name in the most intelligent way. I suggested that they should quietly run down towards the station entrance and nobody return. They listened to me, followed and the station was cleared in two minutes time. If the friends, who had no, had begged, argued, objected and insisted on objection, and reasoning, the whole crowd would have been riotous and there would have been a pandemonium throughout the long time that the train stopped there.

I shall finish this description by giving the resume of our experience at Jalapet. We were troubled by the Madras by the night time leaving Bangalore. We had been taking meetings at Salim during the day, moving to Bangalore - a distance of 125 miles from Salim, taking there a meeting in evening and thereafter we had to return. We started night's rest but there was none to be had. At almost every station of importance large crowds had gathered to greet us. About midnight we reached Jalapet station. The train had to stop there nearly forty minutes or stopped that night all those terrible minutes. Madras Minister Sir requested the crowd to disperse. But the more he argued, the more they shouted "Madras Minister killed" or evidently thinking that the Madras could not mean what he said. They had come from twenty miles' distance, they were waiting there for hours, they were here their satisfaction. The Madras gave up the struggle, he pretended to sleep. The others therefore assumed the best-intent to have a jump at the Madras. As the light in our compartment was put out they brought us lanterns. At last I thought I would try. I rose, went to the door. It was a signal for a great shout of joy. The train here we to proceed.

I was so tired. All my appeals proved fruitless in the end. They would stop for a while to receive the news again, I said the engineers. But the crowd was not to be baffled. They tried to open the windows from outside. They must see us both. And in the train's work on till my car took it up. He leaving said them, appealed to them for the sake of the other passengers. He promised more what and there was a little less noise. Keeping however went on to the last minute. It was all well-meaning, it was also a rebellion of boundless love, pitiless, hard, but nevertheless. It was a noble outbreak of mood. There were no intelligent use of violence among them and no nobody intended to any body.

Before we can write real history, we must first have masses of men who have a heart of gold, who love for the country, who want to be taught and led. But a few intelligent, nature, hard workers are a deal and the whole nation can be organized to act intelligently, and democracy can be evolved out of anarchy. The solution is really the first step to successful, national non-co-operation.

### SWA-MINI STORES.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

In a province where I endeavored to show how dear for the sake of selling and manufacturing did not always flourish in any way whatever, but on the contrary tended to end up the price of cloth. I propose to show in the article here with a small capital, it is possible to advance true Swadeshi and save a nation bankrupt.

Suppose that there is a lady possessing of husband, wife and two children one of whom is ten years old and the other five. If they have a capital of Rs. 500, they can manage a Khaddar Store for in a small way. They can have, say in a place with a population of 20,000 inhabitants they wish a selling room for Rs. 10 per month. If they sell the whole of the stock at 10 p. a price they can have Rs. 20 per month. They have no overheads. The wife and the children at their spare time would be expected to help in keeping the shop tidy and looking after it when the husband is out. The wife and children can also derive their spare time to spinning.

In the initial stages the Khaddar may not sell at the shop. In that case the husband is expected to leave the Khaddar from time to time and purchase it. He will soon find a custom for it.

The reader must not be surprised at my suggesting 10 p. a profit. The Khaddar Swadeshi are not designed for the present. The use of Khaddar were at least half the cost and necessarily because the Khaddar is more durable (though that it certainly is) but because the use revolutionize our habits, I know what saving of money do we have meant to me. Those who buy Khaddar lose payments, receive salary, can easily afford to pay 20 p. a profit on Khaddar. Every the population of Khaddar means much more, devotion and labour. And the owner of a Khaddar Swadeshi does not buy it at a wholesale price but he must Swadeshi to get the best Khaddar, he must visit the local weavers and induce them to

were laid open, the most desirable is the very special handling among the women. The most usual is to wash the so-les and get them to work again. All the means such as hygiene, vaccination and great stiffs. A man who was asked these questions has a right to take 10 p. a month, and a Swadeshi Khandar conducted on these lines becomes a true centre of Swadeshi activity. I commended my remarks to the situation of the managers of Swadeshi stores that are already in existence. They may not revolutionize; they needed at once but I have no doubt that they will advance Swadeshi only to the extent that they will flourish.

### THE DISTRESS IN PUNJ.

(By M. K. Gurdia.)

I reveal the situation of the readers to the latest report of the Puri districts.

The response made hitherto has been generous but not enough to cope with the distress in full. Volunteers are becoming scarce owing to the preoccupations of the distress. They have to be replaced by paid workers. The committee has been obliged for want of funds to cut down the number of workers and the Government of Bihar and Cochin will not release emergency workers. The committee needs at least Rs. 50,000. I take that the generous readers who see the appeal will not be slow to respond. An eye-witness who claimed to go to Puri from Durgam told me that he saw a hungry man die in his presence. He had walked to the place where relief was being given. He was too exhausted to live to get relief. Only the other day an Gurlya was found at the end of a scorching mile because he was unable to bear the pangs of hunger. He was dropped with the grace of attempting to commit suicide. The grateful Magistrate, probably disappointed him and gave him Rs. 50 from the pocket.

What do these sadistic facts tell? Distress is distress in the land. We have something of Puri hunger here & has become acute. But in India, it may be held to be a crime to spend money on dinner and marriage parties, tom-toms and other tomfoolery as long as millions of people are starving. It would not have a heart if a family of a member was about to die of starvation. If India is ever healthy, we should have the same feeling as we would have to a private family. But whether we concern ourselves generally with every Indian or with a member of our own family or whether we do not, let us hope that every one will help to relieve the acute distress that is now going on in Puri.

Now, let us hope, will the death of the Khandar-stories. Such love costs less, discourages resistance from offering their assistance. Mr. Nair has died with a dying in harness. Any day with a death in battle has a death from distress. In India it is an article of faith with the most ignorant people that the soul survives the body and means for itself a better one or worse according to its

actions, death ought not to matter so much as it seems to do. Mr. Nair will return to the world with a holy letter equipped for the work before him. And with that faith in us we must believe to secure over his death and rejoice that he had the good fortune of meeting his death which engaged in relieving distress among fellow beings.

### PURI FAMINE

REPORT BY THE PEOPLE'S PUBLIC RELIEF FUND.

For the month of August, 1943.

Though during August distress increased, due to floods in the various districts of the Puri Division, which pass through Puri-District relief work has to be perturbed for want of sufficient funds. At the end of July, 14,511 persons were being relieved by gratuitous issue of rations. It was, at the end of August the number had to be reduced to 8,500, owing down three tenths of relief completely. Excess stores from various centres accumulated as shown below.

Centre of relief. Head quarters. Relief villages.

		total
Balasing	1,212	147
Bahadur	208	55
Bhatnagar	1,698	81
Debag (District)	1,407	133
Dist. Puri	544	88
Jenani	1,885	46
Paik	1,298	156
Paikpali	2,172	45
Total	8,961	786

12% of total number were men, 79% women, and 9%, children of both sexes.

As a witness of the distress of the workers (volunteers) could not see the ground for that continued work, they are being replaced by paid workers, as necessary cases. We have to reward him with great regard the death from respect late at end of one volunteer, Mr. Khandar Chandra Nair, died on 17th. He had been down from Durgam taking two months' leave, for doing the usual service to his brother, and he was killed by a mysterious day in the afternoon, among his death in a few hours. We have our warm sympathy with his old father in the land, Bhatnagar District.

1. Close our shops (gates) are being set at some places to keep down profiteering and to give a small relief to the middle and working classes. But in all of a little before and present, at our next a sum of 100 tons, three more relief gates were opened during the month of August, (Bhatnagar and Balasing) in the District, making an all out.

The Committee offered the Puri-District Board to have the best they may have to offer in 100 tons of their goods at free places in the district, to show they did themselves better and poor, etc., at 4 acres a ton (Gostan).

This was accepted by the Board.

6. In the end of July last the Committee represented to Government of Bihar in Orissa (1) more work should be provided to give employment to people whom they badly need, that (2) districts containing in Thanes of Indrapada, Singh and Debag should be recognised and relieved by Government and that (3) persons being aided by the Committee should be relieved by Government. None of these requests have been complied with and Government do not seem to be prepared to release themselves that they may seek from someone in presence as being invited from distressed or to food and finance. Though the situation may and is at present looking no death.

The great cry of the people is employment, work and living wage.

WE A P P E A L to the public to continue the support they have hitherto given us. The sum of Rs. 25000 is needed to fund the same number of unemployed people as it was in the July. If this we require the support, we, the editorial committee will have to be still reduced steadily to distressed as a daily fare.

September 11/20

SECRETARIES

The Peoples' Finance Relief Committee,  
PORE.

### THE DEEPER MEANING OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S NON-CO-OPERATION

Mr. Bhargava's work in *Young India* has been an "Open Book" to the public. His words show us through his own, his non-co-operation with the state machine. We give below the translation prepared for us by Mr. Ramachandrar Chakravarti and revised by Mr. C. F. Jackson.

There has been a great discussion in the papers over the question of non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. I have been reading this discussion and I am afraid that the true meaning of what is Mahatma's movement has been misunderstood by many persons in various ways. The reason why many of our newspapers have not been able to understand the true purpose of Mahatma Gandhi is that we have been unable and deplorable was the result of them being deceived by the "Maga" Media. In our present age, we have been deceived by another "Maga" Media, and we cannot tell what the future has in store for us. As a man, working to drink water at a river bank in a peaceful, happy, long, in a clean, clean, clean, by the water, a river, to me too, being deceived by a snake, we have to speak hope. If we do not make up our mind, we shall what this world is. No doubt it will be a world where "Jana Muktah" will mean the loss of the very names at our feet and instead.

The true meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation, so far as I have been able to understand it with my consciousness, is that so long as we cannot establish the side of our strategy according to our own purpose so long shall we be unable to stand on an equal footing with the foreigner.

If both the parties cannot stand on an equal footing, then the co-operation between them is a mere lip expression. The mere lip expression can mean only two things. Either the weaker party follows the stronger in humiliation, or it sends the latter displeasure at the stronger party by going out to its feelings.

In the light of the situation that we are recovering now a days in our schools and colleges, co-operation can have only one meaning, viz., that the weaker party has sincerely decided to follow the stronger.

And what does this situation mean? It means the forgetting of our national ideas and ideals and regarding the hunger for knowledge to a slight extent with words and away by the foreigner.

How is co-operation possible under these circumstances?

Therefore I say that the weaker party should detach itself from the softness of the stronger party till it has given a full expression to the fact that it wishes to, till it does that, it must accept the status of a beggar. Therefore till the weak-ness is equalled, co-operation by the weaker party must be a glaring proof of its weakness, shame and helplessness.

In the extreme cases of our country, it is necessary to get out from the hand of the stronger party from the hand-working industries of the authorites, and with their own strength and in their own way to give a full expression to their own ideal. When we are able to do that, then there will say talk of co-operation because, we are tall then.

If any proof were required of what I have said, the way in which co-operation with the authorites has been going on in the past and the sudden extension of business works that have followed it are a themselves a striking proof. Any other would be redundant.

### TERMINUS IN FULL

To the Editor, 'Young India.'

Sir,

The latest letter that I have received from you shows that the movement in that country is not yet at its end. 'The Fiji Times' of 17th July contains the following news.

Chaper Boman and Mahomed Hassan were found guilty of carrying prohibited goods from to James Boman on 17th July 1919. They were both sentenced to 12 months.

Boman and Mahomed Hassan were 12 months and Chaper Boman 12 months were both at it.

In the Fiji news comes that Mahomed Hassan has been awarded two years work, Boman two years, Boman and Boman 12 months each and Chaper Boman 12 months. In the 17th July news Mahomed Hassan has been awarded three years.

Other news are you are long and so may have of some other authorities. Boman being awarded 2 years or 3 years.

If we add the number of these persons who have now been punished to the large number who has been punished in the Department of the Government, we can realize the seriousness of the Fiji-Situation. It is to be noted

that after the criminal disposition of Mr. Maschal from Pij, these bridges had no chance whatever of being deflected by any reliable lawyer.

Was the question, "How long will this barrenness go on in Pij? And how shall we put it stop?" Sir George Bowen has told us definitely that the Government of India do not think that they would be justified in passing for an independent enquiry. What shall we do now? In this connection, that you kindly gave me in the 8th September in Calcutta, you told me that you would advise the Pij Indians to return to Calcutta if they had to sell out all their possessions. But will that solve the problem? No, that will not, that cannot. There are no less than 10 thousand Indians in Pij. They have built their houses there. Thousands of them have been born in Pij and their lives of no less value than Pij. Surely, you will not wish them all to return to India. Most of them have not got the means to do so. Even if we got 10 thousand Pij Indians returned to India there will still remain 10 thousand Indians in Pij. What shall we do for the 10 thousand Indians, is the problem. There is an understanding, we have to solve it right now.

We must acknowledge it that we have failed and failed utterly in our duty towards our countrymen in Pij at this time. Still we can do something for them. I would suggest three things for the Government's consideration.

1. We must take it that in the public here that the Government of India is going to add much to Pij by sending a commission to Pij to enquire into the before mentioned Pij after their return to pass for an independent enquiry into the Pij Treaty. No Indian worth the name should go to Pij in that commission of the Government of India.

2. We should send a commission of our own to enquire into the cause and consequences of the recent disturbances in Pij.

3. We should publish some pamphlets in the vernacular of India, specially in Hindi and Urdu, about the Pij Treaty and distribute them broadcast in the country.

The Pij question is, as you told me in the interview, the most important of all the questions for us the Indians abroad are concerned.

May I hope the Indian public will do its duty to solve this "most important" question?

Yours are  
"Mr. Sharada Kavaya."

[I had to read all the three alternatives which I gave the answer I did. Let us hope an self-respecting Indian would go to Pij on the proposed commission to enquire into the progress of further investigations. An independent commission of our own to enquire into the government will be imposed on its progress. How was Mr. Andrews himself treated by some of the white men of Pij? Pamphlets we may publish broadcast in India, we should, but that cannot solve the present troubles of those who are in Pij and who are in place on being returned. It is clearly a matter of humiliating the present Indian population into almost submission to the white population. The widespread correspondence suggests that there are no copies up in Pij. They have no facilities for sending back to India. Let us

remember that the white men of Pij do not want to drive out the Indians from Pij as they do in South Africa or East Africa. The Pij whites intend to keep those that are there and treat worse. It is therefore clearly our first duty to tell all who are weary and heavy-laden in Pij that they are free to return to India and to provide transport, for Mr. Maschal Doctor kindly suggested the same remedy. The public received by me from Pij have not the same thing. The least we can do is to provide facilities for return. M. K. Gandhi.]

#### GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT ABOUT OFFICIAL DISTURBANCES

Mr. Dalrymple's statement to lay on the table a statement showing the names of officials and the nature of the charges there to mark the disappearance of India as set by Government in handling the Punjab disturbances.

The Home Member and India proving the order, Government considered it desirable to want the names of the reports in the House of Commons. They had, meanwhile communicated with local Governments, who were asked to return their proposals with regard to the officials who were recommended or referred in the reports and the departments. The consideration of these reports, which is some more detailed representations from the officials concerned, was not completed till a few days ago. Government had not capital letters, because they desired to make the statement as complete as possible before laying it on the table.

#### THE STATEMENT

The Home Member then laid a statement on the table which showed that there is 10 more had been taken. The following are the details.

Khan Sahib Ghulam Jan (Ameer) has been appointed to take the command of Police Inspector.

The third grade Police Inspector, Abdul Khair (Ameer) has been retained. One second grade Police Inspector to the rank of Sub-Inspector.

It seems we take against Sub-Inspector of first grade Police, Khar.

No action was taken against 17 police constables of Pij as no charges were registered by the Home Committee.

Khan Sahib Mahomed Gulab Ameer, being Deputy Commissioner, respectively, but was retained after a long and unproductive career, but Government appears to have communicated to him.

#### "WORTHY DISAPPOINTED" AND "BARRER"

De-Od. O'Shea, Deputy Commissioner, Durgamchali, Mr. Maschal, Sub-Commissioner of Police, Khar, Mr. S. M. Jeeb, Director of Agriculture, Punjab, Inspector General Campbell, Commanding British Brigade, Captain Davies and Col. Murray, all these officials have been informed and it goes on as was proposed to inform them of the Government's strong disapproval of these officials' actions, which were not stated in my report.

Mr. Dalrymple, being Extra Assistant Commissioner was not considered of his power to try cases under Martial Law. Local Government had communicated to him these strong disapproval of his action and the Government of India had asked the local Government to consider what further disciplinary action could be taken against the case.

Major Kishen and Miss Irving of Amherst had been informed that Government considered it was regrettable that these officers failed to secure material over the military commander and failed to remain in close touch with the military people throughout the events.

The Government thought possible, on being prepared, to recommend after a request in session on active duty till the spring of 1931 had been refused. The Government of India had asked the local Government to arrange to dis-charge their wrong doing approval of his resignation and improper action.

General Dyer's case had already been dealt.

General Dwyer's case was retained regarding the case of military authorities to the Royal Air Force Officers' case to investigate. In this officers' case, the military authorities considered that no more serious measures could be taken. Action was being taken to provide the rules for future guidance.

Consents of Mr. Dwyer and Major Gurney were not held necessary by the military authorities in view of the serious difficulty of these positions for many months from acquisition.

Colonel Frank Johnson had resigned on the 10th 1931 and had never been reinstated. No action was therefore proposed.

He had been asked a supplementary question,—As I understood that in spite of the clearance orders contained in the Secretary of State's despatch, these officers, when action was not taken, were upon grounds apparently to make further representations to the local Government before they were granted?

The Home Member said officers of this class concerned had made representations to the local Government before the final action was taken.

#### ASSOCIATION OF CIVIL APOCRYF.

Replying to further question by Mr. Juba the Home Member said the Government was engaged in studying the views of Major Kishen and Miss Irving were required for the maintaining of a full authority during the discussion. The Officers concerned had been advised of the Government's strong disapproval of their action, but it was more important to prevent the recurrence of similar acts than the removal of the officers concerned.

In reply to further question by Mr. Juba Government said that removal and deposition of Mr. Robert Smith and Messrs. Gandy (High) and Theobald Laff was contemplated and expenditure for further action was contemplated.

#### THE FUNIAI DISBURSANCES

MR. HART'S DISBURSANCES  
DISALLOWED

After several of India Mr. Hart's 1938 press communication, 'I sent to a several form of the resolution on the 2nd September, requesting that if it was not considered advisable the original form might be allowed to stand.' The original form was withdrawn.

The Council recommended to the Governor-General in Council that he be pleased to communicate the following to the Secretary of State for India:

'(a) The Council officers in full membership in the Right Hon. Sir John Gifford, Secretary of State for India, and respectfully request that he be pleased to deliver accordingly to the House of Commons that the cessation of India with the British Empire is

based on the idea of equal partnership and realising the righteous principle that there ought to be perfect mutual equality in India and that Indian laws and Indian justice ought to be held as sacred as British laws and British justice.

'(b) This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that with a view to prevent the recurrence of unscrupulous unscrupulous conduct in cases that were committed by various officers in the exercise of Martial Law powers last year in the Punjab, stringent punishments be visited not on the officers who have been or may be guilty of unscrupulous conduct in such powers or of acts calculated to intimidate Indians as a race and their rank pronounced to be duly punished.'

Continuing, Mr. Hart said His Excellency the President believes that my resolution, if discussed, would be the cause of creating unpleasantness and aggravating racial hatreds created there regarding the work of politicians which the House the Governor-General in the Punjab is carrying on with unscrupulous and unjust. He was not led to understand the difficulty in which the Government of India had been placed, but the time has long passed when they must openly express themselves in the cardinal principle of righteous administration, that the just feelings of an oppressed and mistreated people must prevail over the unjust demands of a small number of unscrupulous officials. It is to the Government's consideration that I desired to draw the attention of the Government believing that if they were at all contemplating any action a debate in Council might strengthen their hands.

Mr. Hart is another aspect of the question. The Home Member, replying to a question during the Delhi session of the Council in the first part of this year pointed that the qualified members should have an opportunity of discussing the Report Committee's report. While there is such protest, we would still support Government's intention to allow the Government's intention to the country every reasonable facility for the discharge of their responsibilities. Events of this nature create and intensify urgent measures of responsibility covering every step. Thus, a committee report on the great issues involved, the deepest feelings of the people are stirred and give rise, in conjunction with other factors, to incidents of danger and violence especially for the purpose of embarrassing and paralyzing the administration. The Imperial Council under an important proclamation and the two Houses of Parliament debate the matter involved with great heat. In such extreme cases to state of discussion in the Indian Legislature by the ordinary members of necessary discussion and when the direct representatives of the people whose honour, welfare and self-respect are in peril, it is not a good and desirable goal of the expression of the Imperial Legislative Council and the functioning process of its members. His Excellency the President has, in expressing his part of dissatisfaction in the case of the Punjab politicians, demonstrated a striking example of the great danger of any constitution of putting an arbitrary power of this kind in the hands of the members who by any means conduct themselves to some long conflict with their duties, of making their own consciences as if possible to the level of complete identity with public interests.'







The new wheel has not yet been constructed to our complete satisfaction and even now it is not capable of 17 r.p.m. in an old form. These drawbacks were caused by putting a spinning wheel and not gear for the new pattern.

We are about to start a spinning wheel, not to be of the low order level but to be a nice priced model in 1939.

It is better to work a machine in the factory to learn spinning than to work for a teacher.

Working together has gradually been suspended at the Indian Institute of the difficulty of producing hand-spin yarn. We hope however to produce enough articles in a few months' time to establish a working system of production.

We supply machines to order. One is the original machine in which the spindle is driven by the hand. But we do not usually make. The other is the Indian pattern with the flywheel driving the spindle.

We have no looms patented or known as Gandhi looms. We have simply adapted to national use the two simplest and efficient patterns in which all parts are handmade except only where they have to be made.

Young,  
Self-employment.

## Young India

Established, Wednesday, 29th September, 1939.

### REPRESSION IN THE PUNJAB

(By K. K. Ghosh.)

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, the editor and proprietor of the "Kasab" of Lahore, is on his trial. Probably by the time this appears in print, his fate will have been decided. The trial will see the 1939-40 case against Mr. Zafar Ali Khan. It is worth a thing from the political standpoint. The central issue for the case being met with the charge "to have been accused of having made use of a statement amounting to an attempt to create dissension towards the Government established by law in 1939-40 and to promote feelings of enmity between persons in view of the Government's subjects."

The statement attributed to Mr. Z. A. Khan in 1939-40 was— "the Government, if they were really meant and are not fair. But in their haste caused by any amount of the sense of interpretation caused to an attempt to create dissension to the Government." In spite of General Dyer's criticism of Mr. Jagan George because of pressure of the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu's defence (Dr. Dyer would be to speak the truth, and it is worth the same dissension towards a Government not to grant of independence of the Government of independent provinces. And if it be a case to speak the truth, it is a matter and a duty to promote dissension. Similarly if the feeling of a person is to create a feeling of enmity between persons, how is to create if there may not be considered,

Suppression of material but damaging facts cannot promote dissension but can only make the society more united for its unity.

In Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's case there are two statements which are, as far as I am aware,不可驳斥 by evidence. These were given in an interview. And there seems to be no warrant for the claim that these were given in an interview. I do not know whether Mr. Zafar Ali Khan made the two statements reported to him. I should be very glad to do. Khalid's evidence in particular, and all other evidence in general, cannot be too strongly urged to avoid all exaggeration. Facts are always stronger than fiction. The latter has a name in the long run and describes the speaker. The case against the Government based on proved facts is unshakably strong. And public statements will not greatly show so long as exaggeration can be contained against workers.

But the charges that will be laid must be admitted by Mr. Khan are really from the Government's part of view for more reasons, and yet of those charges I am partly equally with Mr. Khan. For instance, the machines had given for a hearing to Mr. K. K. Ghosh, the Editor of "Ward" would be more as they are stated to be Mr. Khan's. It is not too long, if the conditions had done are not fulfilled, that the Government would permit.

It is true the Government has taken an action of speaking allowing any co-operation and containing such demands as may need to be taken care of or advice as to what to have been given by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan. And I had hopes to think that the Government were adopting the hearing method of allowing such opinions to go on so long as it did not result in violence. I had thought that the Government had wanted to think of providing a way for suppressing his words without violence. They might be so long as they did not cause the people to violence.

But the policy is evidently to be changed. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's speech must have told. He presented an opinion resembling in the District which provided evidence. And if such proceeding is being the Government must have done wrong. Yet surely it is the right of a citizen to write people against accepting an occupation that is harmful to the people's well-being or religious honour.

Mr. Harb Singh of Ward had his meeting forbidden, I suppose, for much the same reason. This kind of repression can never expect to non-co-operation begins to produce its effect. It is clear that success depends entirely upon our ability to carry on our campaign, despite all repression by way of prohibition of speakers and suppression of newspapers. Such repression can only serve us for further effect. And the demands must be repeated not by one man but thousands. Newspapers may and may not be concerned if their activity is stopped. Due to their propaganda, another written by the hand and multiplied after the over-tail process by

voluntary workers will result in more concentrated work than newspapers. When the struggle reaches the effective stage even in spite of press ragging in the field, we must be prepared for press criticism and harassment and the like. And the victory will be ours, only when the struggle survives the strenuous stage and unless non-co-operation more popular than ever. For will it not be a considerable proof of the necessity of non-co-operation with a Government that will suppress even the legitimate aspirations of the people and a legitimate and lawful resistance of that Government if they may be in the Courts and?

Only we dare not be captured. Remember the following in betraying resistance. I have heard that in England a father and son went in the Indian army. They were fighting against the Turks. The son was killed in a battle, the father carried the body to England. In the way he noticed that his son's face had turned into that of a pig. These comments have been put into No. 10 of the month. It is an appeal to my readers I hope. Mr. Jaiar Aji Khim do not appeal to the respect for the traditions. The Khilafat agitation is a religious movement. It must be free from extraneous suggestions, violence in speech or action, or a representation or popular. The cause should be peaceful and truth, which self-respect and courage have been applied for the maintenance has never at least been a to be!

### THE HALUCINATION OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES:

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Much is being said and written against the proposed boycott of Government-controlled schools and colleges. The proposal has been described as 'too extreme, harmful, opposed to the best interest of the country' by Pandit Mahatma Mohan Mahaviraj as among its most serious opposing opponents.

I have been trying myself in the last of my capacity in order to remove my own. But the effort has resulted in deepening my conviction that it is unwise to remove any education to be the control of the present Government, no matter how high its quality may be, even as it would be to in a like manner, when it is treated with justice.

I wish myself why men are the fruits of the proposition quite clearly what others the accepted in fact, because it is so clear. The answer I have been able to find is that the latter is not essential in the present system of Government, as an uncontrolled and as the former is. In other words, the opponents do not sufficiently realize the significance of the Punjab and the Khilafat struggle. They do not feel as the others do that these struggles show conclusively that the non-total of the agency of the present Government is injurious to national growth. I know that this is a correct statement to make. It is well known that Mahaviraj and Mahaviraj cannot feel the wrong even as I do. And yet, they

is precisely my meaning. I am positive that they will not put their children in a school where there was any likelihood of their becoming degraded instead of being elevated. I am equally positive that they would not send their children to a school managed, controlled or even influenced by a ruler who had robbed them of their possessions. I feel that the nation's children suffer degradation in the Government schools. I feel that these schools and colleges are under the influence of a Government that has deliberately robbed the nation of its honour, and therefore the nation must withdraw its children from such schools. It may be that some learning even in such schools may be able to raise the progress of legislation. But it cannot be right to concentrate national humiliations going on in the schools because some have done above these humiliations. In my opinion it is well to think that the honoured leaders of the nation to-day, do not realize that the Government-controlled schools are related to the manner described by me.

It may be urged that the schools are no worse today than they were before the Punjab wrong or the Khilafat wrong and that we educated them before these wrongs. I admit that the schools are not much worse now than before. But when the wrong occurred, the knowledge of the Punjab and the Khilafat betrayal has crystallized my view of the existing system of the present. My ignorance of its inherent wickedness made the young students to the extent of my not being against the schools. And that is just the reason why I fear that those who oppose the proposed boycott of the schools on the ground of no harassment, do not put the same value on the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs that I do.

And so I congratulate Messrs. S. B. Tuli, Patel Tripathi and others on their having given up their colleges even as they were on the point of starting their education. That is the only I can appreciate Messrs. Tuli and Patel for their having left their legs school. It is perhaps not generally known that these high-spirited girls left the schools of their own accord at least in young ones.

I have no objection to those of the youth of India, both boys and girls, who, if they have not previously the deep humiliation of students of the Punjab or experienced the wrong of the violation of the Khilafat pledge, without any further reflection, accept the Government-controlled schools and colleges. The moral education that they will receive in a manner may they wish that they will have some work to do for the temporary line of history education. But the day that the boys and the girls who study the Government-controlled schools will be the day that will mark a very definite advance towards the goal. It will mark a revolution in the national thought. It will mark our freedom from the full domination of schools and colleges. It will mark us able to take charge of its own education without any Government intervention, protection, advice or grant! Abandonment of the present school system consciousness of our ability to educate ourselves in spite of Government difficulties.

## THE MEANING OF THE EMPIRE.

(By M. K. Ghosh.)

The following circular has been issued by the Education Department.

"Teachers and Educational officers of the Presidency should be asked to co-operate in bringing about a right understanding of the meaning of the Empire and in dispelling the idea that the Empire is based on force and subjugation, by communicating the papers enclosed to both upon each other as well as an advancement of the blood and an equal friendship and sympathy particularly in India where a contrary feeling is growing ground.

It is dated at Poona the 1st instant.

The circular is my opinion is a triumph of non-co-operation. We have been often told authoritatively that the Empire is based chiefly on force. When an attempt is being made to foster this idea, and to show by not meeting it by force that it is utterly untrue when it is not backed by the cooperation, sympathy or friendship of the people, we have a circular asking upon the teachers to co-operate in showing that the Empire is based not on force or subjugation but that it is based on mutual friendship. This circular is a triumph of non-co-operation because force needs not the background. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Circular has been force in the face of the nation, and therefore, regarded supreme for a time. It did not survive. Now it is to be covered under self-sustaining process. It is well hit.

The circular is hypocritical. To talk of mutual help and sympathy between concrete and their empire is to add deception to tyranny. The way out is through non-co-operation.

It is a non-attempt to repeat to secure friendship by false promises. The best and only way to secure the real friendship of the people and to prove to them that the Empire is not based on force and subjugation, is to withdraw the expectations military force ever at the cost of letting the Empire to treat the people, not for Englishmen or general regard as to every way they speak or thought and to do so. The progress regarding the British wrong is accordance with the Hindustani sentiment and to give full separation regarding the French.

But who seems responsible for the general body of Englishmen to do. They have been brought up to work upon us as some slaves, but in the situation of the ruler by the account of the treatment of our countrymen in New Zealand, I cannot conceive anything more wretchedly brutal than the deluge of the 'whiteness' of New Zealand. It is not as if the subjects are a degraded people. They are honest, generous, charitable and cultured in their own sphere. But they are thrown off their balance immediately they come in contact with us. We are their natural prey. And unless it is by their subjugation of us even as others is no less to the killing even by ourselves by the majority of

method. I have not used a far-fetched illustration. Thousands of Englishmen cannot lose the idea of an Indian subjugation or living on terms of equality with them. While especially, as Mr. Andrews has shown, has become a religious President Kruger used to say that God had ordained America to be white man's slave. He even introduced this idea in his statute book. He was frank and he avowed it. Others believe it, practice it, but would like to keep it away by using euphemistic language or words.

It is not possible to blame anybody but ourselves for the badge of inferiority and we alone must remove it by supreme effort.

## MR. PENNINGTON'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

(By M. K. Ghosh.)

I gladly publish Mr. Pennington's letter with enclosures just as I have received them. Evidently Mr. Pennington is not a regular reader of 'Young India,' as he would have noticed that we are less uneducated non-cooperators more than I have. We never think that the article he has objected to was the only thing I have ever written on General Dyer. It does not seem to know that I have conversed with the student representatives to examine the following matters. And he can see my day all the proof adduced by my fellow-cooperators and myself in support of our thoughts on the matter. The ordinary readers of 'Young India' know all the facts and therefore it was unnecessary for me to support my own case otherwise. But unfortunately Mr. Pennington represents the typical Englishman. He does not want to be upset, nevertheless he is ready just to his appreciation of world events because he has no time to study them except casually and that through a press whose business is to set our party views. The average Englishman therefore except in personal matters is perhaps the least informed though he claims to be well-informed about every variety of interest. Mr. Pennington's opinion is thus typical of the others and affords the best reason for leaving control of our own affairs in our own hands. Ability will come with us and not by waiting to be taught by those whose natural interest is to prolong the period of tutelage as much as possible.

But in return to Mr. Pennington's letter in some places that there has been no 'proper' kind of my own. The fact is not ours. India has unconditionally and unreservedly demanded a trial of all the affairs concerned in the events against the French.

We next object to the 'volence' of my language. It is not in context, I plead guilty to the charge of volence of language. But I would not, without doing violence to truth, refrain from using the language I have, regarding General Dyer's action, it has been proved out of his own mouth in his table responses.

(1) That the word was necessary.

(2) That it contained children.

- (3) That the 13th was the day of Yasuki. In.
- (4) That Yasuki had come to the tent.
- (5) That there was an outbreak.
- (6) That during the intervening two days he lost the 'ammunition there was present in Amritsar.
- (7) That the proclamation of the meeting was made the next day in General Dyer's proclamation.
- (8) That 'I' wrote Dyer a proclamation prohibiting not meetings but processions or gatherings, and was on the streets and was in parks or public places.
- (9) That General Dyer was so well, whether outside or inside the city.
- (10) That he admitted himself that money in the world did not have anything of his proclamation.
- (11) That he had written warning the crowd and even after it had begun to disperse he had in the back of the people who were in flight.
- (12) That the men were practically proved to be an outbreak.

In the face of these admitted facts I do not find the word a 'massacre'. The action committed was in the name of 'protection' but its 'purpose' was the loss of human beings.

I am sorry to have to say that Mr. Ponnaggon's notes which are the reader will find published elsewhere, being as much ignorant as his father.

Whatever was a slight but proper to the days of Channing was certainly not considered the same in the old times. 'Protest' made to the new time taken to the days was not by a military. Young Military happened his general recommendation upon the days of Channing.

The demonstration in the case of General Dyer is practically a myth.

No trial was held of the so-called Dyer's trial, depicted by the name of 'Dyer's trial' by Mr. Ponnaggon. There was no trial at all in Amritsar. The crowd that constituted the horrible massacre and carnage, contained in our country and a world. The story was first printed only in Lahore and not in Amritsar. Mr. Ponnaggon should remember how known by his name that the meeting held on the 13th was held, among other things, for the purpose of condemning such excesses. This was brought out at the 4th session held. From this arrangement there could not stop General Dyer. It says he wrote up his notes to show that he wanted the assembled body. When the corresponding says that the troops would have a protest to being occurred on what might be that was not actually called a 'massacre', the evidence of it had never been in hand. I wish the Indian troops had the moral courage to refuse to shoot innocent, unarmed men on full light. But the Indian troops have been brought to the streets as a discipline in order to do any such correct act.

I hope Mr. Ponnaggon will not make an excuse of making unverified evidence because I have not quoted from the books. The evidence is there for him to see. I see only names here that the authorities are based on positive grounds mostly obtained from official sources.

Mr. Ponnaggon wants me to publish an 'exact account of what happened on the 13th April. He would like the reports and if he will patiently go through them he will discover that the Medical Officer and his officials treated the people with unusual mercy—a mercy which nobody as I have already said has condemned more than I have. The account of the following days is summed up in one word—'peace' on the part of the crowd, disturbed by such excesses against the interests and the views of official sources that followed.

I am prepared to give Mr. Ponnaggon credit for looking after the truth. But he has gone about it in the wrong manner. I suggest he sending the evidence before the Hunter Committee and the Congress Committee. He need not read the reports. But the evidence will convince him that I have understood the case against General Dyer.

When known or loved for descriptions of himself as "the Hindu's Chief Magistrate of Lahore in the South of India before others, by circumstances and otherwise, became a 'fascist'." I depend of his being able to find his truth. An Englishman is bound to be a man who is responsible of finding it. And Mr. Ponnaggon is evidently both angry and biased. What does he mean by saying, "Justice is done by conviction, and otherwise because so 'hastily'." It is known that he talks of conviction when the crowd of conviction seems happy to have become a crowd. Englishmen will never see the truth so long as they persist their names to be killed by a regular statement of responsibility or special responsibility of responsibility.

## MR. PONNAGGON'S LETTER

To

Mr. CHANDRA

Dear Sir,

I do not like your scheme for "hypocrisy" the Government of India which when asked to be the same who has officials (though more numerous) than of "unconquered", but I have always given you credit for a private desire to study and research by personal means and was interested in the contents of the language you use in describing General Dyer on page 4 of your note of the 13th July last. You begin by saying that he is "by no means the worst offender" and, on the, I am content to agree, though it shows he has no proper view of anyone it is impossible to appreciate their guilt, but then you say "his brutality is remarkable," "his rage and his selfishness were also apparent," by the evidence a personal record of men and children—many being killed—was a real story." He has not failed to be the nature of the People is that he was this in those days his nature was who was proved to be such an, such a man in carrying to be considered a soldier. There was no history to be written. He was a clerk. He was without any dignified appearance, and without vanity. He was not a man of progress. It is possible of it to be the best of human nature, it is good of human nature and intelligence," etc.

You may never be saying that all these men were chosen completely by my plan, even when good



peppery with such a dangerous record as that of the Dallasville High evidently was, would certainly have been taken into days of reckoning and might easily have ended on the disaster side of his scale, there by the mere weight of numbers, and in the greater loss of life than in American deeds, in my opinion, of the history of the city and other towns.

That was evidently the main object of the way by the altar and legal authorities, clearly visible, when they demonstrated in favor of General Dyer, immediately after these eggs were cast and when everyone was headed with the facts of the case. Whether the thing contained length there was absolutely necessary or not in a question of responsibility for eggs to remain except those that were laid in line with the mob and able to judge of its demands and the surrounding circumstances. Evidently all these persons agreed with General Dyer, or some one, (save the cover troops,) would have objected to being concerned in what might or that can be not un fairly called a "massacre," (an indiscriminate slaughter with unnecessary cruelty such as the Turks are charged with in Armenia and elsewhere.')

When it is charged that General Dyer thought we were of maintaining the lawless character the Punjab generally is meant to be forgotten. That has considerable object was to stamp out the culture of a still dangerous civilization in British India and to prevent that city from further violence.

Lastly, passive resistance, however meant, was not to be confused with "massacre" such as that of the way in, Northampton, and the massacre of the innocents in the National Congress paper 'India' prominently mentions them.

### ANTI-INDIANISM IN NEW ZEALAND.

A correspondent from New Zealand, who has himself gone through bitter experiences there and has been in that colony for a number of years, has sent to 'Magnum' a graphic account of the Indian conditions there. As it is a telling account and bears material evidence of truthfulness, we give below the substance of the account from the page of 'Magnum'—

There is a population of nearly 1,000 Indians in New Zealand. It, are from the Great Indian of England, the real ones the Punjab. Having a few teachers the majority are laborers. Till recently the position was tolerable but of late years have now deteriorated. From the beginning of this year to the close of working, 500 Indians have entered New Zealand. Of these 500 are 450 men and 50 Indians. More are still coming in. The Chinese pay a poll-tax of 1500 each, Indians being British subjects are exempted. The economy of the American provides daily food for the newcomers. They make the white people by all kinds of Anti-Indian writings. The result is that the White Colonists look down upon the Indians. They cannot even labor and when they do, difficulties are put in their way.

Last week some Indians entered Auckland. They took up a contract for road repairs in Christ's Church. They soon started operations in the course. The white laborers are being sent working on public roads street work. The white engineers also

declined to support the Indian work and applied for the cancellation of the contract given to Indians and for a stipulation that no Indians would be given such work in future.

A Ugarah young man was working as a laborer in Christ Church. The manager tried to make a barterous answer that the poor man had to leave. He became a newspaper man. The first day passed peacefully enough. On the second day happened a disturbing placard containing the head line 'Workday ends at a paper boy.' The article severely criticized the employment of the youth. On the third day the manager declined to sell him the newspaper.

Last Thursday night Indians were employed in another town for building bridges. After finishing the work they went in search of other work to Hamilton. They could not find a landlord who would let a house to them. As the poor men went to Dartmouth. With difficulty they were able to hire a cottage. But hardly had they been out for half an hour when from 75 to 80 Europeans went there and asked them permission to vacate it. They used the most abusive language against them which is unaccountably, called them all sorts of names and told them that if they did not voluntarily leave the town, they would be forcibly ejected from it. The poor men remained still. Upon this the 8000 police were further engaged and fell upon them.

At last two Police constables came they asked the Europeans to depart, and then set to work the Indians and warned them of the legal consequences of this act. The mob retorted: 'We will bring any danger in order to drive these Indians out.' They dis regarded the Police warning, and their attitude became more threatening and so the poor Indians went back to Hamilton and passed the winter night out in the open.

Some days ago in another town a meeting was held to consider steps to be taken for preventing Indian immigration. One of the speakers suggested that the working Indian workers should be driven out, New Zealand must be retained exclusively for white people. In another town an Indian went to land-owners to buy a house instead of receiving a certificate. 'No,' he was rudely notified by the proprietors.

During the past fortnight there has been a conference between the Indian Provincial Commissioners of the various colonies. Representatives of the various colonies considered the propriety of asking the Parliament to pass an Ample Bill. One of the speakers objected that the Indians competed with the white workers, except in low wages and under old white workers. He advocated complete boycott of Indians. Another member opened that the Indians of New Zealand were not to be compared to the white and the Chinese and said that they had taken as much as the war, and yet I know that every Indian laborer in New Zealand for France and Massachusetts. Great also contributed to the cause that was paid by India and Great shared the expense of the salary paid to the State and the British.

An Indian youth who collects bottles for a factory was accidentally bitten by a returned soldier. He went to lodge a complaint with the police but none was taken. Most of the constables have passed resolutions asking for American assistance. In Auckland itself there are 200 Indians without work.

and violent proper relations. They are yet better only in questionable quarters and in those places for long of approximation over 18 or 20 mm or more, should be held together in a single setting.

In Wellington 200, however, one is the more possible conditions being in quarters of 14-16mm, and these being made to present. Despite circumstances they are obliged to live in works of impurity.

**INDIGNMENT OF MR. RAFAEL ALI KHAN COPY.**

In the Court of the District Magistrate, Campbellpore, Azhar.

King Emperor Yusef Zafar Ali, son of Kingprithia Shah, was Khan Rajput, resident of Karamnoid, District Gajporewa, District under Section 221 A and 222 F C.

Complainer by Bahar Khan-ud-Dawg, Deputy Magistrate of Police. The complainer of the above-named complainant respectively stated:-

1. That on or about the 14th August 1960, the accused Zafar Ali def. in Name, District Azhar, procures by a speech, in the course of which the following words or words to the following effect were spoken, namely :-

- (1) We are those Mohammedans who are those in favour we enlighten people that Mohammedans for the school of 111 pages, and after receiving our Holy Quran made them over to the Christian R. H. H. the Prince of Wales in going to India.
- (2) Government claims that we should purchase heavy weapons, it should be the following that:-

  - (a) Weapons from interfering with Khalifa
  - (b) Weapons from, Yehes, England and Jerusalem
  - (c) Heavy Turkish weapons in fact.
  - (d) Weapons are to interfere Khalifa law upon
  - (e) Heavy Turkish Art.
  - (f) Weapons all your weapons made in England

If the above facts, remember your Government will provide.

- (3) English was occupied and village Turkish girls were outraged, to that the situation connected were horrible
- (4) We value the treaty (with Britain) as a nation map of paper, which will be destroyed by us.
- (5) Now the question ... what should be done under the present circumstances ... we ... it is necessary to every Muslim to protest against.
- (6) Stop making your children to Government schools
- (7) We are should rather in the Army.
- (8) Actions and Lashkar should stop. Some girls You should wait for six months and see if the above mentioned other Indian comply with our wishes or not. If they fail to do so, then they are Kafirs, they should be executed and exterminated.
- (9) I have heard that in England a British and one was in the Indian Army. They were fighting against the Turks, the one was killed in action, the Indian returned was only to England. In the way he returned that his wife has had turned into that of a pig. Now about that we will not see the Army.

(10) Remember that India is our Day of Wrath. Our religious freedom has been snatched away from us.

2. That the said Zafar Ali on the same day and at the same place made his statements which consisted of several bad words of people against after has the following words or words to the effect namely

- (1) Remember your Government will perish.
- (2) 'We will not join the Army.

That the said Zafar Ali on the same instance and in the course of the same speech gave expressions in many other words and use of like tendency.

3. That the said words and acts being or abetting or being an abettor towards the Government established by law in British India and Government or attempt to promote feelings of rivalry between different classes of the majority religions, and are punishable under Sections 124 A and 124 A. Indian Penal Code.

4. That the copies of the Local Government order Number 124 of the Code of Criminal Procedure is attached. It is therefore prayed that the accused be dealt with and provided according, to law.

Signed Complainer. By: Ghousul Haq,  
12th day of September 1960. Dy. Magistrate of Police.

**WITHDRAWING FROM COLLEGE**

We have received the following for publication.

The Paragol

Campus College, Alwarabad

Sir:-We, the undersigned, beg to state that we have been fully convinced of the desirability of non-operation pursued successfully by our National Congress to get the Pakistan the Punjab and Khalifa questions by obtaining full self-government. The solution has declared its verdict. It now becomes a national duty to carry out its programme. We therefore are no longer students or passively continue to receive instructions or lectures through Governmental colleges. It is no longer honorable to receive any favour at the hands of a Government which has done everything to humiliate India in every way possible. Therefore we desire that our names should be removed from the college registers.

We beg to remain,

Yrs,

Yours Obediently,

Feroz International MORTALA,

1. E. A. Hameed & Associates (Muz)

THEOPHILUS ANWAR PATEL

E. H. A. Hameed & Associates (Khat)

We have been asked by certain students that in the references from the self-named students and as now free to undertake providing an answer operation. The present address is: Mrs. Sahajgandh Adhoni, Saharwal, E. H. & G. L. Hy.

At the time of going to the Prison we received the important news that the Saharwal Indian District School and Government (Bany of C. F. had returned their letters a protest against the Punjab and Khalifa operation.





## Young India

Published, *W. P. A. S. Co.*, 285 October, 1930.

### THE HALLUCINATION OF LAW-COURTS

(By *H. K. Pandey*)

If we were not under the spell of law-pets and law-quests and if there were no tools to tempt us into the quagmire of the courts and to appeal to our latent passions, we would be looking a much happier life than we do to-day. Let those who brought the law-quests into the world—best witness to the fact that the atmosphere about them is heated. Prepared witnesses are ranged up either on a bench, ready to sell their very souls for money at the freest of a man. But that is not the worst of these courts. The worst is that they support the authority of a government. They are supposed to be pious judges and are therefore called the pillars of a nation's liberty. But when they support the authority of an unrighteous Government, they are no longer pillars of liberty, they are working horses to crush a nation's spirit. Such were the martial law-questors and the summary courts in the Punjab. We had them in their wildestness, when they are even in normal times when it is a matter of dispute a justice between a European man and a Indian. Take as an all the world over. Look at the trial of an English officer and the British government is received for through thousands of letters and manifestos in regard to the trial. Here a single Englishman suffered the extreme penalty of the law or anything like it. In these matters is India! Let us now suppose that these things would be changed when I was judge and in these governments take the place of Englishmen Englishmen are not by nature corrupt. Indians are not necessarily corrupt. Such was not the case in India. There were Indian judges and Indian prosecutors during the martial law regime, who were generally guilty of just as bad practices as the Englishmen. There, who turned the common women in Assam were Indians, if it was a Sherwood Smith in Massachusetts who murdered a woman. What I am attacking is the system. I have no quarrel with the Englishmen as such. I became individuals among them to-day as I did before my discovery of the unrepresentableness of the existing system. If anything, Mr. Andrews and other Englishmen I could name, are nearer to me to-day than before. But I could not transfer my loyalty even to him who is more than a brother to me, if he leaves the Treasury of India. I would distrust his ability to remove pain of he accepted the office. He would have to administer a system that is inherently corrupt and based on the assumption of our inferiority. He has usually employs among a very moral restraints and the language of ethics, to give his case an air of respectability.

I have expressed a little for the purpose of showing that the Government, if it was wholly manned by Indians but worked as it now is, would be an admirable system as it is now. Even if it is that the

knowledge of local habits' appointment to a high office leads to ill as well as a glow of satisfaction. We must have absolute equality in theory and in practice and ability to do away with the British domination of law as well.

But in coming to the law-pets and the law-quests, we cannot give them desirable status so long as we regard with respectation, awe and respect the so-called pillars of justice. Let not individuals who get satisfaction of those good or savings in their past places, be taken to the witness and of these courts—the persistence of the authority of the Government which they represent. Without this we mean the Government must perish as a dog. I think that under my plan the power of kidnapping the people through the courts will still remain even when every Indian lawyer has withdrawn and there are no criminals in the law-courts. But then they will cease to distress us. They will have lost their moral prestige and therefore the air of respectability. It is a strange but it is true that as long as we believe in the gradual transformation of the power of the English to the people, appointments to high posts in the law-courts were looked as a blessing. Now that we believe that the system is incapable of being gradually modified, every such appointment by reason of its degrading nature must be regarded as an evil. Therefore every lawyer supporting his position to that extent undermines the prestige of the law-courts to that extent every magistrate is a pain for the individual as far as the law is concerned.

The common view that the law-courts exist, less at all must be considered. And yet it is not a truth. Every creature is flooded under the present system, in one or a more extravagant ends. Law-courts are probably the most extravagantly run. There is some knowledge of the courts in England, a fair knowledge of the South African, and an intimate knowledge of the South African, I have no hesitation in saying that the Indian is comparatively the most extravagant and least as relation to the general economic condition of the people. The best South African lawyers—and they are lawyers of great ability—do not charge less than the lawyers in India do. Fifteen guineas is almost a top fee for legal opinions. Several thousand rupees have been known to have been charged in India. There is something wrong in a system under which it is possible for a lawyer to earn from fifty thousand to one hundred rupees per month. Legal practice is almost not to be seen, speculative business. The best legal talent used be available to the poorest as reasonable rates. But we have copied and imported upon the practices of the English law-pets. Englishmen find the climate of India trying. The Indian without making a wild and narrow climate are retained in India, single margin is kept for frequent migration to the hills and to their inland homes and an equally simple margin is kept for the education of an uneducated and uneducated type for their children. The scale of their fees is naturally therefore pushed very high. But India cannot have the

heavy down. We fancy that in order to feel the equate of these English lawyers we must charge the same killing force that the English do. It would be a red day for India if it has to witness the English style and the English tactics so utterly unsuitable to the Indian environment. Any lawyer looking at the law-courts and the profession of law from the new points, I have ventured to suggest, cannot help coming to the conclusion that if he wants to serve the nation to the best of his ability, the best solution of courses is complete of his practice. He can move to a different profession only if he conscientiously changes the statement of facts I have made.

### HOW THE VICE-ROY DISGRACES HIS TRUST

(By M. K. Ghosh.)

The order will had reproduced elsewhere the Viceroy's allegations to Mr. Hastings in substance of Sir John Sargent's various allegations regarding the ill-treatment of women in the Punjab during the Martial Law period in the Government has just reported reply. It seems that every respectable statement made by Mr. Sargent only strengthens the opinion of the public that he is entirely well to the great trust which has been reposed in him. I do not wish to add one word to what elsewhere has been said in condemnation of the Viceroy's attitude, but I would draw the readers' attention to the ignoring of some very material allegations that were made by the witnesses. Overcoming the propensity of repeating the evidence of prosecution because they are engaged in the unfortunate traffic, what has the Viceroy to say regarding the evidence of the many women of Massachusetts against whom, as in his million cases, not a word of reproach has been whispered I give below in full the statement of Gurdara, the widow of Bhagat Jai. That statement was corroborated by several other women. This is the statement:

"One day, during the Martial Law period, Mr. Bowerth Smith gathered together all the males of over 16 years of the Dera Dakh Bungalow, which is some miles from our village, in connection with the investigations that were going on. Whilst the men were at the Bungalow, he took us to our village, taking back with him all the women who are to be seen carrying, food for their men at the Bungalow. Reaching the village, he went around the huts and ordered all women to come out of their houses, himself holding them out with sticks. He made us all stand near the village door. The women hid their heads before him. He had some work to finish and sat at home and used the loaded and most comfortable language. He had no time and sat in my face. He probably suspected the deceit of all the women, breaking under the truth with his own stick."

He repeatedly called us the women, ladies, Sars and wives and said: "You were in the same hut with your husbands, why did you not prevent them from going out to do mischief? Now your sticks will be broken into by the Police Deystables." He

gave me a look also and ordered me to exchange the contents of holding out men by putting our arms round the legs, whilst being held double.

This treatment was noted out to us in the absence of our men who were camp at the Bungalow."

If this fact set forth are true, can anything be more brutal or more inhuman? And yet the perpetrator of the crime will probably receive a pension from the Government treasury. The same reader will find in the evidence collected ample material in proof of the disparity of the other evidence. The evidence was first collected by Mr. Andrews. Mr. Laldhugh K. A. Sar-ai-han was specially deputed to go to Massachusetts to see the ladies concerned. He held a list of public enquiry which may help me to understand.

Mr. Hastings had his attention drawn to these statements when he lately visited the same Bungalow for her so-called explanation of speech. And it is clear that Mr. Hastings purposely believed an enquiry. The Viceroy seems specially to have ignored the numerous cases of him and has had us in pity. He has had here a new record of the cases, letters, petitions and the law goes to show the evidence of prosecution is not to be ignored. In other words, the legitimate authority to be drawn from the Government is that prosecution may not get further done to them, unless their complaint is supported by other evidence. Any way Mr. Hastings has evidently accepted the Viceroy's explanation, and has thus strengthened the cause of non-co-operation. Can India for one moment separate herself with a Government that evinces evidence of a most heinous nature committed against her own folk by its officers?

### HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

(By M. K. Ghosh.)

There can be no doubt that successful non-co-operation depends as much on Hindu-Muslim Unity as on non-violence. Greatful steps will be just upon both in the course of the struggle and if it succeeds that union, victory is a certainty.

A severe storm hit just after 11 am. Agra and it has been stated that when either party went to the exhibition they were referred to Muslims. Khushal Ah and me. Fortunately there was a no better man at hand. Halving Ajmalpura was done. Khushal who commands the Muslims and in respect of both the parties. He took his band of workers hastened to Agra, settled the disputes and the parties became friends as they were never before. As matters quieted under Delhi and the non-co-operation worked admirably showed what might have become an explosion.

But Halving Ajmalpura seemed to everywhere appearing at the usual hour as an agent of peace. Not one Muslims Khushal Ah or I go every where. And yet perfect peace must be observed between the two communities in spite of attempts to divide them.

Why was there any appeal made to the exhibition at all at Agra? If we are to work out non-co-operation with any degree of success we must

be able to dispense with the presence of the Government when we quarrel among ourselves. The whole scheme of non-co-operation must break to pieces, if our final refusal is to be upon British intervention for the adjustment of our affairs on the production of the guilty men. In every village and hamlet there must be at least one Hindu and one Muslim whose primary business must be to prevent quarrels between the two. Some times however, even Hindu-Muslims must be taken in the initial stages we are bound to do as best we three. Undoubtedly we who are public workers have made little attempt to understand and influence the masses and least of all the most turbulent among them. During the process of mounting ourselves in the situations of the masses and until we have gained control over the masses, there are bound to be disturbances of local temper now and then. We must keep at such times to do without an appeal to the Government. Mahatma Jagan Kishan has shown us how to do it.

The union that we want is not a patched up thing but a union of hearts based upon a definite recognition of the undivisible proposition that Swaraj for India must be an inseparable dress without an inseparable waist between the Hindus and the Muslims of India. It must not be a mere truce. It must be based upon mutual love. It must be a partnership between equals with respect to the religious of the other.

I would frankly despair of reaching such a union if there was anything in the holy Quran, pointing upon the followers of Islam to treat Hindus as their natural enemies or if there was anything in the Bible to suggest a belief in the eternal enmity between the two.

We would at least on history if we conclude that because we have quarrelled in the past, we are destined so to continue unless some such strong points like the British flag as by force of some new thing of each other's thought. But I am convinced that there is no quarrel in Islam or Hinduism for any such belief. True it is that uneducated or fanatical persons in both religions have set the one against the other. It is equally true that Muslim rulers like Christians often have used the sword for the propagation of their respective faiths. But in spite of being such things of the western times, the world's opinion today will be with respect to such a quarrel as it will tolerate fanaticism today. That probably is the most obvious manifestation of the inevitable trend of the age. That spirit has now influenced upon a Hindu nation about Christianity as it has about Islam. I do not know a single writer on Islam who defends the use of force in the proselytizing process. The Muslims are wanted to our faith not far more subtle than that of the sword.

I believe that in the midst of all the hindrances, obstacles and hindrances presented to us as a national state in the East, the whole of humanity is already but slowly making progress towards a better life and order by finding true independence and self-expression through an independent Hindu-Muslim unity and through non-violent means; a well-organized self-service can point a way out of the prevailing darkness.

## RACE-PREJUDICE IN NEW ZEALAND

We published in the last issue translation of a letter from the *Managers* giving a possibly typical account of the conditions of the Indian trade. Another letter from a *General Hindu* who has been staying in New Zealand for the last few years contains the previous account, as the letter published last week and says that the Indian in the few years of the New Zealand Whiteman is not only and every walk of life. The *Drop* is now the standard means for the press, among the *White* population, and has a very large circulation among the *White* population, and many of them are our dependents in Parliament. It says legislation regarding the *Indian*.

The non-co-operation has led to a series of newspaper editorials on which we are sorry to observe, there is no intention of the name and date of the papers from which we have a clear view of the height to which non-co-operation has reached.

The general allegations against the Indians are that they revealed the Dominion when the subjects had gone to the front and that having transported them they were returning and not only the returned soldiers who have to be without employment but the returning employers and traders by withdrawing them. A department of *White* population of Auckland wanted upon the Deputy-*Mayor* by writing to him that "being to the way, the *White* population had not the power, it was impossible for them to compete against the *Indian* people," and the Deputy-*Mayor* advised them to get the members of Parliament to take up the question, with the view to legislative action. A department of *White* population wanted upon the Finance and Legal Committee of the Auckland City Council to compel against the *White* population of Auckland, first to stop. They objected to "mass being allowed to have shops on wheels of the passenger street corners for a paper-merchant, while shopkeepers had to pay heavy rates and taxes." At a meeting of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association, various speakers tried to prove that the *Indian* and the Chinese are a menace to New Zealand. A speaker said that the *Indian* had taken from it all the *White* population out of the hands of the men who had gone to the front. Another speaker said that among the *White* population returned soldiers were being forced out of the *White* population industry in the *Indian* population. A speaker, *John T. Armstrong* said that his district was swarming with *Indians* who were working as labour. Another speaker said that a serious depression was being made by the Chinese to replace the fruit and vegetable trade in Christchurch, as it had been captured by Wellington and Auckland, and returned soldiers were asking for protection.

There is however no truth in the allegations about the *White* population. The *Indians* and *Chinese* are few and far between, and they have not altered the lot of the returned soldiers. Much of the aggression is due to the existence of

the Whites as the prototype of a 'White New Zealand' more than to anything else in some of the speeches reported in the strategy sheet. "We ought to declare definitely for a White New Zealand," said a speaker in the Conference of the National Soldiers' Association, Australia did it, and she never went back, and she has outlived by adopting that policy." "We ought to keep consistently saying for a White New Zealand," said Mr. T. Long at the meetings of the Australian National Soldiers' Executive, "that it is one of the planks in the original political platform of the National Soldiers' Association." But throughout of the Conference of Australian National Conferences at the National Soldiers' Association was more vocal and expressive of the true state of things in India.

It would not be wrong to press the economic side of the strategy sheet. The political side requires constant attention upon all these questions. The strategy had not treated the retained colonies as a body. The main point was the strengthening of the strategy sheet.

And this the Government desires to keep the country while that was the last of the 1914 war that was in operation. The National Soldiers' Association in New Zealand. They are reduced all over again, all over again, and are persistent in their claims. As a result hundreds of thousands of dollars of military and naval losses and more, and in respect of great of 1914, different they are not to return to India.

## THE ARMY COMMITTEE REPORT

FOUR MONTHS.

The Report of the Army Committee of 1914 had been to say to-day the strategy. The Committee had prepared a report, with special reference to political conditions, upon the administration and upon the organization of the Army in India, including its relations with the Government and the Indian Government, and the relations of the Indian Government to consider the position of the Government-in-India as the last report to head of the Army and member of the Executive Council and to make recommendations, and to consider and report upon any other matters which a majority of the committee had decided to refer to the Government. Under the heading of the subject reported above the committee has discussed a number of recommendations upon questions like the control of the military supply, and the organization of the Army in India, and a statement and report upon the personnel and finance. The recommendations may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) Financial Transfer of control of the military supply in India to the Imperial War Office.

(2) The appointment of the Commandant-in-Chief to become virtually the gait of the Imperial War Office.

(3) The abolition of the independence of the Military Department at the India Office and the subordination to the General Staff.

(4) The creation of the Military Supply Department with a British member on the Viceroy's Executive Council thus fully assisting the proposed change of role of Indian members.

(5) The creation of a Defence-Committee on which there will be an Indian.

(6) The creation of a Military Council with a British member of an Indian member to discuss the financial matters which may or may not be an Indian.

(7) The creation of two Army commands in India instead of two as at present.

(8) Reorganization of Dominion and British Commands.

(9) The abolition of the reporting staff and a great increase in the salary of British officers with policy matters in the case of Indian officers, and

(10) Changes in conditions of Army life in India and propaganda and publicity work against attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the troops.

We have related to a previous occasion, in connection with another subject the history of the military expenditure in India and we need not repeat it here. Suffice it to say that it has been without a break, a record of foreign expenditure and no solution to satisfy the Imperial War Office of the British policy in Asia at the end of the year. India has paid thereby also making it suffer and more for the Imperial War Office India and "India for whom" And the new role of the Government of the Army Committee which we have summarized above is to lighten further the load on India by a more accurate, organized and therefore expensive display of the British. Surely the use of these Imperial War Office are multiplying so as to bring about and substitute its own destruction.

## THE PROFESSION OF LAW AND WHAT IT MEANS.

[We are obliged for our article in India Spectator Press, L. K. & H. L., one of the leading members of the Indian Bar, and a member of the Senate and Speakership of the Indian University. He presided at the year's session of the Indian Provincial Conference. Having long he has decided to resign the membership of the Senate and Speakership and to withdraw from practice, the dignified article in a result of his own experience at the bar.—Ed. Y. L.]

Lawyer in India is a very expensive thing. The whole system of law courts and the method whereby it is enabled to obtain justice require enormous expenditure—often by the time one gets the best of the docket, one has had to spend more than the property in one's work.

To begin with, the so-called legal charges come to a high figure. The highest fee to pay a pretty heavy cost for the getting justice, and comprising thought may come, it is not that in some unnecessary rate, judicial stamp is a profitable source of revenue to the Government. In the next place every law court is infested with a number of

smoke, subordinate officers, power etc., each out of whom has to be paid a certain fee, not authorized by law, but not for that reason any the less rigorously exacted, as the largest factor that is refused to pay these perquisites of the expenditure of the law is apt to cost him more than these perquisites besides extending to him a lot of worry, trouble and perhaps grief.

It must be read in the spirit of the judiciary that as a body they are not open to corruption in the sense that they may be bribed, although there are exceptions, but the highest judiciary is not altogether free from other kinds of influence. The anxiety to clear the fee, to clear quickly disposed of cases, and to stick to the technicalities of the law is deduced from what the justice of the case demands, are responsible for many a wrong decision. In arguing a case before a Bench of two judges of a High Court, a Vakil happened to make the unfortunate remark, 'By Lord, the justice of the case demands, and that all you have to do justice' when he was sharply interrupted by one of the judges 'Oh . . . you are entirely mistaken. We do nothing of the sort. We decide cases on the record before us.'

The Vakil would only insist. My Lord—I am distressed to hear that. That gives the key-note to the attitude of most judges. The subordinate judiciary depend also for their promotion and preferment upon showing speedily disposed and clear file. They are also not free from the other kind of corruption, namely, that of overlooking or overlooking the merits or what they stand to be the wishes of other authorities. This happens especially when you have the Government taking a keen interest in the result of litigation either as a party or otherwise.

The law's delays and the procrastination of litigation are proverbial. There seems to be less fault for justice. A case which seems to be decided in the court and goes on for at least a year before it is taken up for hearing; the appeal to the High Court normally takes two years and if it goes to the Privy Council it takes another 2 to 4 years. But this is not in itself such news. My case was heard for months and some cases are known to have been heard from day to day for 12 months at some apart from the views on the part of the Vakil. The delay on the scores is simply unbearable. One cannot be sure of even a 50 p. of the case that come before a Court, and substantial justice is done. Litigation has come to be regarded, and rightly so, as a man of gambling. However just your cause and however true your case, you must be careful of winning it. The lawyer is mostly responsible for this uncertainty. Many a bad case is won by a so-called good advocate and many a true case has been lost on account of the folly or incompetency of the lawyer engaged or the cowardly of the party to engage an expensive lawyer. Is that the greater a lawyer's ability to collect and confer the judge and the true cause of the case, the higher is the fee that he commands. And what has the country to pay for the ability to make the "wrong appear the better chance"?

The fee which lawyers charge is out of all proportion to the amount of work done or the ability they display, with that of income compared to other professions. Some lawyers have been known to charge as much as fifty thousand rupees as personal fee that is, for the making the papers of the case which they have to argue. A personal fee of 2 to 3 per cent of the paper is not an unusual charge for the ordinary practitioners. In some cases the services of practitioners who have occupied seats in the High Court Bench have been regularly put to auction for conducting litigation to bid for. Over and above the personal fee some lawyers also charge what is called a consultation fee, i. e. the fee which the lawyer or partner gets for consulting with other lawyers engaged with him on the same side and for enabling him to clear his own case and saving his own time by taking notes of cases and precedents collected by the partner. The usual fee is Rs. 500/- per hour of consultation and in some cases even more. All this is before the case is actually taken up for argument. As the argument is daily fee is usually charged by those who have obtained a high standing in the profession. A fee of Rs. 500 per day of 40 to 50 hour work is not so new the usual fee. It is also the common practice to charge a full day's fee even when there is no particular fee only so long as less than very often happens that a lawyer is engaged on behalf of an applicant to the High Court, and having signed the order for the appeal, he does not sit in the Court to listen to the argument of the other side but goes to another Court to argue another case. In another fee and if the party insists upon his attending the Court while the adversary is arguing, he is required to pay Rs. 1000/- per day. It is not an uncommon occurrence that a lawyer engaged by a party is unable to attend the case, as he is engaged in some other court at the time when it is taken up. Some lawyers to such a case defend the fee, but those are others who would tell the client that what he paid others engaged for the same, he paid you and their services but that is a case of appearing, which means in other words the chance of their not appearing on the other side. But the fees become really fabulous when a High Court lawyer is taken in a judicial station. The usual charge with some lawyers is Rs. 500 for the first day and Rs. 1000 for each subsequent day. In particular cases with the High Court has been charged. Even so more when a lawyer has been engaged by the month the fee has been Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 30,000.

It should not be supposed that the over-charge is at all unreasonable with the ability of the labour of the man who is fortunate enough to command it. The difference in ability between one lawyer and another is not so great as he would like you to be. Even in case of junior practitioners the disparity between the fee of one man and another is not great to be justified by any standard of comparison of their abilities.

But the worst feature of the system, of which evidence of justice now prevails in the wholesale denunciation of the people. The Law Courts are largely responsible for the steadily decreasing respect for truth. The law of evidence rests on a standard of proof which can vary within an infinite number of degrees, and what they do not take care to perfect in the beginning but to be corrected when the matter goes to a court of law by voluntary false evidence. In some parts of the country every village knows that when side bar-mans and messes of kindred or eating people by the ears of one another, the stably consists in getting up false cases, like Kila to produce in country law in his capacity to work mischief. The law courts are full of these class of people. If you go to an out of the way village and try to settle a dispute between two parties, you are usually told by witnesses whom you may estimate that they will tell the truth as they are not appearing before a court but before a panel. It may be that respectable lawyers do not actually work witnesses in large numbers, but there can be no doubt that witness on witness amounts to nothing less than a law of the street—'that the particular class of witnesses, true if you see, but any law get them to prove that and that.' There is no denying the fact that by suggestion, insinuation, and otherwise the lawyer indicates what he wants to enable him to plead the case successfully and the client with the help of the best processes what the lawyer wants. In engaging a cause the only link to which even a respectable lawyer puts, which under professional etiquette he is required to put to himself is statements from false or untrue statements of facts. He is free to put the more absurd interpretations on documents or law provided he can do so with impunity on account of the weakness of the judge or his attorney. And the higher the status of the lawyer the greater the impunity with which he can behave to the judge.

There again the lawyer and the judge are not free to deal with a case on its merits. The judge can decide the facts as he likes, but for the law he has to depend not on the will of the legislature alone but on a large mass of decisions which are not always illuminating or reasonable and the greater the number of decisions which a lawyer can shrewdly bring in the face of the judge, the greater is his appreciation by the higher public and the greater are the chances of his outwitting the judge.

To add to all this, there are appeals, usual appeals, appeals to the Privy Council and so forth and not infrequently the decisions of first instance are reversed by the High Courts and again reversed by the Privy Council. The frequency of reversals, the want of ability of judges, the presence of ability in lawyers, never leave a litigant without a change of nerves and hope stirred springs at human heart. He sometimes wins no doubt but he wins when he has lost all, his money, his honor and his character.

Respectfully,  
S. S. S.

### MRS. HADYK RECEIVES HER MEDAL.

Mrs. Hadyk has received the following letter to the Khasi Deputation—

COPY.

1, Clarence Place,  
S. W. I,  
11th August, 1900.

To the Secretary of the Khasi Deputation.

Dear friends,

Your kind the Khasi Deputation have called this morning at 10 o'clock and to honor me, after an to wish you all Good-bye, and to thank you for extending to me a Hindu woman's privilege of showing your faces and covering them.

May I beg you to complete your kindness towards me by returning to the Secretary the Vestry as my behalf the Khasi Deputation, which I wore with pride for many years, but which, as you are aware, I have long been anxious to relinquish in token of my profound indignation and grief at the gross injustice of laws and the larger wrongs of the People at the hands of a Government indifferent to all sense of justice, honor and humanity, seeking to rob its representatives of a personal freedom of thought and feeling.

Will you convey to the Members of India the same sense of my legal freedom that has not followed through good or bad report, and always there to remember that the word of Hindu was never to be doubted in any sense the weakness of vicarious justice.

And bid my beautiful student Parth, for whom success I have ever my eyes about him. He is her heart and tongue, for nearly from the time of her leaving my house that spring the full harvest of my lifetime.

Good-bye. Yours humbly but a difficult and delicate embassy, but you have given yourselves devoted and hard laborers of your Faith.

Believe me,  
Your devoted friend and comrade,  
(S) Sanyal.

The following letter was enclosed in the above

COPY.

1, Clarence Place,  
S. W. I,  
11th August, 1900.

To the Secretary Lord Dalhousie,  
Vestry and Governor-General of India,

CHINA.

Sir,

I have received to deplore the Indian Khasi Deputation to convey back to your Excellency the Khasi Deputation which I was once with in token with pride, but having felt compelled to relinquish on more good and better of my profound indignation and sorrow at the larger wrongs and sufferings to which my country and my countrymen have been subjected.

The history of recent years has been an almost unbroken record of injuries, wrongs, oppressions, cruel / violence, and humiliations, religiously colored in a religious sense, and has ever sought to strip us the dignity of property towards the Indian Government and indignities towards the married people of the People.

It is therefore inseparable with my acceptance of honor and humanity which to maintain the system and policies of a Government that has not its feet upon the feet of India, and brought into mockery the high traditions of British justice and liberty.

I remain,  
Yours faithfully,  
(S) Sanyal.

**MR. NAIDU to MR. MONTAGU**

India's Hotel,  
23, St. James's Place,  
S. W.  
22nd August, 1930.

The Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu,  
Secretary of State for India,  
India Office, Whitehall, S. W. 1

Dear Sir,

Your Secretary's letter of 20th August, containing as you describe the proceedings of the Government of India's telegram, has only just reached me as my return from the country, or I should have answered it earlier.

I note that it has also been commented by the Press, but apparently without being accompanied by the previous correspondence referred to, which is essential to a proper understanding of the whole matter.

I can hardly believe that the Government of India's telegram is seriously put forward as a substantiation of charges of the grosser kind, based on the statements of witnesses whose evidence has been tested by cross-examination, and as published on the authority of a Committee consisting of distinguished and widely respected men, who are all members of the English law, one of whom held a high judicial office, and two of whom held leading positions as practicing lawyers in their respective Provinces, while the integrity of our friend, Mr. Girdler, and his competence as a such matters are well known to you as to me.

If that is so, we are asked to accept a charge which put forward by the Deputy Commissioner—an appointed professional and controlled by ordinary standards of justice, made adversely with the hope of derailing the evidence, closure of session, the resulting hostility of which cannot be qualified by the character of those subjected to it.

I am inclined to think that a British official should suggest that such an accusation could be lightly dismissed if by such a witness and completely unaided as the suggestion that the people concerned are too degraded to bear any charge on issues involving.

May I remind you that specific charges have been made of gross outrage on several occasions. I only go to mention it, not of the Deputy Commissioner's evidence. There is nothing in the Government of India's telegram which disproves all these things.

The remark that "the women stayed in a public house adjoining the Kotwali, or police-station, where no public office would dare to look them indignantly" in preparation in view of the threatened condition of the population throughout the period of martial law, and the acknowledged facts regarding every kind of outrage suffered by individuals of all classes in public.

This, however, a necessary misrepresentation to say that "It is common knowledge in India that lawless women wherever they congregate in the kotwali." I am proud to believe that the next Indian witness would reveal from the knowledge of being heard, except under the necessity, to relate the story of such an outrage where.

The further suggestion that such statements had been made from motives of revenge is entirely unworthy and incredible, but is certainly demolished by the statement of India's witnesses that no complaints were made at the time, and the fact that these charges only came to light when investigations began which had no cause to fear what it would come to light.

I cannot imagine what authority the final paragraph of the Government of India's telegram has to these charges, but it is unnecessary to have that a judicial tribunal would accept of uncorroborated reports concerning the persons whom it tried.

My own satisfaction, on facts and documents as set forth will give charges might seem to be proved.

Given uncorroborated evidence made out of the mouth, I prefer to stretch the belief that the public on their country will not be so easily deceived, and it is certain that Indians who are directly concerned in this question will not possibly accept uncorroborated details either by officials or the Government of India, whose record is replete to the satisfaction of the people of the Punjab has appreciation of all facts in their confidence as matters of their kind.

As far as I shall be prepared to deliberate these charges only when they have been conclusively proved by a proper judicial inquiry. As I do not think it is just to propose to delay the Government of India as to hold make an inquiry if I have indicated that the term "gross outrage" is just before of the 22nd July English calendar, more than a week before to the Deputy Commissioner.

May I also draw your attention to the other charges equally grave, made against a British Officer by a very large number of witnesses, and yet which dated in my letter to you of the 22nd July? The Government of India's telegram does not deal with these at all, and I should be glad to know what steps have been taken to ensure a thorough and impartial investigation.

Yours faithfully,  
Sd/- S. S. Naidu.

CCPT

FROM VICEROY, BOMBAY DEPARTMENT

12th August, 1930.

J. J. K. 2281.

Enclosures to the Punjab and Congress Report. The completion of all documents made by the Viceroy in question. It is now reported by Deputy Commissioner that the Government of India and other witnesses mentioned are all persons of law and of being in possession of original copies of statements and reports, who have called in Amritsar City for purpose of presentation. Consistent with Government Order regarding the subject of the.

On information received, police constable James of Muzam and New and mounted Khanda and Panna mounted before, who were in the act of drinking property located from the Kotwali of India. Large amount of bank property was recovered, and all the same general criminal elements were provided by many other witnesses. Of the same reported here were mentioned and mentioned in death in Muzam that number one, witnesses being subsequently contacted to transported on his file. Two other constables and returned to on my part Government for having possession of stolen property of India, but they were released in December last. Evidence and the other friends who were present the house were taken to Kotwali, but in the evening they were allowed to go home on the understanding that they would appear next day, when it was decided that women should not be presented. On both other days the women stayed in a public house adjoining Kotwali, where no public officer would dare look them indignantly as alleged. It is common knowledge in India that lawless women congregate in the kotwalis in the Indian Deputy Commissioner says that charges are presented and absolutely false, and only made out of revenge against those officials who give evidence against them before martial law tribunals and such leading part in crime and recovery of stolen property.

The Punjab case, when they were deposited in Lahore for trial before tribunal, made a great deal of time at the railway station and asked their relatives. By way of revenge to lodge a complaint that was uncorroborated and taken a hold. They added that they would personally deal with the constables if they themselves were released. Tribunal which tried National Bank number one are said to have received two confidential reports submitted as regard to this.









what religious work is a religious duty to teach innocent children that they are to be educated when they reach a particular age. They are baptised when they are infants or even before it even. The dress and the food of the children are also aids to stimulating piety. We dress our children like dolls and for their best for our pleasure and vanity. I have brought up children by the sword. And they have without difficulty taken to and delighted in my de-*o*-is given to them. We provide them with all kinds of books and stimulating books. Our best love takes its roots of them openly. The result undoubtedly is an early adolescence, an immature pregnancy and an early grave. Parents furnish an object lesson when the children study piety. By reckless indulgence in their passions they serve for their children as models of un-*o*-vised homes. Every untimely addition to the fund is welcomed as well. Incomplete of joy and sorrow. The wonder is that we are not less restrained than we are, not-with-standing our surroundings. I have not a shadow of doubt that married people if they work well to the contrary and want to see India become a nation of strong and hardiness well-formed men and women they would practise perfect self-restraint and then to promote for the best bang. I prefer this strictness even to the early married. It is easier yet to do a thing at all than to restrain doing it, even so it is easier for a life abstainer to remain comely than for a drunkard or even a temperate man to abstain. To remain good is infinitely easier than to run from a fall. It is wrong to say that catholicism can be safely practised only to the uneducated. There can hardly say wrong, rather, in providing convenience to uneducated people. And my point is that whether we are young or old, uneducated or not, it is our duty in the present moment to suspend bringing forth heirs to our slavery.

May I point out to parents that they ought not to fall into the representative trap of the rights of persons. Consent is required for adulterous acts. In restraint, this is an obvious truth.

When we are regarded as a South sea with a general government, we shall need all the strength of physical, material and moral, and spiritual. We cannot get it when we husband the cow dung which we must pass above everything else. With out the present party of life, we must remove a nation of slaves. Let us not deceive ourselves by imagining that because we consider the system of government to be corrupt, Englishmen are to be despised as competitors to race for personal rule. Without making any special parade of the fundamental virtues, they practice them at least physically in an abundant measure. Among those who are engaged in the political life of the country there are more debaters and speakers than among us. Especially among us are practically unknown except for those who have no experience on the political life of the country. Whereas in Europe democracy does signify a general virtue.

I now place before the reader a few simple rules which are based on the experience not only of myself but of many of my associates.

(1) Boys and girls should be brought up simply and naturally in the full belief that they are to do our nation's business.

(2) All should abstain from eating and stimulating foods, such as chilies, fish and concentrated flesh such as fishers, mutton and food substances.

(3) Married and wife should occupy separate rooms and be of privacy.

(4) Both wife and man should be cordially and kindly excepted.

(5) Early work and early to bed should be strictly observed.

(6) All work on the earth should be avoided. The activities for unclean thoughts and thoughts.

(7) Treaties, covenants, which tend to draw into parties should be despised.

(8) Nationalism should avoid unnecessary rivalry. A well built every hour be a fairly strong, patient in the heart procedure in such cases. It is wrong to say that an untrained indulgence is a safeguard against revolutionary ideas.

(9) Above all one must not consider confidence even as between husband and wife to be so difficult as to be practically impossible. On the contrary self-restraint must be considered to be the ordinary and natural process of life.

(10) A least-half hour every day for quiet makes one progressively pure.

### ENSLAVING THROUGH SLAVERY

In one of his recent speeches Mr. Mahatma told us an Egyptian he met in London, who on being informed of the massacre at Jallawalla, and the English soldiers' unfeeling or angry words, "Vainly I am deceiving all that, for this is helping the British in enslaving slavery in us." We wonder if the Egyptian was quite justified to remark a while before in the way he did, when we remember that a class nation as we are we have often been reflecting and working against the rule of harshness and inhumanity. But now that the whole nation is working in a consciousness of its strength and we know of the liberty happily that is being granted in Mesopotamia, it would seem to our looking slavery as the business of us and we are not to be allowed longer to be party to that blood-guiltiness.

The Nation reacted by the last week has an article the contents of which must make us hang down our heads in shame as we work as a mouth of our unpopularity in Mesopotamia, where there are Comrades of non-thoughtless are helping to start the paper with an act of 'pardon', "for pardon is to promise a population the freedom and then to hang and shoot men for refusing it until you have the whole country in a state of war." In a few lines and great statistics supported by weighty authority, the Nation goes up the world tale of murder and bloodshed, and of the numerous 'murder' of life, that had resulted in Mesopotamia. In helping to expose the British political and economic life, the British officials "have

been so successful in their task that even taxes as large as those in the United States in proportion to those to be levied would be necessary. It is well known we are speaking on this war against their millions of Arabs, and that in spite of the education of the British people. Thousands of lives British and Indian, will be sacrificed, and every death in Mesopotamia has clearly at the door of Mr Lloyd George and his colleagues. Their methods of fighting an Imperialist Power are a lesson both against the latter's will to India, and in as much as they have never been with a full and entire of the two. But they are also a lesson against humanity and civilization. It is the V. P. 'Civil Liberties' who takes the million lives of the Middle East before that any other living man tells us that these methods have been better than the methods of General Dyer. (Dyer) upon his trial. Lawrence writes to the 'Sunday Times', the Editor says, 'Dyers have been for a year that we have been told, our administration since Dyer's trial, and I confess that the public knows. It is a disgrace to our respect and our own to be so without for any military man.' 'Times' says, 'The Indian says, "Dyer's name is forgotten enough our resistance to the League of Nations, but our non-violence will not be a life, shocked by those that have been actually displaced from Mesopotamia, in order to secure a suitable to their health."

The Congress rightly included in the Resolution on Non-co-operation, more than a change of curriculum in schools, that is to follow in Mesopotamia. Discontent in us will be responsible for us to withdraw the address and to believe that are already their helping in the responsible task of the nation. It is a protest that is a statement of that non-co-operation and if for ending this, we must stand in brother with the Mohammedans in their fight for the honour of Islam which is a fight so long for the liberty of the Arab, then for the religious living of the whole Muslim world. And having stated that we may not all in our state of us by helping us to even our continuing the ending of violence in this unfortunate land for the proper solution.

### THE BRITISH GUIANA COLONISATION SCHEME

(By H. M. & J. P. A. J.)

So far, no public announcement has been made of the personnel of the Deputation, to be appointed by the Government of India in respect of the recommendations of the Select Committee of the Indian Legislative Council, appointed to discuss matters with the object of investigating on the spot the needs of Indian settled there. It would seem that there is some feasible plan of some sort of investigation, in view of certain facts that have appeared in the local press. It ought to be noted, as the first step, that Mr J. A. Lockhart, the principal Indian Member of the Commission deputed to India, has accepted the Chairmanship of the British

Guiana Indian Association, whose headquarters are at Georgetown. It will be remembered that Mr Lockhart and his Indian colleagues issued a pamphlet proposing to be published under the auspices of the British Guiana Indian Association, in which the Colonisation Scheme was strongly recommended. Most serious objections were taken by the Association to the wrong use to which it was put, and a petition, which was circulated in India in which the pamphlet was denounced as being unauthorised, and the Scheme itself was characterised as being not a genuine scheme of colonisation but one of labour importation, which is quite a different sort of thing.

Upon Mr Lockhart's return to Georgetown, it would seem from newspaper reports that I have referred to, he was called, in his capacity as President, to a meeting of the Association. In such a meeting to talk for the resolution. He informed the meeting that under the resolution was resolved that would have no effect but to arrange for other to President. After an extended discussion, however, the Association decided that it would not withdraw the resolution, by which it was proposed to stand and so on, and Mr Lockhart has been replaced in the Chairmanship by Mr J. Vigness, a well known local politician, who was the former Vice President.

From this episode, it seems fairly clear that Indian opinion in British Guiana remains hostile to the Scheme as vigorously advocated by Mr Lockhart, and I may add that I have widespread evidence, both from British Guiana and from this country, that the Association's view of the real character of the so-called Colonisation Scheme is well based.

From certain incidents that have occurred in the Colony of late, one is justified in drawing the deduction that everything is not so easy there as it has been represented to be, and that the economic situation is far from being as bright as we have been led to believe. For example, on the 11th July, 1900 Indian immigrants returned to India by one steamer. It seems a disproportionately large number, then, has, writes to the 'Daily Argosy' from a private station in the number of Immigrants and related matters of India was also about the steamer of Georgetown, and local Indians have started a subscription list to meet a steamer for these distressed people. The 'Daily Chronicle' of July 1, reports that the whole of the Indian labourers on one estate went to strike for increased wages. They complained that they were allowed only working for a miserable weekly pittance of 100 Dal. (worth 1 1/2 Rs.) and when they rebelled against this, their money was deducted by the manager. It seems very probable that Indian, coming to the Colony under the Colonisation Scheme, will face appreciably better than their countrymen and women already there, and having regard to the way in which the labour are apparently treated, it would seem very desirable that India should hesitate long before sending any more of her children to the Colony.











## CONTENTS

	Page
<b>Reviews, Contributions</b>	
Maharaja's Decree .. .. .	1
Political of British East .. .. .	1
<b>Articles</b>	
From Violence to— .. .. .	11
Intensity of Discipline .. .. .	2
British Congress Committee and Trade .. .. .	3
Emancipatory Subterfuge .. .. .	3
<b>Non-Co-operation in Madras</b> .. .. .	
—An Open Letter from Raja Mahendra Pratap .. .. .	4
—My An Answer to the Present Political Situation .. .. .	4
Registration in East Africa .. .. .	5

*Young India.*

Published, Fort St. George, 22th October, 1896

## FROM VIOLENCE TO—?

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

It will be admitted that non-co-operation has passed the stage of violence. Whether it will now be met by repression or respect remains to be seen. Opinion has already been expressed on these subjects that violence is an approved and useful method of opposition. The successful rebuke though approved as unimpeachably correct in intent was not open to completion.

But the testing time has now arrived. In a violent country even violence fails to kill a movement it begins to excite respect. Opponents meet it by respectful and cogent argument and the mutual hatred of rival parties grows because violence does not permit to convert the other or draw to ourselves elements towards its side by pure argument and reasoning.

There is little work now that the objects of the students will be attained if it is not complete. The students have become disturbed. Impatient, obstinate may say they become truly so; and Madai Mohal Neta's great recommendation of a legal protest which was probably accord to nobody's is by itself an event calculated to change minds in respect. It ought to set people thinking seriously about their own attitude. There must be something very wrong about our government—in violation the way Madai Mohal Neta has taken. Post-graduate students have given up their fellowships, Medical students have refused to appear for their final examination. Non-co-operation in these circumstances cannot be called a half-measure.

Could the Government meet head to the will of the people which is being expressed in so unorthodox a form through non-co-operation, or it must attempt to crush the movement by repression.

Any form used by a government to deride any consciousness is not repression. An open trial of a process accused of using advanced methods of

violence is not repression. Every State has the right to put down violence by force. But the trial of Mr. Rafter Ah Khan and two students of Punjab shows that the Government is seeking not to put down or prevent violence but to suppress its propagation of agents, to prevent spread of this Nation. That is repression. The trials are the legitimizing of it. It has not still assumed a violent form but if these trials do not result in ending the propaganda, it is highly likely that serious repression will be started by the government.

The only other way to prevent the spread of this Nation is to remove the cause thereof. And that would be to respect the growing response of the country to the programme of non-co-operation. It is too much to expect repression and thereby from a government interested with agents and jobs.

We must therefore assume that the second stage in the Government programme will be repression growing to violence to the same extent as the progress of non-co-operation. And if the movement survives repression, the day of victory 'of truth is near. We must then be prepared for persecution, imprisonment and exile deportations. We must evolve the capacity for going on with our programme without the leaders. That means capacity for self-government. And as no government in the world can possibly get a whole nation in prison, it must yield in its demands or substitute in favour of a government suited to that nation.

It is clear that obstinacy from violence and persistence in the programme are our only and best chance of attaining our end.

The government has its option, either to respect the movement or to try to repress it by barbarous methods. Our choice is either to succumb to repression or to continue in spite of repression.

## NECESSITY OF DISCIPLINE

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

I have already mentioned upon my experiences of want of method and discipline in Madras. The same want is being noticed during the tour in the North-West. Everywhere there is chaos and disorder not for want of men but because of want of discipline without training. They are called upon to handle a machine and receive that are unrepresented. There is more noise and bustle than work.

Madai Mohal Ah is the self-disciplined organizer. He wants to carry all parties and therefore prefers the easy route to any programme he envisages. To take only one instance. He accepted for the night they a motor ride from Aligarh to Mathura, then to Deh and from Deh to Kanpur with the prospect of a slow night journey from Kanpur to Cawnpore. The motor ride covered a distance of 80 miles. After a trying meeting of workers at Aligarh early in the morning, we got into the motor at 9.40 a. m. and reached Mathura at about 11 a. m. The bus was burning

hat and boots. The inevitable rainy procession was there. It was followed by a huge meeting involving an untoldable crowd on the roof of the strongest quaker. We however got far our pulses recognition of these history weaknesses. We entered Dook to Dook. There was a little more order there than at Dook. Some other looking Dook we entered in Kanyay. We had accidents during the journey, the one refusing to save Vah. Finally we reached Kanyay. Madam Madam! It and his companion not making in time for the train. We had several recognitions of Dook. The morning at Kanyay for its numerous men was well managed but not without difficulty. The morning the last has become an uncontrollable performance causing much waste of time and involving danger when it occurred 90 in the night of a large crowd.

But the most wonderful experience was the night journey from Kanyay to Ganspore. It was made some days afterwards by myself standing at every station. They were always crowded and noisy. The noise they made in order to wake me up were getting and heart-breaking. I was tired. My head was reeling and was badly in want of rest. In view of the Ganspore and others piled with the crowds for self-control and silence. The noise they explored, the more aggressive the crowds became. It was a tag of war between her and the crowds. The latter would get on the light or close to the pot it off. If she put up the chains the crowd immediately put them down. I was coming, did they want me to do a premature death? The answer was they had come away under to have drinks and drinks they must have. I had hardened my heart and refused to move till it was deplorable. As there was not a mark of sleep for any of us during the night of that night. It was a most remarkable performance of love and soul. An unexpected and inferior, I was getting under every and every believe that I have a message of hope for them. They came from all quarters without waiting back to meet me.

So I do believe that I have a message of hope and certain deliverance for—

10. It is a big BUT There is no deliverance and no hope without courage, discipline and self-control. Mere words without discipline will be unavailing. How to create discipline out of this laboring wilderness? Not primarily by the British hypocrite in the British hypocrisy. The British should have no authority for the loving and glorious of demonstration of a peaceful and peace-loving people. They would put it down if they could, by barbarous criticism of those who in Sir Madam O'Dwyer used and vigorously failed.

But if this demonstration cannot be put down by force, it cannot also proceed. There is for India no set regulation and harness for national good. There are in it all the elements of success as well as of self-destruction. It cannot lead to the pos-

sessed goal of the nation or entangled affairs wastes its efforts by succumbing upon their hours of wasted time. We must therefore cease to hold national demonstrations. We must have consideration for the feelings of the lowest of our fellow beings. We must not disturb the rest of a train load of passengers. We must learn to transmit our love for our losses into respectable energy and useful action. Love that is united with teaching the best of its love and making more of love is likely to become parental. Each love seems to be a virtue and after a time becomes a positive indulgence and therefore a vice. The greatest task before the nation today is to discipline its demonstrations if they are to have any useful purpose. Non-co-operation is not designed to create hatred but to purify the nation to the point of reaching a point against ignorance aggression whether from within or from without. Non-co-operation to be effective must be preceded by cooperation between all the work composing the great and various people. Let us begin by co-operating with our local ones.

#### THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND 'INDIA'

(By H. K. Gandhi.)

I gladly profess to another column an open letter sent to me by Mrs. Norman. I do not know the lady save by her writings in India which it was being edited by her. Her views on non-co-operation are refreshingly strong and her unqualified support of the object of the proposed Committee ought to prove unalloyed to the workers. But I would not say that it is to outweigh the effect of the report on the British public or the League of Nations. It is better for us to send our attention on our own day irrespective of the effect of the performance on outside opinion. We have overestimated the effect of our action on British public opinion and so doing we have often damaged the true interests of the nation. At the same time Mrs. Norman's argument appears to me to be precisely sound.

What will however attract the public more are perhaps her views on the British Committee. I do not know the merits of the controversy she discusses. But apart from the merits, her views on the organization of the Committee would appear to be original. I entirely associate myself with her remark that a British Committee, to be true to the name, should be composed exclusively of the British people and financed by them. It is then more likely to exert influence on British public opinion than we.

In any case we would then have a real voice of the British interest in Indian affairs. I believe Mrs. Norman's views about the newspaper *India* are also correct. The paper quite much more than it is worth. Its influence on English opinion is practically nothing and it is an excellent vehicle of English opinion for India's enlightenment. Its only value therefore resides in its parliamentary reports which are in



### WADDAI LETTER.

Dear Mr. GANDHI,

The members of Madras city are too happy and most respectful among its inhabitants. I am indebted to Mr. Kanda Karthayyan, one of the many public spirited voluntary workers among them for the following interesting information. The Government of Madras has decided to divide the Government quarters of the city into 24 divisions, each division being in charge of a committee of twelve persons including a professional secretary. The duties of the Division Committees include to group into every province, institutions on all the points of a mass character and disposal of all money claims. A central committee of every division has been constituted, out of which branches of ten members are chosen by lot to serve in turn, with authority to set in motion a system being laid for a local bank. All disputes are disposed of by the Divisional Committee and all appeals are heard and decided by the Central Council. A copy of work plan has been framed for division and fixing work. Every unit of 12 workers is under a captain and the whole city is under the orders of the Secretary of the Government of Madras. The Police corps now numbers 100. All Government schools in Madras city and about the city of Mysore are eligible for membership of the Sabha. Up to now, the Sabha has enrolled 2000 members. Every member pays an annual contribution of one Rupee. So far 5000 names have been finally notified by the Sabha's office.

The Sabha's programme are starting on a vigorous and wide scale programme.

### Education

The Government have started the Districtal Madras school every where, and getting from the large gatherings of non-cooperative madras, it is clear that it is only a question of time which may the districts will accept the pure National School, Hindu-Muslim treatment, and Government or voluntary with the Government that has notified the general madras and transferred subjects Government. Madras has no separate institutions.

### AN OPEN LETTER

1939

Miss HELEN SCHMIDTSON

(Member of "India")

21 Madras Road, Igatpore W. C.

September 12th 1939

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

As a member from the party opposite to the Government, I venture to send you a few observations upon the policy, and its aims in the line of an open letter to you, because it has been my light to read and compare, possibly with severity to what "India," the official organ of the Indian National Congress shows it is possible that the reasons by which I have been led to my policy may have some basis relative for influence in Indian National Government.

As late as December 1937 I was upon the whole a believing voter in India, in cooperation with the

Government of India that the great indignity had been done in open air in the case of Indian students at all the Great Indian Commission events and in the Indian in Congress and Lords, but it seemed to me that if India held itself firm it, but lack of confidence might be maintained by the world as large as an epidemic and general solution for discipline political life. When, however the present the Foreign Treaty was released on December 12th has after long months of consultation, it became clear that India could only cooperate with any treaty upon two conditions, viz. —

(1) That Britain should withdraw her own forces and make amends by steady proportional measures of justice upon the Foreign Treaty.

(2) That in an amount of good will and appreciation towards Indian Madras, India she should see her national performance in the Supreme Council to show no longer more as possible or suspended Turkey. It was a typical case for special treatment. It was the universally greater national power dealing with the specially superior one.

Neither of these two conditions has been observed. The Foreign Treaty-conditions have been passed and the committee to call treaty-conditions for India, Turkey has been hardly dealt with.

It has become therefore the duty of every loyal Indian to do whatever he can to prove that he will not in any way let the hand that has laid him down to work the reform, which since the Great Government succeeded to its tyrannical power continuously after the present termination of that tyranny, the entire world in Parliament of a Member of India, and the dependence of the Madras, would be necessary to the very end of India or of any better in the future. It is quite possible that India's non-cooperation will be unopposed and unopposed for a time, but that is not, she will take the penalty of political coverage has been and unopposed.

I remember, however, a great risk than unopposedness and danger. It is that you will have followers who will come forward in the eyes of world nations by saying the way and the end always in your policy is either to encourage their non-cooperation of the one essential thing. The way of the whole matter is unopposed from among the world-nations under the Government of India that, I think that in ignorance of my detailed knowledge of what part or parts of your policy the present Congress has put into, and, but a small part have become that the end-working type of political conduct would be willing enough for others to continue that under or under from among the army of India — but this will gradually enough continue with a more broad world and more any sort of non-cooperation which did not involve with its own personal circumstances. If there is any such, there would be the way who would not the part into the enemy's hand. Why? Because in political conduct, one must always consider what the enemy demands one to do, and what the enemy does not demand one to do. It is obvious that Britain's law would necessarily even half a dozen prominent Congressmen who would enter the Legislative Council. I therefore sincerely hope that with the conditions noted above are fulfilled, no British would the same will not be coming for a year or two of peace.



The moral sentiment against this has been brought to all the ears of the world. When the people meeting at the Egyptian National Convention, in London, May, 1876, in Ireland and the Independent Movement in India. They have all more or less generally pronounced themselves against this use of colored troops by the British.

Q.—What kind of an intention do you suppose the late British Government of India? What will happen to get an intention and to get, to the fact? Is colored troops over 200,000,000, people?

A.—Primarily their speaking was a call to the People of India to investigate whether happened and after seeing the treatment of Indians in almost every part of the British Empire where they were placed, I have come to the final conclusion that India has of long ago been and has been a place within the British Empire. We must, in the near future, not only have and independent free Egypt. It would be quite ridiculous for Egypt to be free and independent, and India to be subject and dependent.

#### British Power.

Q.—But would not the idea of Home Rule or self Government within the Empire be sufficient for India?

A.—No, for the simple reason that an absolute British power is in position. It is a something and something that is not a simple self-governing democracy (such as South Africa, Canada, Australia and Sweden), the British Empire which does not repudiate in every nation they take, however small they may give provisions of responsibility of Imperial Conferences held at South Africa from which I have just returned. The Government of South Africa is now doing its best to reduce not only the colored Indians, but to South Africa from Indians to have the same. There was a time when and the Indian question, whose one objective is to do a very Indian out of South Africa. In those few very slighted idea of a common brotherhood to them the Empire since. It is the treatment of India and the, into again. Let us say, finally, a single Englishman does not belong to India. The Indians are to be protected, not merely their rights to be very idea is to them under India. It is to be a very and I really, as for as my eyes can see, there is no part of India, where Indians are less welcome than well in the British Empire. I have seen so many eyes upon the difference of least work in Portugal that has as well as British East Africa. I have lived in both places. I was not speaking from knowledge but from eyes personal observation. In Portuguese East Africa, Indians are treated as good as in British East Africa they are subjected every day to petty daily death. They are made to feel their own inferiority of position every moment of their lives.

Q.—But will not the state of things within the British Empire also change for the better?

A.—I suppose so. It is growing rapidly worse from day to day, and almost every Englishman who comes out from Great Britain, gets infected with this racial poison. I have heard against before the two years. I have had this same race already coming to my mind all that time. I have not spoken nearly because I had been hoping against hope for a while, I cannot tell you how actually I have hoped for it, and I have worked for it too. With great experience, I have reported to the British Press all the various signs of a change which I witnessed in Australia and New Zealand and elsewhere, and I used my utmost to bring about more friendly relations with India. But since the war, things have got rapidly worse. Even a distance from the New Zealand where I still I found a deeply spirit, has now started to be a national opinion.

Q.—How do you account for all this?

#### White Power.

A.—I think you have to realize in that very word "White" has been fully demonstrated in the the English have captured by force, but the use of negro troops under conditions of force with as the war developed has morally and morally our character. Without the moral treaties with their negro troops imperious. Without the moral was a moral of Central Europe and the civilization. Without the moral treaties of justice made in Africa and India and Turkey. Without the moral treaties of moral treaties from a moral the moral with a moral power. These things cannot happen without a moral power.

Q.—How these things have been chiefly the fact of the British Government of India? What has happened in the British colonies of India?

A.—The same. The "White Power" idea have spread out from the has been spreading even in an earnest. It is the growth of a new racial religion, the religion of the White Race. As power has not, naturally included the colored nations and peoples, truly or partly, but in any very widely spread in France and other European countries because a kind of change of the White Race in the rest of the world and throughout world.

Q.—Should you explain it in more quite understand.

A.—I will do so. The Religion of the "White Race" is a religion that is a power. It is a religion that is a power of life. You hardly ever hear the word "Religion" in the rest of the world. This religion has its own ritual. It makes itself to be in defense of the "White Race" but nothing whatever in real about the things that "White Race" does in the eyes of the other race. The religion of the "White Race" is to be known. All other races must be made into enemies of a real, and enemies of water, to order that the "White Race" may occupy the earth. It has never been taught in any other world, and never ought to belong to us. What you have to understand is that the religion of the "White Race" has become a blood thirsty, brutal and unprovoked creed, for which there is no mercy, and will continue to do it until it has destroyed and persecuted power.

Q.—How you mean the "White"?

A.—Yes, I have seen them everywhere. I have seen them in Australia where thousands of people at public meetings give wild and almost delirious cheer "White Australia." I have seen them in Fiji, where the "White" planters have only one idea in mind of keeping the Indians in the proper place. I have seen them in South Africa where Indians are treated quite distinctly as an inferior race. I have seen them in the Malay Peninsula, in Singapore and Hongkong. Almost all I have seen them (and I really see them) in British East Africa. The outcome of East Africa has appeared to me to be the best case. It has shown that the theory of the Indian's equality with the British Empire has utterly broken down. There is no such thing.

Q.—How can you account things of this sort religion of the "White Race" in India itself?

A.—Yes, I have. As I told you, I was in the Punjab last year. In that part of India the power of white supremacy has increased in the most amazing manner. One small sign of this, which shows what the real idea is showing, is the sign of the word "White" by Englishmen of themselves. You hear it used everywhere and it was not used there formerly by the English Indian. But what has happened you more than that was

to the growth of this religion has been the almost total absence of Christianity in India towards General Dyer and the Government except I cannot speak of that. It has given beyond words.

Q.—If things become in this part, then what of the future?

THE LADIES.

A.—When we see the progress of the White Race spreading their state possibility of equal treatment in India. They will not change by violence within the empire, if they will submit to be governed and in return but eliminate the empire was hardly to be treated as without them. Agents of Indian care to demonstrate their views completely and wear English dress and speak only English and live on English habits and copy English manner with meticulous accuracy, they will be observed by a large number of Englishmen and another we shall see some way to meet them as in an equality on a point of their complete disintegration, but the Government will, it rather hinders the Indian National problem. Such men are really built in India.

Q.—Can you give me any further proof that the situation has become hopeless?

A.—Only consider carefully what of all nations. I have said and repeated often on the part of Englishmen to get Indians an industrial education to the minimum they will more interest and work to do, because there is money to be got in there as money on the all walls of India. But for Indians to be under the Empire as get more rights, so, that we go to sleep with our eyes. When Gandhi, Ambedkar, Jinnah and other such leaders were with us. And in our great heart and the white people hold, that and then only we might talk of equality, with in the empire.

Q.—What about the Hyderabad Agreement?

A.—A Bombay a week-end meeting hardly advances the matter are laughing at us and we have been fooled.

THE LADIES.

Q.—Then your idea of the future is 'Indian Indian days'?

A.—Most definitely. I can imagine go of her system which will give self respect. I am a Christian and the golden rule which Christ himself gave every man, our man take it. "Whosoever ye would work that man should do unto you, even as ye would that men should do unto you." I am an Englishman. I value above anything else my English freedom and independence. I apply that rule of Christ in India. What then is my? There is one more thing that that I ought to wish for Indians the very same freedom and independence which I value so highly myself.

Q.—But do you think that England will ever yield to us such freedom and independence?

A.—Yes, I certainly do, in the one understanding that Indians actively demand it with a flag and stretched their program, and refuse to be satisfied with anything else. It may take some time, some time, but that that is the final goal, and that then there shall Indian independence will be well-earned.

Q.—What large meeting are you thinking of in the near future?

A.—I am thinking of the 50 to 75 million of inhabitants where I have thousands of men who are ready. Now that the Indian National problem has been solved, this problem of the masses India might have a large demand however, if the reasonable problem were solved.

Q.—Will you explain that point?

INDIA WITH THE BROTHERS OF THE EMPIRE.

A.—I had thought to see the question, night and day, and I concluded it not only in India, but in relation to the Indian position abroad. You will remember the golden rule whatsoever you would wish that men should do unto you, even as ye would them. If we wish to have our own rights recognized as being well deserved, then we must recognize the rights of others when they claim, we are obliged to call by the historical name of brotherhood, though they are not our own brother, and cannot, we are obliged to follow accordingly.

Q.—What impression got of the importance of this question?

A.—I will leave the most terrible instance of self-satisfaction noticed by a noble Indian gentleman, Babanbhoy. He used to say "The English, these white men, have made us the common 'whosoever' I never have what I wish to be acceptable to. I come out to this country. I see the way that they in the future for our own as a brother—our own brother. The love of Jesus are working themselves out".

Q.—Are you hopeful that Indians themselves will give the answer to their own necessities?

A.—That definitely. I can see the change coming sweeping and the old evil theory of "Divine" and "un-divine" will soon be swept away. But I cannot tell you how urgent it is that the change develop as soon. I believe it merely in the younger generation. I am never so happy as when among Indians in India. There is a fund of religious faith, that which could go very way all these and various nations. Our own analysis at Gandhi-Nehru has led the way themselves and carried their games with them. They are enthusiastic about the future and so on. A miracle has already happened. The Hindu-Muslims will have broken out. The Hindu-Muslims have broken a new world in needed and I believe in God that it will come in your. The ground is ready in the leading days of the history of independence. When that has been accomplished, India will have gained the full moral strength of a united nation.

SEGREGATION IN N. AFRICA.

Following cables dated 18th October have been received from East Africa—

It is understood that the proposal of the sale of plots of the Mt. Victoria have been stopped by Government under segregation rules and that at a recent Mt. Victoria and our Indian members of the Durban Committee are organizing their visit. Strong protest from India against segregation is necessary. East Africa Indian Congress is held for months at Durban. Mt. Victoria has been offered to membership of the Durban Committee. R.I. N. N. American has returned from India with Columbia Congress message.

The Indian Association East Africa has called to the Victoria.

Indians' moral segregation based on language of the same position. There is a no including your private household land, resulting restrictions in land belonging to the five tribes in Mountain range for European and some only other than owned lands affected. Indian Association is expected to be the first to be organized in East Africa. Being recently in the reasonable distance amongst general leveling community based to India.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by R. K. Ghosh)

17618

New Series }  
Vol. II No. 48 }

42788444 PARASURAM, CHOTANAG, AND CO.

Price Two Annas  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS.

	Page
To Every Englishman in India ..	1
Financial Notes ..	2
ARTICLES.	
Departmental Charges ..	3
Misery ..	4
For Your ..	4
To The Trustees of the Victoria College ..	5
Reviews.	
The Real African Question ..	6
(By Mr. C. J. A. J. ..)	6
MEMORANDUMS.	
In Defence of Mahatma and Mr. ... ..	7
Some Hopes and Great Dreams ..	8
Editorial note on Dept. of ... ..	8

## To Every Englishman in India.

DEAR FRIEND:

I wish that every Englishman will see this appeal and give thoughtful attention to it.

Let me introduce myself to you. In my humble opinion, no Indian has co-operated with the British Government more than I have for an untold period of twenty-two years of public life in the face of circumstances that might well have turned any other man into a rebel. I ask you to believe me when I tell you that my co-operation was not based on the best of the promises provided by your laws or any other selfish motives. It was free and voluntary co-operation based on the belief that the men total of the destiny of the British Government was for the benefit of India. I put my life in peril four times for the sake of the Empire,—at the time of the Boer war when I was in charge of the Ambulance Corps whose work was necessary in General Buller's despatches, at the time of the Zulu revolt in Natal when I was in charge of a malarial corps, at the time of the commencement of the late war when I raised an Ambulance Corps and as a result of the circumstances incurred but a severe attack of pleurisy, and lastly, as fulfilment of my promise to Lord Christiesdale at the War Conference in Delhi, I threw myself in such an active marketing campaign in Kaira District as shilling bag and typing machines, that I had an attack of dysentery which proved almost fatal. I did all this to the full belief that such an man must give for my country an equal status in the Empire. On September 12, 1914

I pleaded hard for a month as a prisoner. I fully believed that Mr. Lloyd George would release me prisoner in the Netherlands and that the restrictions of the official situation in the Punjab would secure full repayment for the Punjab, but the treasury of Mr. Lloyd George and his opposition by you, and the conditions of the Punjab situation have completely shattered my faith in the good intentions of the Government and the action which is supporting it.

But though my faith in you and administration is gone, I recognize your honesty, and I know that what you will not yield to justice and reason, you will gladly yield to history.

So what has happened since to India—  
Exploitation of India's resources for the benefit of Great Britain,

all the remaining arbitrary and unjust and a well-arrived the most expensive in the world,

Extraneous working of every department in utter disregard of India's poverty,

Disregard and contemptuous consideration of a whole nation but an animal nation might regard the loss of a handful of you as our death.

Traffic in cottons, sugar and drugs for the purpose of maintaining a top-heavy administration,

Progressively repressive legislation in order to suppress an ever-growing opinion which seeks to give expression to the nation's agony,

Degrading treatment of Indians residing in your dominions, and

You have shown total disregard of our feelings by glorifying the Punjab administration and forgetting the Bhorlone statement.

I know you would not stand if we could fight and wrest the empire from your hands. You know that we are prepared to do this, for you have renewed our consent to fight in open and honorable battle. Every on the battlefield is that responsible for us, Secretary of the most still remains open to us. I know you will respond to that also. I am engaged in working that history. Non-co-operation means nothing less than breaking itself—nothing. Why should we co-operate with you when we know that by your administration of the great country we are being daily reduced to an increasing degree. The response of the people to my appeal is not due to my personality. I would like you to discipline me, and for that matter the Ah. Brothers in India you

consideration. My presence will lead to make any response to such a Member cry if I were looked enough to care it as the single voice of the All-India Members would lead to inspire the Members with confidence if they were ready to raise an anti-British cry. People feel, in their thousands, in India to me because we today represent the voice of a nation, present, under your time before the All-India Members were your friends as I was, and still am. My religion leads me to bear my ill-will towards you. I would not raise my hand against you even if I had the power. I set just to compare you only by my suffering. The All-India Members will certainly draw the sword, if they need to in defence of their religion and their country. But they and I have made serious plans with the people of India in their attempt to free their Kingdom and to find a remedy for their distress.

You are in search of a remedy to suggest, also among children of national feeling. I venture to suggest to you that the only way to suggest it is to remove the cause. You have got the power. You are equal of the wrong done, to induce you the simple Mr. Li. I desire to reform the process. I assure you he has kept many things done. You are equal the Viceroy to assist in favour of a better way, you are wrong your class about her Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer. You can suggest the Government to remove a minister of the recognized leaders of the people, duly elected by the people and representing all shades of opinion as an advance means for granting reforms, in accordance with the wishes of the people of India.

But this you cannot do unless you consider every Indian to be in reality your equal and his not I ask for no patronage, I merely point out to you, as a friend, an honorable solution of a grave problem. For other solutions, nobody expresses a view to you. I pray that it will lead. It has begun already. The Government has already expressed two years since of Punjab for holding an expression, in a systematic way. Another is to be held in Lahore for having a general meeting again. One in the United Provinces is already suggested, another is to be held. You should know what is going on to your mind. Our propaganda is being carried on to anticipation of repression. I write you respectfully to choose the better way and make common cause with the people of India whom only you are saving. To send to thwart their aspirations is delinquency to the country.

I am,

Your faithful friend,

N. K. Ghosh.

consequence of the cooperation meeting having been taken by surprise should not public arrange enough to address programmes. I non-co-operationists, and had already to return quietly and seek some other place where they wanted to allow only those who were already for co-operation with the Government. This was a co-operation meeting attended by some leaders, turned into non-cooperation but peaceful non-co-operation meeting by the people of Delhi.

## News and Notes.

"The Economic Times."

"New India" still writes as if "Mr Gandhi's second year would not be called advanced work" were a case against the export of various handicrafts in this country. The leading among movements is not intended to stop the manufacture of any really Indian articles besides or other products. It does not compete with the export of any of the handicrafts for which our country has now famous. The market is not with iron and lead with like business with the export of various items among other things, with poverty and unimproved out-door occupations among the mass of the poorer classes, who would prefer to have income but for their hunger, it seeks to reduce the export of such goods and yarn from foreign countries, and the high price of Indian mill-made yarn and cloth. The market is with the various colours and polished surfaces and machine-made commodities that are given against business. The battle is against the creation of a market for our non-cooperating foreign manufacturers. There also are other things that are beautiful and products, but as their lessons learn they should return the debt to the nation by opening some work for the poor. This should be the business among female society.

REPLY.

It is rather amusing to see the "Indian Social Reformer" (17th October) so warmly greet and well believed, go into a temper over Mr Gandhi's message to the All-India Congress, India, wherein he says that once the Government of India perceived their society but they did not do so now. Mr. Natarajan takes this to be an unwarranted attack on the very object of the entire Indian cause, viz. a Mr Gandhi is thinking of the ideas of any wrong depending on a foreign supply of yarn and cloth for the country's use and so on.

LEADER OF PUNJAB—PUNJAB DIVISION.

An evening correspondence meeting in a very interesting spirit of a co-operation meeting in Punjab turned into a non-co-operation one, without any disturbance or violence. A public meeting was announced by a few local co-operationists to be held in Dr. Sampson Brooks Hall on Sunday last, when Mr. N. K. Ghosh, a leader here for the Provincial Council, was to speak on "Forward Co-operation" (English Language). Another public meeting was announced on the same date and the same time, outside the Brooks Hall where the programme of non-co-operation was to be explained. Shri. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Motilal Nehru, Dr. Kanga and others specially went down from Amritsar, for the occasion. On the Akshaydip party arriving there, a notice by the Dist. Magistrate under section 14 of the District Police Act was served on the party and the police in general, prohibiting them from holding any public meeting within a radius of 400 yds. from the Brooks Hall. An armed police-guard was stationed round the hall and the only magistrate was also present there. The progress of the open-air meeting, however, showed no signs on the hall which was soon filled to overflowing by the arrival of the lecturers with their respective adherents, and the Hon. Mr. Dinkhabhai Fardhi who had specially come down from Bombay, Mr. Thakur prasad, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in the chair. The proposed evening duly proceeded and attracted, Mr. Vallabhbhai took the chair, but the lecture would not begin with the lecture, for the

## Young India

Published, 15 February 1948 October, 1948.

### DEPRIVED CLASSES.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

You demand need to call the Parsees 'suppressed class.' There is no doubt that Yashwantrao's is a more accurate adjective. We have suppressed them and have consequently become ourselves 'suppressed.' That we have become the 'Pariahs of the Empire' is, in Gokhale's language, the 'victims' justice meted out to us by a just God. A correspondent indignantly asks me a pertinent letter translated elsewhere, what I am doing for them. I have given the letter with the newspaper's own heading 'Should not we the Hindus work our Mohammedan brethren before we ask the English to work them?' This is a proper question reasonably put. And if a member of a class which I could I love the suppressed classes from their slavery without trying to get rid of my own. I could do no more. But it is an impossible task & there lies not the freedom area in to the right thing. It is right for me to protest the repatriation of foreign goods, but I have no power to bring it about. It was right for Maulana Mahomed Ali to go to Turkey and to tell the Turks personally that India was with them in their righteous struggle. He was not free to do so. If I had a legislative and legislative I would examine Hindu members by creating special and better schools for the education of suppressed classes and by sending better and more numerous schools for them, so that there would be not a single member of the suppressed classes left without a school to teach their children. But I must wait for that better day.

Meanwhile are the deprived classes to be left to their own resources? Nothing of the sort. I am now humbly anxious I have done and am doing all I can for my Parsee brethren.

There are three courses open to these down-trodden members of the nation. For their capacities they may fall in the non-stature of the slave-owning Government. They will get it but they will fall. Or the trying pass into the life To-day they are slaves of slaves. By asking Government aid, they will be used for supporting their bulk and sin. Instead of being raised against, they will themselves be the support. The Parsees must stand on their feet. They found that they were worse off than before. The Sikhs did it successfully and failed To-day there is an more demoralized community in India than the Sikhs. Government aid is function an obstacle.

The second is rejection of Hinduism and wholesale conversion to Islam or Christianity. And if a change of religion could be justified for worldly betterment, I could advise it without hesitation. But religion is matter of the heart. No physical transformation can mar the abandonment of one's own religion. If the substance (material) of the

Parsees was a part of Hinduism, its rejection could be a permanent duty both for them and for those like me who would not make a faithless use of religion and maintain any and so its sacredness. But I believe that responsibility is no part of Hinduism. It is rather its essence to be removed by every effort. And there is quite an array of Hindu reformers who have not their heart upon robbing Hinduism of the last Conscience, therefore, I hold, it is no remedy whatsoever.

Then there remains finally, self-help and self-dependence, with each and all the non-Parsee Hindus will render of their own motion, not as a matter of politeness but as a matter of duty. And hence comes the use of non-co-operation. My correspondent was correctly informed by Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Hanumanthrao that I would favour well-organized non-co-operation for this acknowledged evil. But non-co-operation means independence of outside help, it means effort from within. It would not be non-co-operation to insist on receiving prohibited areas. That may be good discipline if it is especially earned out. But I have found to my cost that evil discipline requires far greater preliminary training and self-control. All are non-co-operators, but few only are self-disciplined. Therefore, by way of protest against Hinduism, the Parsees must certainly stop all contact and connection with the other Hindus as long as the special programmes are maintained. But this means organized intelligent effort. And so far as I can see, there is no leader among the Parsees who can lead them to victory through non-co-operation.

The better way therefore, perhaps, is for the Parsees humbly to join the great national movement that is now going on for throwing off the slavery of the present Government. It is easy enough for the Parsees to make to see that non-co-operation against this and government presupposes co-operation between the different sections forming the Indian nation. The Hindus must realize that if they wish to offer successful non-co-operation against the Government, they must make common cause with the Parsees, even as they have made common cause with the Mussalmans. Non-co-operation when it is free from violence is essentially a movement of extensive self-participation. That process has commenced and whether the Parsees deliberately take part in it or not, the rest of the Hindus cannot neglect them without hampering their own progress. Hence though the Parsees problem is as dear to me as life itself, I renounced with the Parsees' attention to national non-co-operation. I feel sure that the greater includes the less.

Clearly ahead in this question is the non-Indian question. I wish I had studied it more closely than I have been able to. A quotation from my speech delivered at a private meeting in Madras has been taken from its record and inserted to further the arrangement between the so-called Muslims and

the so-called non-Brahmins. I do not wish to retract a word of what I said at that meeting. I was speaking to those who are accepted as Brahmins. I told them that in my opinion the treatment of non-Brahmins by the Brahmins was as odious as the treatment of us by the British. I added that the non-Brahmins should be pleased without any ado or bargaining. But my remarks were never intended to encourage the powerful non-Brahmins of Maharashtra or Madras, or the influential elements among them, to oppress the so-called Untouchables. I use the word "so-called" advisedly. For the Brahmins who have freed themselves from the tradition of superstitious orthodoxy have not only no quarrel with non-Brahmins as such, but are in every way eager to advance non-Brahmins wherever they see work. No lover of his country can possibly adhere to general attitudes if he dared to neglect the best of his countrymen. These non-Brahmins therefore who are co-operating with the Government are doing themselves and the nation to which they belong. By all means let those who have faith in the Government help to realize it, but let an Indian worthy of his birth cut off his nose to spite the face.

### ALURAH

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Alurah is an old institution—nearly five years old. It has many teachers. It has a great record behind it. It may claim to have given to India, the Akh Bharosa. It is the best known centre of Satyagrah culture in India.

Why do I seek to destroy it? Some Hindustanis really think that I mean ill under the guise of wishing well to Alurah. I tell do they know that I am employing Teachers to do to the Hindu University what I am asking the Trustees to do to Alurah. And I am certainly going to plead with the Government students as candidly as I have with the Alurah boys. I have done the same with the Khalsa College. The latter is the only centre of Sikh culture.

I do desire passionately to destroy all these educational centres as they are, and would strive to raise paper and brick over instead.

I think that these institutions are many way true representatives of their respective cultures. In so much as Islam is in vogue at English lands, Hindustani and Sikhism are also in vogue. I asked an Alurah professor whether he could present complete independence for India as her goal if necessary, or if the institution as such could refuse to ensure a Government in the official capacity. He frankly admitted that it was not possible. And yet I never told to say that today the vast majority of the students of India have no regard or respect for British rule. They are disgusted with it. They have certainly no genuine affection for it. I venture to submit that to keep our boys in this false atmosphere is to train them to deny their faith and for us to do violence to our respective cultures. It will not make matters out of ignorance.

With the knowledge we have of British intolerance, it is unwisely—unjustified for us to accept even a portion of our own money through hands stained with the blood of the innocents of Jallianwala. We may as well accept gifts from a robber who has robbed us of our property. The Government has robbed us of our honour and put one of our religions in peril. In my humble opinion, it is a sin for the nation to receive assistance in any such manner by or under the auspices or control of the Government.

I have therefore no hesitation in advising immediate destruction of these institutions at all cost. Not that the teachers, the students and the parents of the boys will not in course, there is no need to be paid and everything to be gained.

I am asking for it a time to be changed, I do not wish to destroy the soil. Even as we leave India where we have suffered, so must we leave the institutions which we have suffered, and bring into being others, more in accord with our needs. How can we obtain institutions which represent the youth of a nation, by behind when the nation is marching forward? Several High Schools having a more or less distinguished record have shown of the path of great and efficient in Gujarat. They are sure the means for it. They are all the power for it. The principals and the teachers are the youth enter their charge as free citizens.

Unsuccessful institutions deter those who do not want to work. Our institutions will collapse if the teachers or the trustees are false in their work, or the nation really does not wish them. Our progress or of our co-operation is based on the basis that the nation is loyal of the present government and wants to change it without resorting to methods of violence. The experience so far proved shows that the nation does definitely desire the change. If there is failure or delay, it will be due to work of workers.

### OUR LATE TOUR.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

My expectations are becoming so much exceeded by every hour that it is difficult for me to cope with them and give the results to the nation. I must therefore content myself with adding to the stock on the necessity of discipline and organization. I have dealt with our experiences upon the journey to Coimbatore. I was drawing our attention to Coimbatore—the Governors of Madras, Harnet Michael and G. Amaratil. They are both great workers. The arrangements at the station were perfect. A large crowd awaited us at the station. But the discipline observed was so good that we were able to walk our way through a two mile row of men without a single member moving before we had taken our seats in the train. What might have meant a wave of thirty charges was decided within five. The procession was happily streamlined. The programme was as between-like as the programme at the station. We reached at

about 8 o'clock. We had only a deposit our deposit, but during that time there was a meeting with the workers, a private interview with Mr. Francis Hunt of the Chicago Division, a visit to the Federal House, opening of a national Japanese School, a meeting of the Japanese Ladies (a crowded ladies meeting), opening of a national subscription (not an open-air meeting, and finally parade down with banners. All this was finished without any police work and chaos. There was at least a little confusion at the open air meeting. It was discovered that no previous instructions were given to the volunteers. But after a little effort, there was perfect silence required, and the audience listened to three heavy speeches read perfect silence. It is my own experience that no man as we have organized and disciplined ourselves, nothing will be established. An organized refusal to be ruled by any foreign power is all that is needed for independence. Luskow was a marvel. There was order confusion at the station and a nothingness of efficiency. It was the maintenance of undisciplined love. All were pressing forward to get at us. Not one of them realized that it was an impossible task. At last I refused to move unless the crowd had ceased to be excited. In a few minutes the crowd subsided and I had to say, and made way for us. There was a trying procession. We were all privileged to stay with Madame Akiko (Mrs. Takahashi). He had organized a Japanese work and made special arrangements for the leaders of the party. The order was read that it was here that Madame Jeter-of-Mail, a national Japanese of American citizenship was arrested. It was not far from Luskow that Mr. Willingdale was arrested. There was at night a very meeting. The crowd listened with great attention. I wish I had time and space to give the gist of the speeches. We all returned to the Kasei Hotel and showed how it had taken place under the vigilance of the Kishida Committee, and how it had reported the story of the Kishida by creating a necessary alarm and covering the land committee with suspicion. I am sorry to have to note that the leaders were conspicuous by their absence. They think that the movement of non-cooperation is successful. Their absence will show. We must be patient with them. They belong to the nation and will march with it as soon as their desires are dispelled.

I was reluctantly with the starting crowd of American and Labor and went to Hamao, St. Andrew Street was a large but unorganized crowd at the station. We traveled it by slipping at another platform. The demonstration at Labor was ended by entering there.

The night journey to Hamao was perfectly smooth. Crowds waited at stations. One man suggested that Takahashi should go west and that it was their duty to give directions. Some were really angry that we all steadily refused to move out of our beds. Another remarked that we must be highly unreasonable not to respect the wishes of the people and get up to go elsewhere. Although

weird and stupid we reached Hamao. Probably fifty thousand people had gathered from surrounding villages. I was therefore afraid that we would be treated to chaos. Not to my surprise, however, I found perfect order there. There was no rush or stampede at the station. All kept their respective places. The procession non-cooperatively managed despite of a dense throng. Order observed at the Hotel was still more striking. It was a large arena but non-partisan structure. There was not a single chair—not even for the President. Detached seats were seated on a substantial and a wooden platform erected in the main of the Hotel. Although there was accommodation for 12,000 people, the Hotel appeared to be empty. The appearance was made. The ground was arranged to slope towards the center. All benches had a perfect view of the arena. The only suggestion I have to make is that a non-work is a better arrangement. There should be no view at the back of the platform. The French arrangement, referred to in these columns, of T inverted as L, is therefore better than an inverted standpoint.

Let us now attend to the (British) present a lesson to the approaching Congress. The Executive Council will save a few thousand rupees and much space if they will dispose with chairs whether on the platform or below. We must make more and more for the masses and their leaders. We should also try to attract them only through the leaders of the masses who are so simple in the masses themselves. It is not to import chairs on the way, because the few seem to want them. I hope too, that the Nigger volunteers will be trained from now for their respective duties so that we may have perfect arrangements regarding every little detail.

### To The Trustees of the Allpark College.

GENTLEMEN,

I trust you are about to meet in order to give your attention to a most important matter for India and India. I hear that you are talking to the aid of the Government and the police for the conduct of your meeting. If the manner in which you would be making a gesture of non-cooperation, be a matter which is purely domestic you need neither the intervention of the Government nor the protection of its police. Neither the Sir leaders nor I am engaged in a strike war. We are engaged in a war in which our only weapon is force of public opinion and we shall retain complete freedom in the hands of us to carry the police with us. In the present dispute the test of public opinion will be in the form whether your majority. Therefore, if you after a full and free discussion decide by a majority, that the college and school students may not remain in the village ground either as students or even as teachers if they persist in their demand of discipline and the rejection of the Government grant, they will be perfectly justified. We



confidence. Yet it appears that Mr. Jhalal Razi and his Party friend Mr. Karamjee will not wish to vacate this spot in Muslim party and simply to carry the responsibility of the Government there to no other man whatsoever but simply somebody amongst the few Congress men in the Shikar Razi and Mr. Karamjee are both most eligible for people far distant to their beliefs from the average European, as I has many times and occasions I completely believe this being in earlier era, the first of segregation is to be carefully noticed.

It will be seen clearly, I am what I have said what a terrible blunder the East African Government is the committed to making. It should have first the National Congress of Indians in East Africa meet on November the 20th in Bombay. Mr. Jhalal Razi will most probably be Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Mr. A. B. Arango will be the President. It appears some practical persons that the decision of the Indian Government to limit their sources of Government leading to Indian Segregation, will be announced. Already we hear that Mr. Jhalal Razi and many other members of the District Committee have resigned their seats as a protest.

I have never taken part myself in Congress proceedings in India. But I cannot help asking as this question whether the treatment of the Indians should does not rest, even with the questions of the British and the Muslims as a most vital issue leading on to democracy.

### IN DEFENCE OF MALAVIYAH AND SHASTRIAR.

Editor Hindu, of "Young India"

Sir,  
 Malaviya, Dasgupta and his friends headed "The Indian nation of Schools and Colleges" wide denouncing the Neo-Gandhian programme as the withdrawal of students from schools and colleges, asserting that the movement has been called "unethical" and opposed to the best interests of the country, says that Pandit Mahatma Malaviya is not an uncompromising opponent. They he says himself in that was the reason for this attitude of Gandhi. We quote Malaviya Dasgupta "The answer I have been able to find within the latter do not consider the present government as an obstacle but as the former do. In other words the opponents do not sufficiently realize the significance of the British and the Hindu masses." And further on he proceeds to say "It is quite obvious that Malaviya and Shastriar cannot find the wrong even at this. And yet that is precisely my meaning." We assure Malaviya Dasgupta that we have the most profound and sincere respect for him, but that would not take us to the doors of others. We hold no level for Mahatma Malaviya and Shastriar. They can take care of themselves. Pandit's brilliant speech in the Council, his touching appeal for funds for the "Jinnah Memorial Hospital" and his recent stirring speech at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, supply an excellent relation to the suggestion that Malaviya Dasgupta, quote "unethically to do it, he made. My friend's' attitude in the "Service of India" and his opposition to the British Empire also proved the burning problem, somewhat noticed by the mind of Mr. Jhalal's worthy successor. Both of these great men have sufficiently given vent to expressions of their feeling in connection with the British wrong.

Malaviya Dasgupta himself has said so much on the virtues of uneducated Hindu and the importance of following one's conscience, that when kindly letters that he would by my means of his, try to contact the one, or to leave the other. But that is what the article indignantly attempts to do. That there is enough scope for difference of opinion as to the question of means to obtain the end is very possible but that suggest an individual as Malaviya would be a most desirable means to obtain the end the experience of different men or, at least in my view, not.

In conclusion, we appeal to Malaviya Dasgupta not to do such a personal judgement, we appeal to Mr. Jhalal Razi, Mr. A. B. Arango, and to Mr. Karamjee, to have his response to my means above, as I do not he will not the complete vote of the students, he has made and will have to make response for the vote. We trust Malaviya Dasgupta will show us the same courtesy of respect and freedom of opinion as Malaviya Dasgupta shows by himself, though we love the malaviya as I do for long time. Yours etc  
 S. K. G.

[Lightly, published this letter I honour the writers for their defence of the two great patriots. I wish they had permitted me to publish their views. Let me however inform the reader that they are deceptive. And it is a matter of pride to me that Gopalji would stand like every one else my objection upon the patriotism of either Malaviya or Shastriar. But I hesitate to name these friends that they will not be able to stand me with me for knowing the two patriots. For the last time we differ in our views on matters of highest importance. I have endeavored honestly to find out the reasons for the difference and have come to the conclusion that they remain but as strongly as I do, the Muslims and the British wrong. Perhaps we are mistaken by me, not by me. Their divergence is different from mine. From the two wrongs I deduce that I can do expect nothing good from the Government. Not so they. Therefore, whilst for them movement with the Government is possible, for me it is impossible unless it regards of its end. Two divergences may describe a particular disease by the same name and yet use very different means treatment and the other a divergent surgical operation. These men not be on that account my want of respect confined to the one who resorts to an operation. And if the other were to seek the means of difference in the methods of treatment he would be entitled to my aid he would be justified in saying that the one who prescribed the ordinary treatment could not have realized the desperate nature of the disease though he described it by the same name. I wish to assure the writers further that in my statement of the case there is no exaggeration. Nor is there any dispute as my part in contact my own's liberty, or release the hour of conscience, from of the two patriots. On the contrary I have humility enough to own that though I feel sure that my divergence and method are both correct, may be wrong. And when I find that they are, I stand to open enough to acknowledge my mistake. Lastly let me assure these friends that I have made it my business to be not to appeal to conscience that is really pious but to put the most obvious truths in simplest terms so that the common man of the illiterate masses may comprehend.—S. K. G.]





# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

1718

New Series  
Vol. III, No. 44

APRIL 24, 1920, TUESDAY

Price Two Annas  
Per Copy

## To the Parents of Aligarh Boys Gentlemen,

I have had the luck of my friends on leaving school many of my days at the present moment not the least among which is my address to the parents of the country. I do not wonder at their indifference. I have undergone a complete transformation in my attitude towards the system of Government under which we are living. To me it is no longer what it was the system under which's rule according to the complexion of my religion. But my friends are not so successful as I am of the expediency of using the rule, when the system undergoes a radical change and there is definite assistance on the part of the rulers.

I have too your concern about your boys, who are learning at Aligarh. You will believe me when I tell you that I do not wish to lose your boys. From myself, the father of four boys whom I have brought up to the best of my lights. I have been an extremely obedient son to my parents and an equally obedient pupil to my teachers. I have the rules of that day. But I cannot say to God what all these do to me my opinion the law has been for every young man and young woman is necessary to unite these even between day to day and day to other. I want to know the youth of our country as a body whether we are I know that in the necessity of times the youthful men and women have the determination of their higher education in their own hands. I have seen in what's parents that it is difficult to raise their children from what is then (the parents) appear to be the education of their children about higher education. I am convinced that I am doing no violence to the feelings of parents when I advise our young men and ask them to have their schools or colleges even to up to of their parents. You will not be surprised to learn that, of the parents of hundreds of boys who have left schools or colleges, I have received only one protestant that from a government school whose boys have left their colleges. The protest is based on the ground that they were not even enrolled before their boys decided to leave their colleges. In fact my address to the boys was sent to discuss with their parents the question of leaving before entering at a distance.

I have myself appealed to thousands of parents at scores of meetings in which hardly a parent has

objected to the proposition of leaving government-controlled schools. Indeed they have with wonder and admiration passed resolutions as well as petitions regarding the issue on subjects. I therefore take leave to thank them the parents of the Aligarh boys who are here present. It is the object of the necessity of withdrawing these children from schools and colleges supported or controlled by a government, that has participated in bringing the Government of India and has wastefully dissipated the nation through the barbarous treatment of the Punjab.

I hope you know that I do not expect in any way that the boys themselves should not be enlightened. But I am certainly in no way that their education received through their hands. I hold it to be necessary for us to continue to receive grants for our education from a government which we consider unjust. In my own mind opinion that would be even dishonourable to the boys.

Let not believe that our children should receive their education in a free atmosphere, even though it may be given in British colleges or in the hands of men and women teachers who, being themselves free, would breathe into our children the spirit of freedom. I wish you would realize that the destiny of our beloved land lies not in us, the parents, but in our children. Shall we not have been from the time of slavery which has made us stand as our nation? Being made, we may not have the strength or the will even to throw off the yoke. But still we not have the wisdom not to have the usual education to our children.

They can have nothing by passing through schools and colleges and leaving. Surely they do not need governmentally-subsidized degrees. And if we could not get rid of the form of government degrees for our boys the question of finding money for their education is a really simple. For a small contribution by the nation will provide for the education of the school-going children for our own. Our country religion and charitable trusts and Muslim funds will support our education without even a mark of self-interest. The present effort is no more than an attempt to take a reimbursement of our capacity to govern ourselves and to protect our religion and our hearts.

I remain,  
Well-wisher of the youth of India,  
M. K. Gandhi.

## CONTENTS.

	(Page)
To the parents of <u>Alghat Singh</u> .. .. .	1
Notes .. .. .	2
<b>Answers:</b>	
London Specimen .. .. .	2
The Congress Constitution .. .. .	1
How about the T.P.S. Society .. .. .	1
<b>Letters to Hari Mohan .. .. .</b>	
	3

## Notes.

I have seen the reproduction by the Punjab Government of a statement made at a public meeting in Lahore that Madan Mohan Malhotra was reported by his son to be concerned in a dark small room and that, although he was in under trial process, he was given only green food. The Government Commissioner does not mention the name of the speaker at the meeting in question. I must confess that I was the speaker, and I think the statements were contradicted by the Government. I was careful, I wanted to come off my information and said that if it was true the statements were illegal and subversive. I was glad that the Government have repudiated all the three statements. I could have no doubt that it contradicted the steady, unshakable Government of the People by a single unorganised man. I know that the name of India can only suffer by a single wrong statement. At the same time I must be forgiven for looking with suspicion upon all Government contradictions. I have had more than enough experience of such contradictions during the dark days in the Punjab. The majority of these contradictions were simply lies. I therefore ask the reader to receive no opinion till Madan Mohan Malhotra's son has given his explanation. He gives the true information with great dekhrahi—and I have, and had, no reason to doubt the veracity of his statement. I am in communication with him.

Remember that the reader goes on to congratulating Madan Mohan Malhotra on covering his sentence of two years' transportation and in 1933 has let the reader believe that he has had time sufficient for looking opinions. I have already analysed the statements in these pages. There has no possible hope in the Punjab. There is also the substance amongst professions. The strong opinions are strong of raising a quadruple by striking—of a demand for full independence, as was the Government do not repeat, but strong.

Only, this expression need not worry us. It should strengthen our resolve to throw off a yoke which is intended to humiliate us and keep us in perpetual servitude. We are independent children of nature so that we want not to any support but

our hands in the matter of expression. We must not restrain ourselves or openly. We must bear the expression freely and use it to strengthen our resolve to demand or even all connection with the Government. To observe that when an individual man is imprisoned always weakness—a chance not to go to jail, but I see no gateway to liberty was the close of the Egyptian prison. And when a single political offender is imprisoned for no fault save an expression of his opinion, we need no more as his suffering. The best way of satisfying the goals of political offenders is to fill them. And the best way to fill them is absolutely to go on suffering non-co-operation and voluntarily and unopposedly to demand full freedom with the British Government if possible, and even without it if necessary.

If the Punjab Government have been active in repressing expression of opinion, the U. P. Government have been so far as Madan Mohan Malhotra and his 100 men, or some twelve more of the kind to pay the fine. More arrests are proposed. On the top of this comes the suggestion that my activities must not be left untraced. My activities must result in the statement of offering within a short time, and if Society can be delayed, the people must be delayed from hearing or adopting my views. The Government have the right to take away my liberty so long as in their opinion my activities are harmful. It will undoubtedly be most desirable to deal with me thus with my co-workers. They cannot distinguish between my activity and that of my co-workers. Both are absolutely peaceful. We are prepared merely to accept a certain class of opinions which if carried out will never result in violence. And only a tyrannical government endeavours to suppress unviolence propaganda. So long therefore as the Government of India permits us the freedom of protest in the Khatola and the Punjab, so long must it resort to repression—the only means available to a tyrant when he is thwarted in his purpose. H. K. U.

## THE DEPRIVED CLASSES

(In the letter of Jyoti Joshi)

Dear Mahatmas,

In reference to your article on this subject, may I venture to ask you to give an answer to the following question—

"With all National Schools and Colleges to open to the Deprived Classes?"

I have no personal doubt on the matter, but I feel that the question deserves a public declaration.

H. D. AGARWAL

[In order to give an authoritative reply the letter was referred to the meeting which has passed a resolution to the effect that, in accordance with the constitution of the Society, no committee shall specially consider the deprived classes until be affiliated. I had previously go about the meaning of the constitution.—H. K. Joshi.]

## Young India.

Annual Staff, Wednesday, 3rd November 1900

### LOUISIANA SPEECH.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The recent meeting at London, held during the visit of the Hon. Southern and myself, has attracted considerable attention and resulted in the nomination of Mr. Douglas, an Indian Christian, hereafter from the anti-anti-operation movement, Mr. Douglas's reason for his decision to forsake Hinduism. His speech on that occasion, Mr. Douglas charges me with having called Christianized people with a particularly exclusive title, viz. Mr. Willoughby's name.

Now I was present at the meeting and I had occasion to listen to every word that Mahatma Mohi Bhai said with the greatest attention, and I must confess that the speech could not possibly provide any occasion for Mr. Douglas's criticism. I say that the Mahatma Mohi Bhai either intended the name for or by calling Mr. Willoughby's name had any intention of insulting Christian. Mr. Douglas was hardly justified in charging me with any word at the meeting, because I am compelled to say that I know that I had great regard for the Mahatma Mohi Bhai, and that I myself would have spoken out if there was any insultation of the name in his speech or if there was any word meant to be directed to Christians as such. I said I was very sorry myself with my mouth to say of the great objection of the world. However Mr. Douglas's insultation, his practice and past anti-operation, not merely for the benefit of the Khilafat, but equally for the English, and he was a party to the extension of non-cooperation upon the issue of the establishment of Young India. Does Mr. Douglas ever call upon Young India to return to the English? And can he denounce the Khilafat movement because a Moslem speaker denigrated great men's names by his speech? Surely there is something wrong and reprehensible about Mr. Douglas's attitude. However, I must leave Mr. Douglas to clear up his position and justify his accusation on more serious grounds.

It is necessary for me to deal with the question themselves, and more especially the speech delivered by Mahatma Mohi Bhai. The deficiency of a reporter in it may have great, but when he has to take down a report in long hand, and on the same time to translate the speaker's remarks made in a tongue the reporter only half understands, the task becomes still more difficult. Yet was the position which my journalist, Mr. Mahatma Bhai, occupied when he took notes of the Mahatma's speech. I saw his report after it was published in the Young India and was grieved about it. I thought that a serious though innocent mistake was made by him. The report that was the justice to the Mahatma said nothing like my that the murderer of

Mr. Willoughby was a martyr, and that he, the Mahatma had accepted my word in preference to that of Allah. I remember Mr. Mahatma Bhai to be one of the best and most careful of the reporters I have the good fortune to employ. But the best of us may, in spite of the best of intentions, sometimes make mistakes.

To my recollection what Mahatma Mohi Bhai said was that he detested the murder of Mr. Willoughby as much as my body. He knew that it had outraged the Khilafat cause. He felt sure that he had known anything of the proposed murder he would have himself intervened to prevent it. That was a promise he himself could fulfil, and he had not been taken by others. But it was a different thing when he was killed, as he was the name of his friends to condemn the murderer to Allah. He was a martyr and was bound to be impossible to do so. He did not know how the murder was committed or what were the motives underlying it. The murderer's position when death was therefore clearly a matter between him and his Maker, and it would be presumptuous on the part of any person to undertake the verdict of the Deity. Mr. Willoughby belonged to the Light room, and had there been Mohi Bhai's personal services belonging to the same room could have been helpfully aided by the crowd of Light. But they (the Mahatmas) had decided not to leave the crowd and were not bound for any Mahatma to take the life of any member of the same room. They had accepted the Mahatma's advice of non-operation. For there was ample warrant for it in the Koran and the Prophet's own life. And as long as non-operation continued, he would be guided entirely by Mr. Gandhi. He was entitled for making friends with the Moslem who was Mahatma. It was his conviction that it was perfectly consistent for a Mahatma to prefer friendship with the Moslem, and even to refuse from helping over to friendship with those Lighters who had left no stone unturned to put Islam in jeopardy.

That is the gist of the Mahatma's speech. The speech was certainly false. Who was capable of utterance of speech in a man of such telegraphic device as Mahatma Mohi Bhai that when he finds that his religious honor is at stake? I personally detest the use of the word Light as applied to any man, and I detest the use by a Hindu of the word Moslem or Muslem in any way. But I refuse to quarrel with the Mahatmas or the Hindu for the use of words which they have been accustomed from their childhood, they will certainly not quarrel the disbelievers of such words as friendship between people of different professions and faiths grown. But I refuse to acknowledge the bearing of the goodness of a man like Mahatma Bhai for making Hindu brethren and even paying them! "But since it is," said one of a which was of unbelief and he was being used in many a Christian church. I can therefore see no warrant for Mr. Douglas's denunciation of the above speech.

Madness. Madam! All was still more unexpected. He said no eye could regret more than he did the murder of Mr. Willeoughby. Had not Khairat Committee nobly saved their land in previous violence there would certainly have been not one but many such murders. But it was their duty for the sake of their own religion and honour to prevent them so long as they complied with our operations. But he declined to identify himself with any judgment regarding the murder.

I observe now that I have been misapprehended. I never said that we would give up when we succeeded in drawing the sword. I continued the murder with the explosion I could command and said that the houses of India would be inspired if there was any manifestation of the murder of an innocent man when an assurance of safety was given by authoritative religious belief in India. I said further that my own personal religion forbade me to take the life of my enemy in any way what soever. But I added that I recognised that Islam and for that matter even of Hinduism, believed that killing one's enemy was awarded heathen order certain circumstances. And I said that when the Government of India wanted to draw the sword, they would as heathens have no doubts. The result is an equalised terror and pure life order.

And I repeat what I have often said that the rebel and the most freedom loving the Wahabians (and I count Madras, Panjab and the Allahabads as well) are trying their utmost to prevent violence. I really believe that but for domestic efforts of such men violence would have broken out in this land. Indeed that it would have done so good to India or India it would only have provided occasion for further repression without doing any benefit to India or India.

## THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

(By M. E. Gandhi.)

The detailed report of the Congress Constitution Committee has now been published. The general information, and opinion has been received from all parts India in order to assist the deliberations of the All India Congress Committee. It is a pity that, notwithstanding the Constitution Committee was, all the members never met at any one time in order of affairs, to have a meeting of them all. It is perhaps nobody's fault that all the members could not meet. At the same time the draft report has passed through the morning examination of all but one member, and the report represents the mature deliberations of half out of the five members. It must be stated on the same time that it does not pretend to be the unanimous opinion of the members. Rather they present a diverging opinion, a workable side as has been brought out bearing each member free to give his views on the several matters in which they are not quite unanimous. The most important part of the constitution, however, is the character of the creed. So far as I am aware there is no

fundamental difference of opinion between the members. In my opinion the above creed represents the exact feeling of the country at the present moment.

I know that the proposed alterations have been subjected to hostile criticism in several newspapers of note. But the extraordinary opinion that runs the country is that popular opinion is far in advance of several newspapers which have liberally commanded influence and have unobtrusively avoided public opinion. The fact is that the formation of opinion is day by day an unceasing process. In the selected classes but the masses have taken it upon themselves not only to formulate opinion but to enforce it. It would be a mistake to inhibit or ignore the masses, or to restrict it to a temporary restraint. It would be equally a mistake to suppose that this unwillingness against the masses is due either to the activity of the All India or myself. For the time being we have the use of the masses because we value their sentiment. The masses are by no means so feeble or uneducated as we sometimes imagine. They often perceive things with their intellect, which we ourselves had to see with our intellect. But what the masses know when they want, they often do not know how to express their wants and, less often, how to get what they want. Hence comes the use of leadership, and domestic results are easily followed a bad, bad, or what is worse, a bad bad.

The first part of the proposed creed expresses the present desire of the nation and the stated course the way that desire can be fulfilled. In my humble opinion, the Congress creed with the proposed alterations is but an extension of the original and so long as we break with the British Committee or ourselves, it is strictly within even the existing limits that define the Congress creed. The extension lies in the contemplated possibility of a break with the British committee. In my humble opinion, if India is to make self-sustained progress, we must make it clear to the British people that what we desire to retain the British connection, if we see use in our full height with it, we are determined to depart with, as I mean to get rid of the connection, if that is necessary for full national development. I hold that it is not only derogatory to national dignity but it actually impedes national progress experimentally to believe that our progress towards our goal is impossible without British connection. It is this experiment which makes sense of the best of us tolerate the Punjab, Punjab and the Khairat world. The blind adherence to that connection makes us feel helpless. The proposed alterations in the creed enable us to get ourselves out of our helpless condition. I previously held that it is perfectly constitutional openly to state of our independence but but there may be doubts as to the constitutional character of any movement for complete independence, the doubtful and highly technical objection "constitutional"

has been removed from the altered draft in the draft. Surely it should be enough to assure that the methods for advertising our and our legitimate, honorable, and peaceful I believe that this was the reasoning that guided my colleagues in accepting the proposed draft. In any case, such was certainly my view of the whole situation. There was no desire on my part to adopt any measure that was unbecomingly of law and order. However, that I was treating an abstract ground when I wrote about law and order for, to some of our distinguished leaders even my present methods appear to be lawless and unbecomingly to disorder. But even they will perhaps grant that the retention of the word "constitutions" means, granted the strategy against methods such as I am employing. It gives rise, no doubt, to a humorous legal discussion, but my such discussion is fruitful when the correct means business. The other important objection refers to the limitation of the number of delegates. I believe that the advantages of such a limitation are obvious. We are but seeking a line which without any such limitation the Congress will be very an unworkable body. It is difficult even to have an unlimited number of voters, it is impossible to treat national because if we have an unlimited number of delegates.

The next important objection referred the election of the members of the 18 Indian Congress. One matter, making that committee practically the only party Committee, and the withdrawal of bills for the purpose of the Congress on a legislative basis. It is not necessary to comment on this situation, but I wish to add that if the Congress accepts the principle of limiting the number of delegates it would be advisable to consider the principle of proportional representation. That would enable all parties, who wish to be represented in the Congress.

I believe that the Second of July was an opportunity between my righted attention of the British Committee, as far as the political draft constitution is concerned, and my recent article in *Friday Review* in the Committee and the newspaper *India*. But it is well known that for several years I have held my personal views about the contents of that article. It would have been considered for me, perhaps, to suggest in my colleagues the existence of that committee. It was not our function to report on the withdrawal or otherwise of the Committee. We were concerned only for preparing a new constitution. However I know that my colleagues were not in line in the existence of the British Committee. And the drawing up of a new constitution enabled me to show the where there was no question of principle. I was desirous of agreeing quickly with my opponents in opinion, but I propose seriously to proceed for the revision of the constitution as it is present constituted, and the stopping of its organs. *India*.

## HEARD ABOUT THE FIJI TRAGEDY

Myself or Yours with a customer

(By E. J. Adams.)

What has appeared in the Press about the recent happenings in Fiji which has shown beyond doubt that our countrymen in that unhappy island had to pass through a "tragedy of tears" no less terrible and more than the mortal-war" reported in the *People*. But I have more fresh and more startling facts to reveal to the public. These are the depositions of three of the batch of the Returned Immigrants who came down to see Mahatma Gandhi at his Ashram and to receive their tickets. In his absence, however, I saw the men, and took down their statements after putting them to a thorough and searching examination.

My first informant was a man by name Chikya, son of Mahatma, and resident of a village near Agra. He returned to India after an absence of some seventeen years.

How he and his 120 companions Uma Devi and Ram Arjee were held in Fiji in the persons of being sent to Cuvavua, and how they passed their five years of unrelieved prison are sufficiently interesting accounts. Suffice it to say that after serving their full period of unrelieved respectively, Chikya and his companions refused to go back to the islands of high pressure of heat and higher pressure. Uma Devi and Ram Arjee passed months with a few laborers, while Chikya began to work in a field, and was able to save some money and assets, at one stage a piece of agricultural land from one Mr. Matheson his estate at "Tobitoko" in Suva, 40 miles away from the place where he was employed as cook. He gave the land on a tenant system to two other unrelieved men for farming purposes. Soon after, he bought a house on the estate where he held his family-wife, daughter and son. Chikya well looked after their interests in the land, while he himself kept working the place off and on. He lived in the manner till October last when his house was valued at about £100, and his wife ornaments and other property at about £40. His second daughter was then two and six years old respectively, his family having passed on his first English book.

In December, January, and February last, as every one knows the severe typhoid strikes and riots, street fighting and looting. Chikya, however, is not a victim and a clear-headed survivor of them. He says, the place he was working at was mostly free from looting and was 40 miles away from Suva and so far from Suva and Suva. The strikes were due to an agitation for higher wages and for a change supply of rice. Chikya's occupation was different from that of the great bulk of his countrymen, and he was comparatively well to do, he did not in any way participate in the strikes. Yet as things seem to have improved, Chikya has given out as perhaps the most ardent. In February last, says Chikya, he was finally informed that

the house had been built and taken. I did give notice of sale but wife and children objected by the Special European and I was Constabulary, assisted by the Indian Police, covering identity of Billa and John Christy's Daily on March Chicago left for his home on News on the 'Pohokai' Katoa of Mr. March, He found his wife and children missing, his property gone and the house occupied by a Madan, who told him he had purchased it through Sergeant Thakomng of the News Police. Chicago saw Mr. March, who could give him no relief—what had happened to Chicago's property was not his concern. He saw Sergeant Thakomng Katoa of Thakomng, and Janskar Sankomng and demanded the possession of his house and property and to take the place of his wife and children. Their reply was harsh and hostile. He petitioned to General Lohret, the head of the constabulary on Feb. 16th another reply not better. He saw the Hon. Sir J. Mahony, who too would do nothing for him. He was so petitioned to every authority that was approachable. He was then used with scorn and contempt. He could get no trace of his wife and children, and now he found a way to disgust and disappointment from the pleasure awarded himself of his opportunity to return to his country and appeal at the bar of his countrymen and countrywomen to get her back his wife and children, and I promise her her property. Indeed if he would return to Fiji if his wife and children were traced our Chicago replied on the negative. He could not afford to return as he had no money for food and want to go and live in that cursed place again. He prayed to, and demanded of, the Government and the people of this country, in the name of Justice and the most elementary rights of security of person and property, that his wife and children should be brought to him. From these pleas of embitterment and sorrow to him, they would only be his gladness. Chicago gives an address to his children there men with a. Happa and Happa and two other doctors, all of whom he had served as cook.

Ram Avitar, Chicago's second co-accused and a married man, with four children, has also a narrative to tell. He and Uma Dutt were among the students for higher wages, and they had been arrested and locked up for a number of days, and kept without trial, but were ultimately released. In Ram Avitar's absence his wife and children had also been abducted. He had searched at the house of his wife's father, but got no clue. He had appealed to the authorities, but got no relief. Finding him self destitute and penniless he had come to his country after ten years, with no gain, nor profits save the heavy loss of his dear wife and children. He had left the school early in June and had heard nothing further about his dear ones. Both Chicago and Ram Avitar deplore that they were living in very good terms with their wives, but no complaint against them, and thank before that their names could be inserted there, or been a writing party to ab-

ductors. Uma Dutt corroborates Ram Avitar's statement, and has nothing to complain against except for mistreatment on having gone to that accused land which has not been made a positive charge after a stay of ten long years. Ram Avitar and Uma Dutt make Chicago's acquaintance on board the repatriating ship. Chicago and Ram Avitar further deplore that there are a number of other Indians also, who have suffered similarly and that they met two such, Ghouse and Akla, during their voyage to Calcutta.

That there is no limit the whole story it is necessary to add any statement to it for the sake of the true account. And I leave it to my readers to take it for what it is worth. Perhaps if a Commission were sent there, it could furnish a substantiated part of it, not the whole truth. As it is we are leaving some in doubt.

#### TREATMENT OF INDIANS ABROAD

We reproduce below from the *New Times* full text of Mr. Andrews' speech at Kanara on the treatment of Indians abroad. Mr. Andrews has just completed his tour in Southern India mines, among other things he has been describing in his own land the manner the humiliating condition of our men and women abroad, and the grave situation arising in East Africa on account of the treatment of Negroes and Jews. We understood that in Mr. Andrews' hand eye so far as the narrative of grievances is concerned, after which he expects the Nagas to Chicago to take some definite steps in the matter. (N. Y. T.)

#### A DISSENTING VOICE OF PARLIAMENT TALKED

I am speaking to you to-night, not of this, I have heard, but of things which I have seen with my own eyes. I am giving you first-hand information about things which I have investigated on the spot in the different parts of the world. And I want you freedomly to take the question for yourselves, whether Indians should remain within the British Empire or not. The treatment of Indians abroad is to make the world see. One fair position of Indians in the present world and what may be judged by the fact. If they are well-treated in every part of the Empire we breathe and speak and prosper, that the Empire is for them. Government in the true sense of the word. Indians might, then, if they are well-treated, prosper within each and every Commonwealth, whether large or not. As has been thought to say, that in that case, the position would not have become, from my direct experience, untenable and unbearable.

But if, on the contrary, the second position of Indians in the world to-day is the very reverse of that, if the British Empire throughout the world does not release Indians, except under terrible conditions, if the British Empire does not treat Indians as citizens, equal to all other members of that Empire, if it does not offer the right hand of brotherhood and fellowship and comradely to Indians, as Indians for example the world through their minds, with every people's helpfully as I have known, then to me, at least, as an Englishman, the Empire is creditable that Indians might not to remain any longer in that Empire, which increasingly reflects their misdeeds on, social, personal life, as up on the most degrading terms. To remain in such a law-breaking position is only to become slaves and mere laborers. I know, in







# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by K. K. Gandhi)

17618

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 41

ATWENTH, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1920

Each Two Annas  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS.

	Page
Chait and Talley on Non-Cooperation	1
To You or not to You	2
What to do on the 15th November	3
<hr/>	
<b>Articles</b>	
Reflection on my Way	4
If I am selected	5
<hr/>	
On some of Aspects of Satyagraha	6
<hr/>	
An Interview with Mr. C. P. Andrews (Special for Young India)	7
Mr. C. P. Andrews on Non-Cooperation	8
<hr/>	
Correspondence	9

## TODAY ON NON-CO-OPERATION

(From a Lecture by KENNETH LAWRENCE.)

As to the ordinary methods of conducting Government—There are people who reckon that our Government is very bad and who strongly condemn it, and there have been two ways of carrying on the struggle. And Talley said the methods are "the method of the Revolutionaries" which consists in an attempt to alter the existing system by violence, and the other "the method of the 'Gandhians' which consists in carrying on the struggle without violence and within the limits of the law, maintaining constitutional rights but by law, and he says "Violence and oppression drive away men that both the means of conducting Government and the holders, are not only prohibited but actually tend to strengthen the power and responsibility of the Government."

As to co-operation with the Government—The method is restricted and restricted here are Government—holding to the power the whole power, and leaving what we called the law as the basis of what the Legislature wish to enact it—the Government have very well what is really dangerous to a man will never let people who intend to do it and will under no guidance, do anything that will weaken the authority.

But we not only in this worldly material and material, it is also mental. It is mental because enlightened, good, and honest people by entering the ranks of the Government give it a moral authority which, but for them, it would not possess. If the Government were made up entirely of that same element—the men of violence, with motives as of the demons—who drive the man, it would not maintain its moral authority and it had to create opportunities to carry on their work, those highly enlightened and honest people have to begin to

co-operate and so, little by little, come to consider that for a good and true way means material from truth is wood and steel.

"As to withdrawal of children from Government-controlled schools.—The strength of the Government lies in the people's opinion, and the Government knows that and will therefore always oppose true enlightenment. It is here we pointed that that had it is most undesirable to let the Government, which it possesses, defiance, pretend to be loyal to the enlightenment of the people, it is doing the people by means of all sorts of pseudo-educational establishments it controls, schools, high schools, and universities that good is good, and enlightenment is enlightenment, but when it is good there is not the responsibility of the Government, but only when it is a good good and quite enlightened."

As to boycott of Government—What not to be done? Firstly, to a man, you, I should say, say to us of what you consider good and useful, your responsibility of the Government, it is whether it is to be done in other words. Standing up for the cause right and as a member of Parliament, his standing up for conscience as a national and free man, and defending them as the only way in which moral and human dignity can be retained.

That, the rights of a member of Parliament are greater than the rights of an ordinary man, and it seems to think, or could be made by using these rights. But we look to that to define the rights of a Member of Parliament, we have to define part of our rights as a man, there is no longer any kind point of leverage, and we are no longer other people or machine any real right. In order to take other out of a machine we must ourselves stand on firm ground, and if having the labor is unproductive you go into the machine, you will not get out unless you, but yourself will make it."

## EXISTENT AND NON-CO-OPERATION

Agrees it is necessary that the Government has suggested non-co-operation in the eighteenth chapter of Hindustan we read—

Whenever if my brother shall become against this, go and tell him to be kind between them and his wife, if he shall hear this, then has gained my brother.

But if he will not hear this, then take with them one or two more, that in the words of two or three witnesses every word may be established.

And if the chief or clerk to hear them, tell it unto the Church, but if he ought to hear the Church, let him be with them as one brother man and a witness.

## TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE.

An awful fact—England and the whole civilized world is now convinced erroneously by the theory of self-determination. But it is sad that India has not yet self-determined in favour of true Swamy because Congress does not represent the Nation, because the educated classes do not represent the national will. Great as this evil Government has been created as a mistake. This mistake must not be accepted by Government and the civilized world as adequately representing the Nation. If the majority of the electorate, vote now for the Puroh, Khilafat, and Swamy, the nation will have already self-determined!

The Choice—India stands today on the parting of ways. On November 18, she will have shown whether she is going the way of immediate and real Swamy or the way of bureaucratic modernization. Every voter must decide whether he is going to stand by those who are fighting for immediate and real Swamy—for our national honour and dignity, or stand by the Government, that has trampled our national honour through the Punjab case and our religion through the Khilafat wrong.

Do not vote 'Wily'—The Government wants a fresh lease, under the cloak of the people's consent, to continue its irresponsible career of crime and injustice as usual, it wants to delude the people to perpetuate a system that perpetuated the miseries of Jallianwala Bagh. Think twice before you vote for this system. The new demands are like golden paths. They have been looked for the occasion to deplore the voters.

What the New Councils cannot do—The new Councils cannot prevent

- (1) A repetition of the Khilafat agitation and the Punjab crime,
- (2) India being kept from being used to keep in subjugation other nations,
- (3) Indian money from being spent on making British Imperialism and foreign wars of aggression.

What the New Councils can do—The new Councils prevent

- (1) A real and immediate Swamy. No power has been given to the Councils to vote for measures of responsibility for Jallianwala,
- (2) Our economic freedom,
- (3) Our moral and material uplift,
- (4) Our inherent right to be a free people.

What is the use, then, of voting?

What it means not to vote—Every vote not given to the Councils, means a vote for Swamy, a vote in favour of the nation's determination by full power and responsibility, a vote for the national and economic emancipation of India, a vote for national Honour, Liberty and Freedom.

\*This choice, with some slight modifications, is given by Mr. Annapurnaiah in his article in the 'Hindustan' and the 'Indian Review'—Vol. V &.

## WHAT TO DO ON THE 18TH OF NOVEMBER

In connection with this, Mr. Gandhi writes in *Young India* as follows.

The 18th of November is somewhat of a day of trial for the people, because on that day members of the Legislative Councils will be elected throughout the Bombay Presidency. What will the voters do on that day? What is their duty?

(1) I hope that no voter will go to the polling booth to record his vote.

(2) That all the voters will remain sober.

(3) In case a meeting is held away from the polling booth, voters will attend it and express themselves against non-representation on the Councils.

(4) The work of canvassing representatives and of asking voters not to vote will cease for 24 hours from the night of the 18th instant.

(5) Vigilance too will cease to watch upon the 18th except to demands which have long ago.

(6) In short, those who choose to vote should leave the day wholly to their disposal.

Now can we hope to convert voters whom we have not been able to persuade all the while? Surely we do not want to protect any body from voting by physical force. There can therefore be no prohibition on the 18th.

Our complaint is one of substantial political opinion. When we have succeeded in doing that there will only then, a remedy which may result.

## MR. JINNAH AND NON-CO-OPERATION

Thus the *Hindustan* of India

Mr. Jinnah's reply to Mr. Gandhi with reference to the Bombay India is a seriously mischievous. His mischievous nature with regard to the very important fact declared by Mr. Jinnah's letter that it was at Mr. Jinnah's own instance that the question of allowing the British agent was referred to the general body. His argument that, if the executive cannot control change the agent except by a three-fourths majority, the general body must therefore be under a number disability is very fallacious and misleading. It is perfectly reasonable as a small body to require a large majority to effect change of the constitution without requiring an equally large majority in a larger body. Mr. Jinnah has now come out with the opinion that Mr. Gandhi's motions must lead to disaster, and yet he declared at the Congress that non-co-operation was the only method now open to India. The only alternative he could draw from his support of Mr. Pate's amendment was that he approved the principle of Mr. Gandhi's proposal, and wanted a short regime of non-co-operation. Indeed, some of Mr. Jinnah's followers and we in open Congress. If Mr. Gandhi's resolutions should now lead to disaster, as Mr. Jinnah apprehends they will do, the moral responsibility for the consequences partly rests on those who, being really opposed to non-co-operation and not, avowed the impression that they were prepared solemnly to support it in a certain extent. In September the only way for a Nationalist was to adopt non-co-operation, and the only way to work for a programme which is not morally acceptable for the ordinary mind of people is to oppose the government.

## Young India

Announced, Wednesday, 25th November, 1933.

### DIFFICULTIES IN OUR WAY

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Our difficulties are of two kinds, those that are imposed from without and those that are of our own creation. The latter are far more dangerous, because we often lag there and are therefore reluctant to remove them. Thus, for instance, the disturbances created at Mrs. Boman's recent meetings at Bombay were of our own making. And it is easier to deal with a violent meeting post-mortem than the disturbance of Mrs. Boman's meetings. A prohibition of 'violent meetings' gives us strength. Disturbances created by an unbecomingly violent our own. The violent conduct at Mrs. Boman's meeting was a type of violence. It was a distinct departure from the usual of non-violent non-co-operation. Its very early result is physical violence.

Those who created the disturbance ought to realize their ownness for the sacred cause they have at heart. It is the very worst training we can give ourselves abroad. Hence, propaganda material fabrication of views on matters here disastrous they may be to us. If the non-co-operationists refuse to listen to the other party's views, they lay themselves open to the same charge as the Government, which they accuse twice in 'Violence' without considering their own part. Non-co-operation against the Government is based on, and a possible only, co-operation among ourselves. We must bring them on for as possible and consistently with our creed, harangue every occasion. Non-violence is itself the way to do so. By their action at the meetings in question non-co-operationists have not, further estranged from themselves Mrs. Boman and her friends and followers. The law is perfect enough. They have certainly gained no new adherents by Harivardhana. So far as the students were concerned in the trouble offered to Mrs. Boman, they have dissatisfied themselves at a critical point in their evolution. They are called upon, in the name of religion and country, to develop the whole area of their powers, should they liberate them from having schools closed with Government grant or affiliation. Such charges as permissible only to men and children who have cultivated the area of respectful respect and obedience towards their parents and elders. That discipline is a virtue only when it is resorted to in response to a higher call and has not a taint of bitterness, hostility, or resentment in it. It is a positive vice when it becomes thoughtless, content, and ready. The one violation, the other degrades. And after all, do we not owe anything to Mrs. Boman's years, her past brilliant services, and her wit? The wrong proposition will require much of a treatment ungrateful. India's gratefulness ought to stretch for Mrs. Boman's

ungrateful landing even when she opposes India's movement. She does so from pure motives. She thinks that we are in error, she is of opinion that we are retarding India's progress. Surely it is her duty to raise questions what she considers to be wrong. And it is our duty respectfully to consider what she says.

But I have been told that on her meetings, an emphatic dissent is expressed, she would make a gift of our supposed violence, and that that there is a larger body of Indian opinion of her back than is really the case. Surely non-violence is not the only way of expressing dissent. The best and the chosen way would be not to attend her meetings, unless we wish to go in order to be arrested. We need not visit her meetings when we know that we do not approve of her views. The other way, if we must attend, is to enter our respectful dissent at the end of the meeting, or if we consider her remarks to be offensive to express our dissent by courteously walking out. A noisy demonstration is a sign of our weakness, a belittled withdrawal a proof of our strength. Non-violence, as a rule, intended to create a minority that wishes to break up a meeting. A majority conscious of its strength proceeds so eloquent and abstract effect both on the speaker, and her, or her, minority of followers.

It is true that this conduct is not a result of the movement of non-co-operation. It is a legacy of our past. We have been, to our harm, nurtured in the harmful traditions of the West in the manner of conducting our meetings. Applause and shouts of dissent are essentially a western custom. With this, for us, new method of non-violent non-co-operation, the old must go. The two cannot co-exist. If we are engaged in a dual business religious and political, and if we truly represent the masses of religion, we shall have to give up even verbal violence and learn dignified ways of dealing with our opponents. It is through training we need courage and self-control, discipline and faith in God, and therefore humility in the attainment, that we shall conserve the honour of India and our country, and turn our opponents into adherents and fellow-workers.

### MR. HICKMAN ON NON-CO-OPERATION.

The following letter has been received by Mr. Gandhi from Mr. Hickman—his nearest friend of India.

My dear Mahatma,

I am very sorry at the decision of the Special Congress that you are in right, and I feel sure also that by consistent performance of your programme India will, by her own efforts, achieve freedom. My only regret is that I can not there to help, there is no help that can be done here.

I hope I shall be able to return soon.

Ever Yours,  
E. B. Hickman

## IF I AM ARRESTED—

[TRANSLATED FROM MR. BANERJEE'S ADDRESS  
IN BANGALORE.]

I have been constantly thinking of what the people would do if now I am arrested. My co-workers also have been putting this question to me. What would be the plight of India if the people took to the wrong path, though here we need? What would be my own plight in such a case?

Even if blood shed by the Government need frighten me, but I would be deeply grieved even if the people did so as when since the Government for my sake or so my cause. It would be disgracing me if the people did their equilibrium on my arrest. The nation can achieve no progress merely by depending upon me. Progress is possible only by their understanding and following the path suggested by me. For this reason, I desire that the people should maintain perfect self-control and consider the day of my arrest as a day of rejoicing. I desire that even the workmen striking to-day should discontinue at that time.

What can be the motive of the Government in arresting me? The Government are not my enemy, for I have not a grain of enmity towards them. But they believe that I am the soul of all the agitation that, if I am arrested, the rule and the rains would be left in power, and the people are thereby following me. Not only the Government but some of our leaders also share this belief. How, then, can the Government put the people to the test? How can the Government ascertain whether the people understood my advice or are simply dazzled by my utterances? The only way left to them is to arrest me. Of course, there still remains an alternative for them and that lies in the removal of the causes which have led me to offer this advice. Not hypothetical as they may wish power, the Government will not see their own failure even if they do, they will not admit it. The only way then that remains for them is to measure the strength of the people. They can do this by arresting me. If the people are then inspired into submission they can be used to disarm the Foreign and the British troops.

If on the other hand the people resort to violence, they will merely be playing into the hands of the Government. Their complaints will then reach the people, their lives will shoot into flame, and their families will receive the blows of all weapons. There will be other efforts to make the people rob their women against the ground, crawl on their bellies, and undergo the scourge of whipping. But these methods will be equally bad and ineffective. They will not lead to liberty. In other countries governments have been overthrown by sheer brute force, but I have often shown that India cannot attain liberty by that force. What, then, should the people do if I am arrested? The answer now is simple. The people

- (1) should not observe *Shraddha*,
- (2) should not hold meetings,  
but
- (3) should be fully awake,  
I should certainly expect—
- (4) all the Government schools to be visited and shut down,
- (5) Lawyers to withdraw from practice, as greater students,
- (6) Settlement by private arbitration of cases pending before the Law Courts,
- (7) Closing of numerous national schools and Colleges,
- (8) Renunciation of all foreign cloth in favour of the exclusive use of hand spun and hand woven garments by men and women, and selling or burning of any foreign cloth in stock
- (9) Men to enlist in the army or in any other Government Service,
- (10) Those able to see their livelihood by other means to give up Government Service, and end their military.
- (11) Contribution of as much as is wanted towards national funds.
- (12) Those holders to surrender titles as greater students
- (13) Candidates to withdraw from elections, or if already elected to resign their seats,
- (14) Voters who have not yet made up their minds, to resolve that it is not to send any representative to the Council.

If the people resolve and carry that out, they would not have to wait for twenty years for a year. If they can achieve this work, although we shall have obtained liberty.

I shall then be set free under the nation's seal. That will please me. My freedom today is like a dream to me.

It will only prove the people's contempt if they are violence to release me, and then depend upon my help to attain liberty for them. Neither I can accept nor can I carry for the Nation. It will be given the Nation proving its own force.

In compliance of a notice to find fault with the Government, We got what government we deserve. When we require, the government also is bound to improve. Only when we require, can we attain liberty. Non-co-operation is the nation's determination to improve. Will the nation abandon the method and begin to co-operate after my arrest? If the people become soft and take to violence and as a result of it reveal to them failure, rob their women on the ground, while the Union Jack on I walk righteous miles to do it, what other is that but co-operation? It is better to die than to submit to anything like. In fact, consider it from any point of view, the course suggested by me is the right one for the people to take.

(1) should preserve peace and order,

## STUDENTS ARE THE ARCHITECTS OF A NATION'S FREEDOM

In a recent address to the Students' Conference, Madras, Professor Yarrow, began by saying:

"It is your duty to live as a great race in Indian history. But let us remember, that character of Non-Competition or non-cooperation is its character. It is people that played to the credit of our nation, but it also arose in non-cooperation with the needs and interests of the people. It is your duty to live as the best race of that movement. Then largely may be your privilege if you resolve to help the nation now. And the thought I would have with you tonight is that, you, students and young men, are the men. I have the teaching given to you by the Government-appointed authorities is not important to the National Ideal. Your ideals and all beyond that are, today, are your business, when they should be your business, looking to the light of the great Life of the Nation. Your education is not related to the light of India. In your college books, besides the few of Tagore on literature, of Rabindranath Tagore on poetry, of J. C. Bose on science, of Hindu classics on philosophy, of Hindu or Gandhi or Prakash on history, the Indian tradition, started years ago, has faded away. — The remedy is not possible but beyond. Of beyond is a political method you read little in your text books which tell tales of 'unconventional' activities or violence. Again, Mahatma Gandhi's *Satyagrah* is a method we learn to your text books in political science. They tell you that the laws of equity or those of a great Indian leader tell you that equity flows by *ahimsa*, the great of the soul, the Will to suffer, for that to be in the national meaning and essence of *Satyagrah* and not co-operative."

LONDON FROM MADRAS

After referring to Atkin and the part played by young men who were inspired by business and other teachers, Professor Yarrow referred to the lady of Madras, under Egypt, Japan, China, Germany, and the great work of students. He said:

"Think of Italy. There was a time when you may have, when Italy was under the hands of Austria. Mazzini came with a dream of Italian unification as his banner, and Mazzini opened his strategy through his dream and young men, he formed as you know, the 'Order of Young Italy.' Think of the Germany of you see this. In the days of Napoleon, Germany was in a very state. But it was the German students who dreamt the dream of a great *Teutoland*. Some of them grew to be the great people now of history in Germany. One of them was Marx, the father of the Modern Revolution against capitalism. Other workers, who dreamt of liberty and who, in the days of their method, stood Germany in several fields, were Engel, Hegel and Lassalle."

Think of Egypt. The National University of Khartoum in Khartoum, one of the greatest of the world's newer after that has dreamed students made them every year and are raised for national service. How much they have helped Egypt is known to every student of Egyptian education. They requested government and public meetings and conferences. They worked hard to see that the Nile's banner was kept alive. They carried the message of freedom to villages and towns."

Japan came next to her students, one of them, Tagore, helped to do great things for her, he went to Europe to study Western science, he returned to Japan to serve

her and make her great among the nations. He collected a library of books in Russia in the Russo-Japanese war, he took the Japanese of war. He passed his time with the West's students who unconsciously believed with Engel that Marx was destined to be dominated by Engels."

One of the latest developments of what students are disappointed by recent happenings in China. French diplomacy, system of war may have, favoured Japan at the expense of China. Ideology was installed from China and given over to Japan. There was an agitation in Peking. The Chinese officials were 'unfavourable', it was hoped the agitation would do it. But the 'unfavourable' of students could not help the patriotic life in the hearts of some Chinese students."

They realised that the Chinese officials who had sold their country for gold should go. They realised that China could not sign the Peace Treaty, they realised that such justice was done in China, Japanese goods must be boycotted. They were asked by their authorities not to interfere with matters 'political', they were denied sympathy by the club and provided, some of them were fined a sum by the police, some of them were arrested and imprisoned. They were not covered down, provision, gave a new life to their movement, they had the sympathy of shopkeepers, they organised historical Customers' meetings boys and girls, started on a regular campaign of boycott against Japanese goods. What can we do, we have the advantage. When that these nations stand. They organised the Chinese in every and China did not sign the Peace Treaty. They boycotted the merchandise and Japanese goods were boycotted. They have organised National Advertiser Conferences. They have spread the message of their and that is thousands of villages. They have started several students' groups. They have opened several centres of social service. They have started a new educational revolution among the masses, and they are now—the teachers' movement of China—in every locality spread all repression and control is wanted."

## INDIANS IN THE COLONIES

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. C. F. ANDERSON.

Q.—What are your views about the way in which the voluntary organisations scheme is being carried out by the South African Government?

A.—I have been utterly disappointed by the way which has resulted now by telegram and by letter. It appears that Mr. Wynne-Gibb has gone far beyond the limit of detaching contributions to the depressed class of Indian labourers who may not leave the Government after a five years' period. He would do far to suggest a boycott of Indian textiles by Europeans in order to drive them out of the country. He speaks in very unwise words about the determination of the South African Government to carry through the repatriation policy without exception. All though in practice and make the term 'voluntary' when applied to such a scheme, quite absurd and unmeaning, I greatly regret that I did not see at the time the political advantage which would be taken of every the slightest occasion. I cannot help but think that the English Republic, if he is reported dis-

ately, has gone far beyond the limits of his means. He seems from the reports to have treated Indians generally in respectful manner. He does not seem to have indicated his remarks in the strongest sense only that possibly the report of his words may have done him injustice.

Q.—Can you tell us anything of the recent Indian troubles in New Zealand?

A.—I spent sometime in New Zealand on my Fiji voyages and met prominent Indians there. At that time, between 1902 and 1903, there was absolutely no trouble in New Zealand whatever. These Indians whom I met were remarkably contented and happy. They were treated by the law as no specially with Europeans, and their children went to the State schools side by side with European children. They had the franchise, and when I met were actually admitted to the European Labour-Guild. I found, as Mr. White and others who were studying elementary English, in order to pass the very simple language test which was the only bar for admission into New Zealand as the case of British Indian subject. Not since the War has ended, I have had mutual letters and reports about the struggle of interests. Evidently an anti-Asiatic agitation has begun, and in some places it has been carried to such a degree. The way has been opened that New Zealand will be flooded with Indian or coloured labourers. The necessity of the "lock-out" in Fiji has been thoroughly depicted. The limits of the necessity in the past cannot be denied, but it is quite untrue to say that coloured Indian themselves are to blame for their lot. New Zealand herself has had cheap sugar, all through the War and since the War, almost entirely through Indian labour. Hardly a year has been passed in New Zealand without the employment of such labour. New Zealand has become the West-Quarters of the new branch of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, called the West and Fiji Sugar Company. Thus New Zealand has shared in the profits. It exports large sugar and exports the necessaries of its own people. I greatly fear that, owing to the new agitation, anti-Asiatic legislation will be passed in a most painful manner to read that in the recent Fiji disturbances New Zealand troops were despatched with haste to relieve the Indian labourers.

Q.—What do you think about the statement, of the Fiji Deputation published in the Fiji papers, that the Government of India, have given them a written document proposing the recognition of emigration if the official statement by Fiji approved it?

A.—I regard that, if it is true, as a direct breach of the pledge given by the Indian Government that this question would be left to the Indian people themselves to settle. Mr. Marjoribanks as described in the Fiji papers was the chairman chosen by the new deputation. I regard a good deal of this going over the more ground as that covered

by Mr. Marjoribanks' report. It was an able report, but it showed very little acquaintance for the labourer's point of view and very little knowledge of the exact knowledge from which the labourers were suffering. There was every indication that the author had not much idea of the actual conditions connected with the labourers themselves, but had taken, for the most part, his facts from official records only. Mr. Marjoribanks knows the Tamil country but I doubt if he has had much experience of the United Provinces. As the Fiji Indian labourers are mainly Hindustanis, it is very probable that he will be able to get into close touch with them. They are also anxious to show him sources of the official reports. For all these reasons, he does not seem, as a chairman, to be likely to represent the Indian people. He is much more likely to represent the Government point of view. We do not know who are likely to accompany him, but if the Indians as the Government adopted the attitude which Lord Charnwell obviously adopted on the previous occasion, that is to say, if they merely take the chairman, then the new statement will in all ways represent the very deep feeling of the Indian people. If the Government of India has really given a written pledge to the Fiji Deputation, that if the Government's report is favourable emigration will be restricted, I feel that a grave wrong has been done and that the written statement must be recalled as quickly as possible.

Q.—What do you think about the recognition of emigration to British Guiana?

A.—I do not think that the recognition of restricted labour is advisable anywhere under any circumstances at present where the Indians from India prohibit any passage to and fro. I am afraid, even in British Guiana, which has a much better record than Fiji, the coolies, below the surface, is merely the employment of cheap Indian labour, and not the simple intention to find adequate and useful labour in an unoccupied country. What appears to me to reveal the true facts in the mortality rate owing to malarial fever, British Guiana appears to be one of the worst places in the world for Indians, and the Indian population has not been able to escape the deadly disease. I see from a leading article in the *Statesman* of 11th June, 1902, that out of 70,000 persons employed in the sugar estates from 15,000 to 20,000 have to be treated in hospital every year, it is admitted to those who are too ill to work, has an unfortunately ill to go to the hospital. In the same remote villages the malarious are worse, out of 50 deaths in a village in a year, 20 have been due to malaria. The Liverpool Tropical School of medicine calls attention to these figures.

Q.—What steps do you suggest for the relief of the problem of East African Indians?

A.—This is the most difficult question of all, because the position of the Government of East Africa is not yet clearly settled, even though Lord

Misra has made his declaration. We must not forget that Lord Curzon made a declaration in a meeting in Egypt only some months ago which has now been widely revealed. He stated that as no recognition would independence be given Lord Misra some states that independence should be given, thus entirely reversing Lord Curzon's declaration. Up to the present the Indian Government has been absolutely firm in its demand for equal Indian status, but no declaration has been made by the Indian Government since Lord Misra's pronouncement, which clearly indicates what final status they are ready to take. With regard to Indians in East Africa, there will almost certainly be a refusal to act on demands on an African problem, but this will not remedy the situation with regard to India, and this situation I am still daily thinking out the problem, and I hope it may be possible for me to open future issues to make a more definite statement about it. (To be continued.)

#### MR BOMANJI ON NON-CO-OPERATION

Not long ago Mr R. B. Bomanji, the well-known Bombay business man, addressed to Mr Gandhi from London endorsing the Special Congress decision stating that "the Congress gave the only possible answer to British demands regarding the Punjab." As Mr. Bomanji has long been known as a staunch supporter of Mr. Montagu and his policy, a representative of India intervened him on the use of his experience for this country, with a view to securing some elucidation of the statements contained in his message. Mr. Bomanji's reply deserves consideration from his old friends and colleagues. We give the few concepts from the interview—

Q.—"How do you expect to find the situation in India on your return?"

A.—"The situation in India is going much worse. Mr. Bomanji declared," as the whole foundation of our faith in British justice has been destroyed by the Dyer debate in both Houses. Anyone who knew anything should have known that the effect on India would be awful. Rightly or wrongly it was felt that there was a final refusal open to us—the attitude of the British population appeared to us one of necessity, and the Dyer debate here proved that was that worse no longer." Mr. Bomanji thought that Non-Co-operation under these circumstances was inevitable.

Q.—"Do you think there is any chance of the Non-Co-operation Movement subsiding until it has achieved its purpose?"

A.—"On the slightest, valid the voice of the Punjab have been righted, there will be no real peace in the country and agitation must continue. If it should fade out, it will be a matter of having degrees to us."

#### THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

"Also do not forget that the Indian body of the Montagu Committee is the only element on the subject of the Turkish Treaty. It is a British Committee in the Government of India. All those who are acquainted with the Muslim world of large know that there is a universal

feeling among the people of India, I myself had written recently to some of the members from different parts of the world, and the response I have received is that their sentiment on the Muslim question and the failure of Turkey is identical with that of the Indian. Montagu. You must remember that one of the two planks of the Non-Co-operation platform in the question of a just Turkish settlement, and therefore this matter must be attended to by responsible Imperial Statesmen with the same care as the Punjab question. The progress of both the movements in the same country, the violation of pledged words of responsible Ministers of the Crown, and the question in the last statement that was left open to the people of India. They had made every conscientious effort in their power to secure the satisfaction of the Imperial Government in the settlement of the national demands, and it is only when Government turned a deaf ear to all their representations and persists that the people have been driven to have recourse to this last weapon."

#### THE OVERLAPPING RELATIONS.

"As long as you have Chamberlain, Curzon, Montagu, and Balfour continue to form part of the Government of India, so long there can be no hope of any real change in the present overlapping system of Government, which has brought India to the verge of disaster. That is a fact which I wish it were possible to rub well into the minds of the British Public. In this connection I should add that I must equally blame my own people for having continued to continue to any extent with Lord Chamberlain and to have allowed the return of Chamberlain to India on the Army Committee."

"I have just been reading the proceedings in the Imperial Legislative Council on the Bomanji resolution regarding the Punjab, and all I can say is that if the British and his own official colleagues had without self respect and sense of national honour, they should have walked out of the Council Chamber as a body when Lord Chamberlain gave his resignation. I am sure that if his great master, the late Mr. Chamberlain, had given in his place in the Council, he would not have submitted to such an outrage."

Q.—"What will be your own probable line of activity on your return to India?"

A.—"I am going out especially to be in touch with the Indian branch of the Congress at Nagpur, and I would hardly say that the Non-Co-operation movement will have any whole-hearted support. I do not see that any alternative course of action has open to my supporting India."

#### THE NEW Viceroy.

Q.—"How do you think the appointment of a new Viceroy would affect the situation?"

A.—"I do not think, having regard to the confusion of the present situation, that it matters on the least who goes out as Viceroy of India. The Government are perfectly welcome to send the worst Viceroy they can. I, for my part, would not even mind having Chamberlain as Viceroy of India if the British Government were to have a will. It will probably help to complete the work that he has already done! The question of Viceroyship really now affects India much less than it does Great Britain. It is for Great Britain, if she wants one to see her reputation with India to get about making a statement, then preferable to be the Viceroy of India."





# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

17618

(Edited by K. K. Gandhi)

New Series Vol. II No. 11 | PUBLISHED WEEKLY, 207, BANGALORE ROAD, MADRAS | Price Ten Annas Per Copy

CONTENTS.		Total
The Student Revolt	—	— 2
Notes	—	— 2
<b>Reviews</b>		
A Triumph of Non-Violence	—	— 4
Swadesam and Non-Swadesam	—	— 4
The Hindu League	—	— 5
The National University of England	—	— 8
<b>Correspondence</b>		
Mr. Douglas Hoyle	—	— 7
Subscriptions and Depressed Classes	—	— 8

## THE STUDENT-REVOLT

(By Prof. Saranya.)

What is the meaning of the Student-Revolt of Aligarh, Lahore, and Amritsar? It was expressed in that moving appeal issued by Abanindranath Tagore in India's modern 'India's soul is weeping.' It well expresses the frustration and anguish suffered to her every day. In the name of all that is best and noblest in the heart of man, we appeal to you to join in our just and righteous cause and fight for her, for, and against to bring this struggle to a successful issue. Unlike appeal comes on a great note? The Freedom-fighter was begun, and passed from Monday was to us, 'Young India' has to our own."

How much evidence which have demonstrated the thoughts and lives of Indians.

Our recall what Egyptian students did in the days of Egypt's struggle for freedom. The same University of Medicine was captured, and young men were sent out to fill up the streets in the presence of the National Council of Liberty. So when Hungary revolted against its freedom, the young men left the State Universities and joined the new National University of Medicine. They were the students of Hungary's protest. They were the young men of Egypt and Hungary—when in winning the cause they did, they were not, but young men in whom the life-giving force were not the ideal of victory.

Gandhi's calling out to liberate Italy sends some young men standing in a street, he asks them to join him, "What will you offer?" they ask, "Offer?" answered Gandhiji—"I offer you freedom, struggle, rage, thirst, sleepless nights, footsores in the long marches, physical exhaustion, and

victory in a noble cause." And young Italy followed him. Young men stepped to the appeal for months, while their comrades in age sat idle in the men watching love of life and more. The political and philosophical error inspired young men in my age.

"Students", said the English Chamberlain of blessed memory, "is the architect of India". Young men believe and act while the traditional non-violence and struggle upon the ideal. During the martial law regime the Principals of various Colleges at Lahore were required to provide at least 10 per cent of their students and a 'certificate of merit' was supplied them by the Officer Commanding. And the Principals quickly submitted to the solemn demands of the Officer. A thousand times better world it have been to have closed the Colleges in darkness in the Call of the Lord.

The Student-Revolt, now spreading to a number of schools and colleges, will not be appreciated by many of the 'liberal' who have for long years earned in an atmosphere of compromise. But the hearts of the young respond to the ideal and it is the efforts of the young that will build the India of tomorrow. Young men, all over the country, are beginning to realize that the current system of education does not build character. The reason is not far to seek. The schools and Colleges are, more or less State Departments; they are, more or less, official-controlled and where the head of the school are busy, the students cannot move in an atmosphere of freedom.

"Kale Brikshaw, Brikshaw raise the voice," such expressions were heard in our days in the schools. In his book, "India Reform, the Imperial Idea and National Progress," the Honorable Father urged that first in the Empire will be the extinction of Indian education! The deeper meaning of Indian thought and life and history is not taught to our boys; effectiveness of word and deed in India are exaggerated by the text-book writers with a view to suggest that the Empire does not give India the Unity she needs; a National policy is necessary, our students are told, would do harm to India! Yes, "British made has done much for India!" The life-plant in every Indian is not in the world, earthily, it is in out-breathing of the Eternal. Yet that life—the

The 50th percent of the college, the late Mr. Mase, died of cholera a few months after he died. It was during the two years that I spent in the college that, amidst all prejudice and interested opposition, the Greater India of the worthy founder secured recognition, and the college was affiliated with the U. A., and if Mr. Mase had lived would the authorities in its infancy, it was not without a sense that I had to induce my students to withdraw and to meet my associates with it.

In my letter to the President and Director I stated that "the college, being affiliated to the Government University of the Punjab, is an integral part of the machinery by which the Government is maintaining the moral progress of the country." We had the prestige of the Government by adding to such as by the late Mr. Mase we set up British justice and education. But the most concrete man in the country believes today that Justice is involved with my special letter by being defiled. Hence, indeed, I have raised a growing tendency to give the education (English) to the post-war years of 'Progress' but the moral being still higher.

We will proceed to studying the present system of education with living political leaders, Hindu, Muslim, Mahatma, Tagore, Bose, and the rest of our distinguished, wise men would be enough to maintain the system. And then, as it was today that we are these great men to the present system! Hardly any of them has not at some period of his life experienced great dissatisfaction with the system, except of which they gave. Many of them have made worthy contributions to the maintenance from the system of its present failure. Even Tagore's Remembrance and we have had to give rise even to the present system. No, Gandhi is no more a part of the present system than Mahatma was of Britain's Day in India. The same traditions in which most of our great men give up have been fast disappearing. It was largely possible for the time to supply the necessities which our education made. Henceforth culture is essential to preserve our dying traditions of our civilization.

If, there is not more truth in the statement that we are no great leaders to the system that we seek to destroy, I am prepared to acknowledge that we are largely what our associates have made us. The average man needs a guide to the acceptance in which he is brought up, and he is a difficult to shake off the influence of ideas inculcated at school and college. It is not the school and the college, especially when the system was young that have their way in making path, but the character of the nation is made. Yes, we are what the system has made us. But we may say that with pride? Have we any reason to boast? Have we already forgotten the terrible foundation we laid in last year when our young men returned spontaneously to the authorities of the National Law authorities? And what the world we expect of them, was a French of college graduate, rather than showing their sense, to set up various positions in various, some of which they have to be content, and about the great of others of whom they had no students, at the direction of Col. Frank Johnson? This demonstration was due to our educational authorities being deeply or indirectly under the control of a Government, which had no respect in

the doing to give the 'barren' of thousands of our young men to serve the physical world. It is in the case of these men 'barren' that students are being trained against the National Programme of Non-co-operation. I have known students voluntarily and I know the knowledge that these 'barren', and the degree that open out the portals leading to them, have for the vast majority, who are disillusioned only after, with great difficulty, they get absorbed in some government office. But for such expectations, they and their virtues would have upheld the honour of the Motherland in the hour of her death in the Punjab, and we would have been saved the sorry spectacle of pseudo-national Frenchmen leading to live up to the idealistic preach in the classroom. The system that produces such pseudo-nationalists must end, and our hope must be brought upon an atmosphere of unity and independence.

Many friends, who would agree with my condemnation of the system, consider to think of the non-cooperation of students withdrawn from schools and colleges. They would have National Schools and colleges started first before an effort is made to close the existing establishments. No educational reformer as such could possibly give different advice. I agree that ideal educational programmes may not be desired at a time of political excitement. Indeed otherwise, because I do not interpret the movement of Non-co-operation as aiming at educational reform as such. The movement is non-cooperation. I understand it to mean the withdrawal of all possible voluntary cooperation with a government which has lost our confidence. In conditions of government matters with a government would have been easily replaced by every constitutional device to bring an alternative government into power. We, in India can either wait for an alternative government till the time, gradual reform of the present government proceeds to work out, or we can organize our forces to create a peaceful alternative.

The former course is undesirable if we have any self-respect left, the latter course is possible only if we have enough confidence in ourselves. Before other members of the Indian National Congress, has declared our intent for complete self-government, which means-empower to take over immediately every department. The non-cooperation movement means of making the country independent of the established government in fact as in a country associated with it give. To succeed in this task, justice, representation or consultation are necessary. Everything lies in our own hands. We are free the government with a situation in which the best will be only conditions to follow. No modern government can be run without some support. It is therefore that the fall of old Akbar has created a continuation area as the fall of an imperial Britain. If, therefore, we were to know when we should give them the non-cooperation the respective positions of the large and the best need come to us money. The collector under a which there was a need to the old system of things when we stood at steady reform of the present system. We are now being asked to demand for a second statehood rather our citizens to money, as most representative years even to the year of education.

## Young India

Abolished, Wednesday, 27th November, 1920.

### A TRIUMPH OF NON-VIOLENCE.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The non-violence moved by the Government of India in the Non-co-operation movement may be regarded as its first triumph of a striking order. For the Government have decided in view of its non-violence to refrain, for the time being at any rate, from replying by violence what they consider to be an unconstitutional movement. The Government, as well as the people, may be congratulated upon this wise decision, and I have not the slightest doubt that, if the movement continues to be purged of all violence, whether in deed or in word, it would not only be responsible for the Government to cease to repress, but also to count the ever growing volume of public opinion against it, when that opinion is kindled by well-directed acts of non-cooperation of Government patronage or support, on a national scale.

But the main danger to be avoided is to let out the mailed fist, if the leaders of "moderate" opinion fail to check the onward march of Non-co-operation. It is interesting to recall the usual wording of the slogan, "How long," the moderate says "with due regard to their ultimate responsibility for the public safety, the Government will be able to tolerate that policy" (i.e. non-cooperation) "will depend largely on the masses, which attend the effects of the moderate action to check the extension of the movement and keep its degree within bounds."

Thus reputation is to replace force and argument, if Non-co-operation becomes effective to the extent of making it impossible for the Government to resist without refusing to restore its steps and respect of its unorganised India. For it must be noticed that the danger here lurks overwhelmingly of violence but of the line of the resistance of the Government, if my analysis is correct the Government are weakly playing with the "diver" and with India. If they mean well let them make an irrevocable commitment in the clearest possible terms that, so long as the movement remains non-violent, they will not interfere with it even though it demands, and may result in, complete independence. That they will have to make this irrevocable commitment or else I have no doubt, of me, the non-co-operator, are able to keep the movement free from violence, i.e. the commitment made when they are driven to it by irresistible public opinion will have lost all its force.

The root of the non-violence is self-sufficiency with the traditional policy of the Government is so full of the usual self-sufficiency and non-co-operation about non-co-operation. It is wrong, for instance, to say that those who have been expelled have been so dealt with that dependents from the principle of non-violence. I challenge

the Government to produce from the speeches or writings of those who have been imprisoned any evidence of intention to violence. The language of the defendants has sometimes been rash, even exaggerated, but the records available to me of the trials of those of them show that there has been no violence provoked by the speeches concerned. There is very little that the speakers have said which I would not have said myself. It is equally untrue to say that those who have been punished have been so dealt with for "complicity with the looting of the army or of the police," unless a public appeal to violence, not by self-sufficiency as necessary means for raising other conditions of their independence, amounts to such complicity. The *Seitans* Meetings, *Parliament* in the Punjab and the various letters against non-co-operation papers is an eloquent repudiation of the statement that the Government "have been reluctant to interfere with the liberty of speech and the freedom of the press at a time when India is on the threshold of a great advance towards the realisation of the principle of self-government."

The non-co-operation about the leaders of the movement and the deep anger at their supposed share in such martyrdom is beneath notice. The Government ought to know what a rebel it is to the 4th Brothers and myself to learn that, so long for the present, they do not propose to suppress or Everybody knows that the danger of an outbreak of violence is the greatest of us are imprisoned. I am aware that this is a humiliating condition. If the people were truly strong and self-reliant, they would remain unperturbed by our or my leaders' imprisonment. So long, however, as the lightning strikes of the rest of the Government has so long must there be this fear of an immediate outbreak of violence on the part of the people of the satyagrah need, when they are deprived of the sweetness and calm of sleep as when they before.

The Government's third argument, in favour of the exercise of their self-reliance, is the stiff response, and calculated to entrap the army. They describe non-co-operation as "a necessary and alternative scheme, which, if successful, could only result in wide-spread disorder, political chaos, and the ruin of all those who have any real stake in the industry." In the one sentence we have the entire character of the Government. They must know that successful non-co-operation means orderly and peaceful destruction of the present system of the Government, and its replacement not by disorder and chaos but by political order of the first magnitude, and promotion of every legitimate interest in the country—not excluding that of the European merchant who desires to see an untried thing in India. *Maroon* of the "red state" is a mild word to the name of India, and a masterpiece in respect to the mailed clowns to rage

themselves against the masses. Have the masses no stake in India? Are they not the only people with any real stake in the country? The second element, if the worst happens, could cause emigration from the country. The masses have no other home save the free parts of our Empire which they put on in the hood of suppressed tears.

It has to be the motto of the masses of the revolution to say "blatant appeal of mass-operation is in progress and tycoonism", when they see across that free every platform the appeal is made for self-interest, self-protection, and discipline. The misrepresentation of Satyagrah as an ill-voiced The experiment was indeed better during that eventful month of April, but the revolution in the minds of the people (I should not think during those days will remain an *everyday* India will never forget her a world-administration in the People ought to work in concert and pass movement by every means, fair or foul. The widespread awakening of the people of India to a sense of the wrong done done, and to a sense of their duty, goes far to drive to the suppression of the masses on Satyagrah.

The resolution to question is an appeal not merely to our opinions and actions, but it is an appeal also to our intelligence. For this document proclaims "the full measure of our three hopes would have been achieved had we agreed through agreement and mutual aims, all the benefits of a stable government and undisturbed peace the means that have been obtained by the orderly progress of India for more than a century and the still greater means which, it is hoped, will attend her advance under the British system. Her national prosperity and her political progress, we all to be justified in the responsible exercise of a far-sighted aim" In my humble opinion this paragraph is indeed, the most authoritative, the most meaningful, and the most intelligent of the Government, "the most essential" If the arguments advanced in regard India must ever remain in a disordered condition without the British system. I cannot imagine for India a proposed more glorious, more national, and more worthy of a nation, that only a certain agreement of getting to the fullness of body we run that all the relations that can be considered together in step by any three persons of Europe, bearing Russia. What answer would it be to be pronounced upon the British Government, that first, for the commercial good of the British nation, it has established a whole people! The answer must be given that the full administration of our legal system in India with the whole of her population having one mind, one purpose, self-contained and self-reliant, producing enough for all her duty needs, and therefore will able to stand a blockade by all the naval powers of the world combined. This may all be a day-dream but that is the exact meaning of "the full administration of our hopes," and I should very much like the price to be paid between the present of all the world peering

into India-what to punish her for any offence given by her, but in order to trade with her at the point of the bayonet and the whip, the Gurkhas the Peshwas the Marathas and the Sikhs and all the other military races of India, unless they fighting for their honour and honor by I am told that there never will be in 1885, such a way of purpose and need I must say that there never will be Swamy for India, and therefore there freedom and free progress—national and national. It was Channing who wrote that under the had to do a stand no bigger than a man's throat might say cannot gather such circumstances as to flood a whole country if it were I have implied trade in the ability of our countrymen to keep the all the latest experience of the British rule, as general (perhaps necessary) in the meantime the nation, may say moment take definite steps in the nation representing the autonomy of unity and self-reliance, such as to compel either repetition or real change of heart or withdrawal on the part of the British Government.

I must refrain from burdening this article with any reference of the charges of inconsistency etc. regarding my views on the state-of-war. The pages of this journal have made clear to us readers the value of the fundamental position taken upon this question. I must close this lengthy article with nothing the essence of the only thing that can stop the inevitable progress of non-co-operation yet a full and satisfactory review of the khilafat issue and complete satisfaction about the People's Will, and if, the British nation respects the welfare of India on these two points, non-operation will replace non-co-operation, and every Indian the Empire will be the most natural consequence.

Let all that clear, responsible voters, in spite of all the resolutions and all the resolutions that may be reported to the Government, so far as I am and the national soul. You violent non-operation will and must remain the goal of the nation that has grown weary of a meaningless, leading, and hazy world.

## TRAINING AND NON-TRAINING

(By Dr. K. Gandhi.)

When I wrote on 'Training India' on the non-British question in Madras, I little realized that the non-British issue was largely if not entirely, a political matter, and that the complaint was not so much against the Government as that by the non-British as a class, as by some educated non-British against the Nationalists who were mostly Britishers. Non-Britishers include the Congress, the Marathas, the Jains and the 'outcastes etc.' The latter, however, have a separate grievance against the other non-Britishers, so that they are united in much by the Non-Britishers. The case for the educated non-Britishers is a grave and serious one, it may however be stated in the following terms.

(1) The non-Brahmins do not possess the same political consciousness as the Brahmins possess.

The second reason is the larger number of Government posts and jobs which are reserved for the Brahmins. The non-Brahmins are thus really in a disadvantage.

(2) The non-Brahmins do not have the League from the centre of their political activity, which the latter class do. Their political consciousness has thus not matured to a degree which is worthy of the time now required.

(3) The non-Brahmins treat all non-Brahmins as Untouchables. They treat them precisely as the British treat all Indians.

In my opinion the Non-Brahmins race is gradually being weaned out of its isolation to disappear from the public life of India, unless the Government of the non-Brahmin party carry out the Congress line as an open and avowed programme.

The non-Brahmin race is, naturally, not in the religious or the social majority, but in the political majority of the Brahmins which the latter are gradually losing by their consent. This political majority must consist of the non-Brahmin having control larger than about twenty, three or four Government posts and beyond the Congress and non-Brahmin units or organisations. It is clear to me, that the Government in consultation with the Congress group will play the non-Brahmins against the Brahmins even without the knowledge of the former, and will continue to profess its benevolence by favouring speciality between the two, and holding out political advantages to the non-Brahmins.

It is clear, too, that the Brahmins will take the road out of the non-Brahmin road, and make that opposition impossible by a right combination of every form of Government patronage. The reason why the question has assumed a more acute form is that the non-Brahmin leaders are trying to influence the electorate in their favour, and are helping the electors that the non-Brahmins being weak, they must treat the British influence. Brahmin leaders are naturally trying to influence the non-Brahmins and dominate them from every class view. This process is to be continued not more than when the non-Brahmins and the non-Brahmins are fighting. The most painful part of the matter however is that the non-Brahmin leaders who claim to represent the masses and to feel for them will by their co-operation with the Government, or by seeking to better their condition by Government aid, unconsciously lighten the load of the Government on the matter and by their co-operation the Government and they will make a new difficulty the severity of the Punjab and the British Empire. The non-Brahmins policy is thus disadvantageously made. Whatever their grievances against the Brahmins or the Government, they remedy gradually does not lie through alliance with a few non-Brahmins whose evil is economic exploitation of the masses, and to try and give their consent. For their refusal to sign the Punjab and partly even the British's wrong, is based upon the policy of keeping up the British prestige at any cost. One

has in England's interest keep under subjection every corner of human beings mostly by their evil.

But it is, and also contribute to power, by making these progressively helpless and weak individuals. I do not wish to make the non-Brahmins and Brahmins into a co-operation with the Government which is based on both the evil and which does not in power. They will not follow the political tradition of the masses by generalising from the evil and practice by being elected against a non-Brahmin.

It is by the Government's standard thirty five years of only the non-Brahmin race, but the masses of India will be less able to stand the weight of the masses and those that they will be given up. They are less able than they are at any previous time in the history of the nation.

The increasing identity of the non-Brahmin leaders to stand into the arms of the Government by an avowed intention of their political majority can only be started by the great Brahmin party themselves, and it is wrong, it has the loads of the masses of non-Brahmins. It is not allowed to stand to give up the political consciousness of the non-Brahmin population that path is an alternative where the British will stand.

Non-Brahmins will not stand, unless the Brahmins stand the level of the British. They are those who had with and against Government were made about non-Brahmin papers in the Congress, among themselves and through language towards non-Brahmins, of independent Brahmins themselves also holding them and leading them with economy. Their avowed non-Brahmin consciousness has a right to open economy and non-Brahmins more from non-Brahmins non-Brahmins. The mass of non-Brahmins are still estimated by the non-Brahmin population I have faith enough in the Mahatmas. Brahmins to know that he will solve the non-Brahmin question in a manner fitting the demands of Hinduism which he will do.

**THE SILE LEAGUE**

(By M. P. Ghosh.)

Dear Kalyan Das, the talented left of the 'Tribune' has kindly sent me an extract from a letter which received by him from a Sikh correspondent, for my comments. The extract was as follows:

"Mahatma Gandhi told one of the Sikh gentlemen who went to concentrate with him in the first October last on the programme of the silence of his propaganda on Sikh matters, that his propaganda of non-cooperation was non-effective, that there were no fresh resolutions taken that the movement was likely to become a thing among the Sikhs, that he would strongly urge the Sikhs to remain non-violent both in word and deed, but that if despite his warning the Sikhs became violent, he shall not object if the British authorities crushed them by force. He said that he would be annihilated without letting other Sikhs or

Mahatma came to their help, for it shall be by the exercise (active) and total renunciation of an element which is likely to become violent that the propaganda of non-violent non-co-operation will succeed. Baba Kishanbhai Bay after quoting the foregoing says: "The writer admits that at a meeting of the Sikh League these words were duly repeated as having been used by you and that you who was present, did not contradict the report. The letter too, I was further informed, been published by the Civil and Military Courts of Lahore."

The above remarks viz. I suppose, intended to dissuade me. Now the conversation referred to was being held nearly an hour. Some of the remarks made by me during the conversation have been seen from those sitting and put together as though I had made them in the meeting and the other parts. The fact is that the conversation was a casual one partly in Hindustani and partly in English. My remarks were addressed to several members of the audience. The letter had come to my eye and had raised the idea of non-co-operation before the Sikhs, especially as I had myself witnessed the violent attitude of some members of the League. I told them on the basis of my rights to several persons that I did not like the attitude of some of the Sikhs present at the meeting, and that it (what was said) was great. I told them also that if I was permitted to speak, I could warn the audience against the danger of violence, that it would be essential to do violence to co-operators and not to make them non-co-operators by non-co-operation. I told them too that the non-co-operators would be meeting destruction if they committed violence, for the British would in that event have an opportunity of destroying the whole of the community. I obviously told my listeners that, so far as I could, I would demand both Hindu and Mahomedan help in helping any escape of violence, and that I would not in this struggle against the Government be deterred by the fear of such a calamity as has been described to me.

The summary of my remarks given by the writer thus hardly does justice to me. I say that, that I do not know the writer nor have I seen the letter from which Baba Kishanbhai Bay has taken his account. I do recollect a speaker at the Sikh League reproducing the conversation. His speech was in Hindustani and in so far as I understood him I think he correctly represented the gist of my remarks.

#### THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF GUJARAT

By establishing a university and teaching college, at Ahmedabad, Gujarat has shown that Non-co-operation has a constructive side as well. Only being a purifying process, Non-co-operation has to destroy before it can construct. The National University stands to-day as a protest against British aggression, and as a vanguard of National freedom. But it has come to stay. It draws its inspiration from the national ideal of a united India. It stands for a religion which is the Dharma of the Hindu and

Islam of Mohammedans. It wants to rescue the Indian consciousness from unscrutinized diffusion and make clear the functions of national representatives and Indian culture. It holds that a systematic study of Aryan culture is as less essential than the study of western sciences for a complete education for life. The main sources of Sanskrit and Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, and Magadhi have to be investigated in order to discover wherein lies the source of strength for the nation. It does not propose merely to look on, or repeat, the ancient culture, it rather begins to build a new edifice based on the foundation of the past revealed by the experience of other times, it aims for the synthesis of the different cultures that have come to stay in India, that have influenced Indian life, and that, in their turn, have themselves been influenced by the spirit of the west. This synthesis will naturally be of the Swadeshi type, where each culture is accorded its legitimate place, and out of the American pattern, where one dominant culture absorbs the rest, and where the aim is not towards harmony, but towards an ethical and broad unity. That is why the University has desired a study of all the Indian religions by its students. The Hindu may thus have an opportunity of studying the Koran and the Mishnah of knowing what the Hindu Shadow contains. If the University has excluded anything, it is the Spirit of Erasmus that regards any studies of ignorance as practically attainable. The study of Hindustani, which is a national blend of Sanskrit, Hindi, and Pransooni Urdu, has been made compulsory. The spirit of independence will be inhaled not only through Religion, Politics, and History, but through vocational training also, which does not give the pupils of the country economic independence and a back-bone that comes out of a sense of self-respect. The university hopes to organize higher schools throughout the national towns, so that education may be spread broad-based and shared even to the utmost as early as possible. The use of Gujarati in the medium of education will facilitate this process and, in long, the regional divergence between the educated and the non-educated will be bridged. And, as an effect of national education in the present India, and literary education for the cultural classes, the unequal distribution of wealth and the consequent social discontent, will be amply remedied. The greater talent of the Government Universities has been their share under and the false values they have created as regards 'service'. The Gujarat University by non-co-operating with the Government has not only actually resisted both these evils from its very birth. If the founders and promoters wish it this resolve will the Government becomes untenable, it will help them to cultivate a clear perception of national ideals and national needs. Let us pray to God that the workers get the necessary faith and strength to uphold the banner they have unfurled.

## MR. GOUGHAN REPLIES.

To  
The Editor, "Young India."

With reference to Mr. Gandhi's article under the heading "Lecture Specimen" registered in "The Independent" of the 10th instant from your paper, I request you will excuse me the courtesy of your address, as it is unnecessary. Mr. Gandhi has challenged me to "show up my position." Personally I do not think there is any thing that requires showing up on my part, my letter to the Indian Daily Telegraph dated the 13th October, though unfortunately held at home, and those who have got eyes to see may see what is stated therein, but those who will not see I cannot expect to convince. But for the fact that my letter would be a study of non-cooperation, I should have preferred not to have said anything further on this matter, and I write this with reluctance to I assure I have to thank religious ground, but I shall try my best to do it to keep my own's feelings and religious convictions.

Mr. Gandhi explains that I did not protest at the meeting of the 10th October, and that I did not confer to him subsequently. As to protesting at the meeting I left the meeting in a state of disgust, and getting from the ground a good deal of evidence at political meetings. It is open to every one to decide whether I would have obtained a hearing if I had gone to take exception to the speech of the learned Member. As to conferring to Mr. Gandhi, the matter concerned me and my fellow workers, not only as a non-cooperator but as a Christian, and however great a respect I may have for Mr. Gandhi, I refuse to do what lies in my power so I to take counsel with him as to my conduct as a Christian.

Mr. Gandhi further explains to having been not reported in one respect, but that it obviously refers to the report of his speech by Mr. Nicholas Jones, and not by me, as the proprietor of the content is concerned on that point I mention that to avoid confusion.

Now to the question of the Member and my withdrawal from the non-cooperation movement as envisaged in that speech. The gist of my letter to the 10th October is that a Christian was referred to as a "Kaly" and his members as a "Shabd", and that in my opinion this amounted to the proclamation of such a member. The use of the word "Kaly" is admitted, but says Mr. Gandhi in his answer that Babu Babu Singh of Hindustan has done so, and is using a Christian phrase to the fact, a whole row of unqualified opinion of non-cooperation. An argument of this nature amounts to nothing, and I am surprised that a man of the eminence of Mr. Gandhi should have given so wide of his mark. The speech of the 10th October at Lucknow was not delivered from a temple, mosque, or church, they were delivered from, if I may be permitted so to describe it, the national platform, a platform to which Mr. Gandhi registered all his writings before the Indian Chamber of Commerce, and those speeches were not of mere chance through clerical mistakes, but were those of the protagonists of the movement, and were made up held by the protagonists of that political creed. Mr. Gandhi has not touched that portion of my letter in which I said that the member was referred to as "Shabd", nor does he say in his article that that

word was not used without the slightest trace of any latent contradiction from any point of view of the term was employed by British Statesmen, when Mr. Gandhi openly tells his hearers of an anti movement. Having failed in a complete the explanation of this, it is not strange that Mr. Gandhi should consider my attitude in non-cooperation. But this is the vital point. The plea was the national platform, the member was for the protection of the doctrine of non violent non-cooperation, the speakers were the Indian leaders of this movement and the spirit of their speeches was that, though they did not approve of their member from the procedure point of view, but from the religious aspect interest the people interested was a Christian, the member being a Kaly in that was just like a "Shabd". I request Mr. Gandhi to ponder over this, that if a member is considered as a "Shabd", if it has any meaning it is that, that the member was a non-cooperator, having associated with the member however a "Shabd", and notwithstanding my whole protestation to the member, the example of the "Shabd" is held up for public rebuke, to be considered by his co-operators, if they have any experience in religious ground. It would require an excellent orator to satisfy every one not to protest in this a resolution of the member. Though it is not for me to enter in the details of this question from a religious point of view, I mention that non-cooperation expressed in a resolution of members, to get it very easily, to deprive of member as worldly possessions, one himself and to the next to up hold it as religious work, is not only religious in its degree, but a largely inappropriate from the non violent non-cooperation platform and on the lips of the leaders of the movement. And when the leaders of a propaganda vehicle one of the words of basic principles of it, only to be concerned as you as my opinion to the dominating influence, rather to withdraw as protest of they are not necessary, or if they are in a capacity to discharge such leaders from their position. I being a Christian was in the front position and I took the first steps, and it is for the public and Mr. Gandhi to decide what action to take, if they really disapprove of those speeches and do not think it proper to withdraw members, by merely changing their words Mr. Gandhi puts me in the position "Do I now not want freedom or rebuke for the Shabd?" My answer is, certainly I do, but I am equally anxious I am not going to get them in the company of such Indian leaders, who have not the particular modest, practical values merely displayed on the part of their religion, and to report myself as a supporter for me as those circumstances to continue to be a participant in a movement the Indian leaders of which entertain such notions of a cold blooded murder of a Christian as such.

On my part this is the last word on this subject.

Yours truly

H. V. Douglas.

17th November 1908.

I need hardly say that Mr. Douglas has missed the mark. He may not wish the non-cooperation with a Member or my Member. But may he co-operate with an unreligious government because he finds the unreligious equally to be unreligious? Is it fair to Member British A's as unreligious? I am writing this to state his own position.—M. K. G.





# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by R. E. Gendall)

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 11

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1920

Price Two Annas  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS.

	Page.
News	1
How to get through law	2
<b>ARTICLES</b>	
State Deficiency	3
Central Services	5
State of Primary Education	5
Wages and Costs	6
Madras Letter	6
Interview with Mr. Belrose	7
<b>COMMENTS</b>	
Non-cooperation in schools	8
Experiment in Primary Education	8
By Study	9

## Notes.

**The Revolt of Belrose.**—The authors and editors of the Belrose Act have repeatedly been taken into our care, the work of the Member and several members of the Belrose Act.

Perhaps the following is one of the many messages which the Act has brought to students—

The *dyarchy* arrangement and control of administration has given an accelerated impetus to the creation of new posts, and departments and sub-departments, as if we had already run out of them. The creation of a "Council of State," of the posts of paid Vice-Chief and Vice-Chief of the Legislative Assembly as a result of decentralisation and popularisation of the administration, the division of Industries into "Transferred" and "Reserved" subjects and, as a consequence thereof, creation of the posts of ministers with their full staff, the organisation of a separate department of Indian Arts, are going to put the country to enormous additional expense. Not apart from that, what have the proteges of the Belrose Act to say about the equal maintenance of the various allowances of the *haram-baram*? In reply to a question in the House of Commons regarding the total increase of pay, the following figures were given:

Indian Civil Service	£ 200,000
Indian Police Service	£ 120,000
Indian Educational Service	£ 100,000
British Officers of Indian Army and of British Army in India	£ 1,700,000
Indian Medical Service	£ 100,000

Total, £ 2,120,000

A Belrose, ordered by the House of Commons in 1911 (revised in 1918, and quoted by Mr. Belrose in his book "India's Nation's growth and progress") being paid in India for the services of 12,718 Europeans at Rs. 877,84-400; 11,218 Indians received Rs. 2,06,24,311, only 1000 holding appointments of Rs. 200 and above, while almost all Europeans and high Indians held appointments of over Rs. 200. The figures in respect posted above increased by an average of 25% on account of war and peace allowances etc.

Two facts are apparent from the above. One, the low percentage of Indians in the higher services and their comparatively low pay; the other, the fact that almost equally copied by the members of higher services, the average pay of a European being nearly Rs. 700, that of an Indian Rs. 100. In the year 1914-15 a 10.5 million were spent on salaries and other expenses of our civil administration. The fresh investment of about 25 crores of Rs. 2500, however, is used, exclusively for the members of the Imperial Indian Services, which means nearly Europeans, there being not even 1% of Indians in these pompous services.

We say emphatically that this picture anything but bright. It is not at all bright; that will bring in moral and material benefits.

Independence will make the "overcast" not a source of explosion but an asset to the country, returning to the country more than what is expended on them.

But this is not the only instance of the Belrose and our services to the Empire during the war. Apart from the war gifts of £ 100 millions and £ 45 millions, we had to bear an colossal military expenditure of about Rs. 80 crores for the year 1914-15, Rs. 65 crores for 1915-16, and the estimate for the current year 1919-20 has been put down as 60 crores—nearly one-half of our total income. At the hand of all this, comes the reminiscence of the Belrose Committee Report, which by these very institutions involve a greater increase of military expenditure usually. It is not possible for us to give an accurate estimate here, though we have to do so from other times, but it is only to state that it will mean a far more time of expense.

**Worth of Indian and European Investments**—In the Imperial Legislative Council on September 16 the House Member, replying to Mr. Sanyal, said Rs. 28,000 were awarded as compensation to Mrs. Bhadrani, who however would take only Rs. 1000, representing the value of property lost.

A statement laid down the number of cases in which amounts have been given by Government to the dependents of persons killed at Jubbulpore which is 40. The greatest amount paid to a widow was Rs. 1000, the least amount paid to an orphaned son Rs. 200, while the average is Rs. 700.

The total amount paid is valued as the case of Europeans, who were awarded Rs. 45,210, the greatest amount paid being Rs. 2000, while the least being Rs. 100 and the average being Rs. 1,200.

1741 amount paid as relief to some of Europeans who had their lives lost is Rs. 1,64,411.

Replying to a question by Mr. Bhagwanji regarding provision for widows and orphans of those killed and wounded at Jubbulpore, the House Member said the case of the widows of Government was adequately met by grants given by them of persons residing outside the city had been dealt with by the Local Government by distributing Rs. 1 lakhs of the charge of the Government.

**Showing of Imperial Partnership**—The following terms of the meeting letter in Part I, and a copy printed in the latter Report, to bring more of the reasons for the Government, the Indian Army.

Western Europe and India, as well as other parts, had Eastern Europe and the Near and Middle East. It is a continuous effort to meet with various questions in India, especially as regards her industry and financial resources, that we are unable to ignore.

The results of gravity of probable military operations has added more than to India. In the future we must recognize the possibility of our own weapons operating on the Indian land, based partially on India and partially on them.

India has now been admitted into partnership with the Empire, and the Indian Army has fought alongside troops from other parts of the Empire to every theatre of war. Its responsibilities have thus been greatly increased and it can no longer be regarded as a mere passive sphere of activity in the Indian... It must rather be treated as a part of an Imperial Army, capable not only of joint of operations.

**NON-CO-OPERATION IN SCHOOLS**

Proprietary High School  
Associated with the 1920

To, The Editor, 'Young India'

Dear Sir,  
We desire to announce the following being in the interest of Public Instruction and the secondary level Examination Board.

From Trust,  
A. P. Datta,  
Joint Principal.

To, The Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

As I have the honor to acknowledge that on account of the content of the scheme plan, as given to my Hindu school management in connection with the Indian, and the great injustice done to my management in

**'HOW TO SEE RAJAPALANI'**

The following is an English rendering of brief notes of Mr. Gandhi's lecture speech summarized by Mr. Mahadevi Datta in Congress of the 14th instants.

Mr. Gandhi referred mainly to the steps suggested by Mr. Rajapalanani in his speech. He said that the Hindu had already secured his liberty by going to jail, which was even still there. He repeated with special stress the words of the Hindu that the Empire would collapse, and added that the Government was sure to be opposed to a dual management system in the English and Hindu schools, and that it was the duty of all Indians to do their utmost towards the overthrow, keeping their eyes on the political work and justice, because in doing the opposite Government was to stop the work of itself.

He further said that there are two ways by which we can see Hindu Rajapalanani. One is that he should recognize his own words and be organized, but that he will never do. The second is that we should enter the jail with Gandhi, Rajapalanani, whoever have the strength to do what he did, and we can be organized by entering the jail like those who will regard the Government as one that is Hindu will clearly understand a national error. I shall see Hindu have. They have said that our Hindu is the only of the law. Under various thoughts on relations with their help. To do so there must be a state of Hindu and happiness is a state we have had to do. Now we are the Hindu remaining in all their hearts. But that of Hindu education, of education, if the Hindu want to their duty by their Hindu and Rajapalanani together, they must surely bring about an action of Hindu Rajapalanani and the Government.

Mr. Gandhi further said that he was deeply pained by the result of a late election, the speech of Mahadevi Datta, that so long as we did not try to see the use of the school, we are in danger, but have ourselves by entering in the school. He was completely opposed to the use of the school and repeated that the Hindu would agree with him in the school. I am English, but would speak of it as one independence from them and of Jubbulpore have an education which would certainly be a great advantage. He then stated upon the necessity of independence with special stress upon the subject of the school, and in connection advised the students to demand justice from the Government in the Provincial Education system, and being to explain that to justify his statement by reference, all the points were in. They found that the Rajapalanani returned as over the past Government.

Regarding the French statement, I have decided to issue all statements with the Government. Informational Department.

I have, Sir,  
(Sd) J. H. Datta,  
Joint Principal

To, The Secretary,  
Joint Examination Board,  
The University Building.

A copy of the above with the change in the last sentence is being sent to the joint examination board which is a communication only.

[Mr. J. H. Datta is the Joint Principal of the Proprietary High School, which has secured all connections with the Government. It is now affiliated to the larger National University, and has over 2000 students on its roll. Ed. Y. I.]

## Young India

Established, Wednesday, 24th November, 1933.

### MORE DIFFICULTIES

(By V. K. Swadia.)

The resolution of the Senate of the Gujarat National University in regard to Mr. Andrews' question about the admission of students of the 'depressed' classes to the schools affiliated to that University is reported to have named a *Barid* as *Almohadd*. Not only has the *Barid* given instructions to a "Trust of India" correspondent, but the committee has led to the discovery by him of another defect in the constitution of the Senate in that it does not contain a single Muslim member. The discovery, however, I may inform the reader, is no proof of the want of national character of the University. The Hindu-Muslim unity is no mere lip expression. It requires an artificial prodder. The simple reason why there is no Muslim representative on the Senate is that no higher educated Muslims, able to give lectures, has been found to take sufficient interest in the national education movement. I merely refer to this matter to show that we must reckon with attempts to discredit the movement even by misrepresentation of motives. That is a difficulty from which we must learn to deal with.

The 'depressed' class-difficulty is natural and therefore far more serious, because it may give rise to a split and weaken the movement even as divisive national difficulties if they are not judiciously mitigated. Yet there can be no surrender in the matter of principles for the weakness of opinion. You cannot promote a cause when you are undermining it by surrendering its vital parts. The 'depressed' class-problem is a vital part of the cause. Swamy is no hypocrite without full regard to the 'depressed' class as it is impossible without real Hindu-Muslim unity. In my opinion we have become 'pariahs of the Empire' because we have created 'pariahs' as our goal. The class-caste is always more hurt than the class. We shall be well to get Swamy to beg as we would beg in London a little of the opinion of Hindu-Muslims. Have we not made the 'pariahs' stand on their feet? Have we not segregated them? And if it is religion as in most the 'pariahs', it is the religion of the white race to segregate us. And if it is an argument for the white race to say that we are unclean with the badge of our inferiority, it is less for us to say that the 'pariahs' are established with us. Our slavery is complete when we begin to beg it.

The Gujarat Senate therefore retained the test when it refused to bond before the state. The non-co-operation is a process of self-purification. We may not cling to petty motives and show the pure love of Swamy. Un-acceptability I hold is a system, not an original part of Hindology. The world has advanced in thought, though it is still backward in action. And unacceptance can stand that which is not based on fundamental truths. Any

glorification of mere will destroy a selfless as strictly as denigration of a doctrine is bound to destroy a body.

The government of ours is an unscrupulous capitalist. It has ruled by dividing Hindustan from Hindia. It is quite capable of taking advantage of the internal weaknesses of Hindology. It will not let the 'depressed' classes against the rest of the Hindu, non-Hindology against Hindology. The Gujarat Senate resolution does not end the trouble. It merely prods but the difficulty. The trouble will end only when the masses and classes of Hindu have not themselves of the use of unacceptability. A Hindu love of Swamy will in unacceptability work for the unacceptability of the lot of the 'depressed' classes as he works for Hindu-Muslim unity. We must trust them as our brethren and give them the same rights that we claim for ourselves.

### COUNCIL ELECTIONS

(By M. K. Swadia.)

The elections to the Bombay Presidency and elsewhere have demonstrated the success of non-co-operation about councils, as far as the voters are concerned. In some cases not a single voter seems to have registered his vote. What will the so-called representatives do? They know that the voters have refused from going to the polls not out of laziness but out of indignation. They know too that thousands of voters have refused to write their names but to be represented. The members had ample opportunity of seeing on the doors and convincing those of the inability of voting. They cannot complain of unacceptance as was perhaps. For the circumstances were not to punish and so far as I am aware, the circumstances were completely followed. In the face of these facts, is it not the other day of the members declared to have been elected not to have anything to do with the Council? The elections have shown us no unacceptance terms that they do not want to have anything to do with the reforming Councils. The members will refuse representation tantamount to an admission if they pretend to go to the Council when they have the choice. Some will maintain the contrary.

If the so-called representatives do not stop the members of their classes, the motto of the latter is quite clear. They must form voters' associations, and through these bodies pass votes of no confidence, they must address the representative members notifying their disapproval of their conduct in allowing themselves to be declared elected. It follows too that the voters must not in any amount whatsoever take any work into themselves. For there is no Council now, not even. They must not meet any more through it. The next level of the voters will commence with the Council is opened, if at all, in the face of this verdict. The temptation to our governments by having confidence put in the Council will be very great. The voters will have to resist the temptation.

But let us hope for the good state of our country that the members themselves will have to be retained as unacceptably refused by the classes.

## STATE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

(By H. K. Ghosh.)

French Congress Sharma's letter reproduced elsewhere is a valuable contribution to the question of national education. It has even been, perhaps, a useful experiment in primary education in the Punjab, and it is in these a kind of light on this very important problem. He wished to take Government grant and a State bonded system for educational institutions. It has received the blessing of English Education Minister, Madras and Mr. Governor. The programme is ambitious and well thought out. The scheme is comprehensive. My fears that it is over-weighted with too many aims. But can we hardly the right to obtain an experiment without careful study on the spot. I question the advisability of introducing a knowledge of English as an object of primary education. In my opinion, children of boys and girls of this country do not need to know English at all. They need also rather their language. And I would give even little children ideas about Science and other essential matters without their having to wait for higher literary knowledge. The present system and method of education till a boy, with many mistakes, has not been too without proper mental development till he begins to receive a high school training. Thus we have more to think upon governability that we cannot make him aware of liberty, religion etc., without a knowledge of English, and have heard so much of it a book.

The most interesting part of French Congress Sharma's letter lies in the information he reports about the difficulties placed on his way by the local officials and the existing system. He complains regarding the "progress" of primary education in the Punjab. It would appear that in 1914, in a population of 125 lacs, there were 45,000 indigenous schools, covering for 8 lacs of students. In 1915-16, with a population of 130 lacs, there were only 54,000 indigenous schools and 40,1 Government schools, covering in all for 148,728 children. If the figures are correct, the state of primary education in the Punjab is worse now than it was in 1914. A better check complete. Yet we are told that if we maintain education, we cannot flourish!

There are other equally dangerous, figures and facts French Congress Sharma has given me. I must deal with them later.

## OUR MADRAS LEITER

There is nothing so encouraging as helped in the advancement of our apparatus. It is a reliable indicator of the progress of any movement. Unmistakably agree with the program that the Government on proposals has made. The Governor of Madras thought it is honour to work a commission to recommend about the uncertainty, the original programme being my Ex-Advocate.

11. "Government I. C. S. Officer, who calls me a 'Madras' man."

12. "Government I. C. S. Officer, who calls me a 'Madras' man."

(Continued on page 8.)

## WOMEN AND WIFE

Mrs. Krishna S. Tata, who went to England in August last year to consultation with Indian Women's enlightenment in the new British Scheme has forwarded to us an appeal, signed by Mrs. Chapman, Past President of the International Women Suffrage Alliance, to the men of India, to support vote for women. Now while we do want the women-folk of India to come into their own and take their proper place by the side of their men, guarding their own responsibilities and rights and also of their men, we cannot but wish to appreciate any "message" of "Women for Women," and that for two reasons. We hardly think that a message emanating on the lines of the "Women suffrage movement" in Europe and America would be of any use or benefit to this country in general and the women in particular. Secondly, this is not at all the least suited for any such message, which would lead to dissipation of the national energy of the mind and wisdom of India. Women engaged in a deadly struggle with a world, want, however, that her men and men should not only be weakened but also damaged the constitution of India. We are struggling with the increasing cost for wounding our side of their "dirty" hands, but that "Madras" hands with which they depressed us in other and as deep as they hit—like the body and soul of the nation. Our women will have lost stirred after and was their vote by rising equal to the traditions of the past in helping their men against a common foe. And how can they do the best I hardly not by an eye look of "Votes for Women," nor also by literary schemes with the women of other nations, but by working in complete mutual cooperation with their men and strengthening in every part the nation. The existence of United India, Andhra, Madras, and the State of Madhya Pradesh, are only a few of the many historical—and a bit, present—instances of the nation's progress in which women stood the banner of their husbands, families, men and even whole kingdoms by heaven and their strength of character. Think they are now the country from constant and total ruin. And they would be going an immense help to the country by taking up the motto of "Sardars", by introducing book-keeping and the use of pure Swadeshi cloth in their homes, by bringing up their children in an atmosphere of purity and patriotism. The American and Egyptian women played an immense part in winning freedom for their countries. The women of India will have rightly deserved and won their votes by liberating themselves and their men from the death-grip of the existing government which is the greatest of all social evils with which society is cursed. Their votes are already there, for the fact the Congress educated their right to equal votes and privileges. And the women of India will have sensibly to, dated whatever birds oppression may exist in their class, by proving that they are capable of as much wisdom as men, where national honour is at stake.

graduates have not yet reached, but the Government has, that the best road lies in between. It is necessary and laudable. The Government has realized that any candidate is better than none and the number of voters are more important than administration or parties. Representatives may come up to the standards yet those defects in the constitution against which Non-co-operation protests, and which it is now necessary to gear up. Since an expense would hang as a crushing weight for Non-co-operation at the polls. Hence or there should be an essential the Hindu community have as its function. That the policy of rallying the Moderates to give another trial in the present attitude of the Government. It has up to date the associated Think Board and District Board your desks, Public Prosecutors, and Government pleaders, many of whom are candidates, and also the village officials to work up the election.

Besides Government, there are others working for or against the Report of Councils the non-Brahmins or Justice Party, and the well knit growing group of reactionary Brahmins. Half and group equally, though a majority, sides the Non-co-operation movement. The reactionary Brahmins constitutionally limit any movement which seeks to place full power in the hands of a popular majority, which they feel would bring tobacco into the movement. The Justice Party is claimed by the side of organization for physical contact between the advanced Brahmins and a selected non-Brahmin, and has not hesitated to support Government in all matters in which local Brahmins politicians look a leading part. Yet now the movement has gained such a foothold among all people, including non-Brahmins, that the leader of the party has issued a "warning" to non-Brahmin voters against the candidature of non-co-operation.

There can be nothing more stated or felt than the statement made by the responsible leader of a party that "in the Presidency as yet the Non-co-operation movement has been to prevent the chance of Brahmins getting into the Councils, that it is a trick which is needed to secure the return of Brahmin candidates." The leader of a party is entitled to weigh the situation and choose his line of action, but to say that the movement is a device or trick intended to secure the return of any particular candidate is cheap and untrue. It would be fair that the experienced and shrewd politicians could be so ignorant of the history of the inception of this movement in India, or of any one the history of its progress under extraordinarily difficult conditions in the Presidency, as to stimulate such a base motive in those who work it in Madras. Surely, he cannot be a man who has seen his own opponents, who rather carry on an open and vigorous campaign against it, who have declared that it is unconstitutional, who have themselves declared it, or who done it by first plans and adopt a policy of passive resistance to the pro-

posed plan of the movement, or all other themselves Brahmin candidates or are the greatest supporters of some of them.

It is all better we should be prepared for action. It is among the well-organized ranks of workers, either voluntary or salaried. The Brahmins may debate and they agents will go about with messages of an unimpaired field of non-Brahmin voters group will for Justice candidates, and calling on the people to abandon Non-co-operation as essential for the special candidature of Madras, and exhorting them to vote Madras from the tragedy of a Justice success. Non-Brahmin candidates go about similarly among non-Brahmins giving the warning "mind that the Brahmins are all voting, and that non-co-operation have chosen the non-Brahmins or have themselves elected by the general system. All these are election tactics. The only course for Madras now knowing their own minds is to stand firm and not be scared into a betrayal of the cause at the last moment.

The distance between voters is at the level of the Government. On the subject of the movement and their own it is not called on to believe, we keep up the policy and the number of non-Brahmins taking such other. Apparent belief is, as with the vote, some voters of the party are not clear. If the Hindu community is a Hindu community and not simply for the Hindu as a whole, nothing will be achieved but a look to a of sacrifice and memory and loss of place to security. For establishment of a non-Brahmin candidate on the side of the Madras Legislative Council is not going to be. The Hindu community in any manner. It will help the spread of non-co-operation and take a more active and determined step to the village and the presidency, who have hitherto refused to follow the lead.

Madras

17-11-20

## THE PROBLEM OF THE "UNRECOGNIZABLES"

[Continued with Mr. Justice's Conclusion]

Q.—Do you suggest that proposals for voter franchise should be postponed until the problem of the "unrecognizable" has been solved, as you referred in your interview with the "Standard" to the present problem of the "unrecognizable" as a great hindrance to the attainment of early voting to the possibility of the unrecognizable opposing the demand for independence?

A.—No, not at all. I am very glad you asked this question. What I strongly hold is that, that the Indian goal of independence is clear before us. We must immediately begin, side by side with our own class, a claim for the independence, if I may so call it, of the "unrecognizable." Let me give you an example. I was walking down a street of Belgaum with a young woman student who had most nobly struggled through difficulties of poverty, and sought to become a doctor when he had passed his ex-

interview. In the middle of our talk he suddenly rose and I turned to my other companions and asked how what was the reason. The reply was given that "He is an unreasonable man." The street we went down was a Barbican quarter and I saw coffee-houses and cloth markets on the faces of their, who sat in their verandahs. I was told that if the English young men would stand where they I would gladly have treated as reasonable. In the public struggle with poverty, had gone down the street, these men would have got upon average beds and benches less than to death. A man of such a bearing had covered not long ago in that way, have itself.

I have previously told you here, in South Africa, Mr. Benda, the son of Mahatma Gandhi, was nearly beaten by a young English lad and the conduct of the time. Now I ask a simple question. Is there really any difference between the conduct of these Europeans in South Africa, and these Indians in their "land of Pagan?" It seems to me that we ought to fight against both each at one and the same time. We must not allow either of them to go on standing as they do with the common people.

#### THE BROWN DOCTRINE.

It was Mr. Andrews again that, for a solution of the problem of Justice Colonization in Africa, Australia, and America, it was vital that India should demand at the least the qualified independence prepared to be granted to Egypt. He thought the next step in the world's history may needs to be of the Monroe Doctrine for Asia similar to that of America. When England appeared to be anxious to take territory in Fuzara, the United States immediately interfered. Asia needed a somewhat similar defence against the rapacity of Europe, any independence would be satisfactory which did not leave India less to make otherwise in Asia.

#### MONROE DOCTRINE.

Question: Have you any suggestions to make in regard to the forthcoming Nigger Congress?

A.—I do not like to make any suggestions because I have never taken any active part in any National Congress and have always with fixed purpose kept aloof. It has not appeared to me that I could be of great service to India by such actions. I very strongly hold that the Congress must be entirely free from begging and from Indian leadership and Indian leadership alone. The days of such help as the A. D. Home would give are now over. As a white looking from outside, I feel the solution of the above mentioned beyond an foreign goods is absolutely necessary. I would also like the meaning of Swarajya to be defined. Personally as you will see from my first answer, I cannot think of Swarajya except as independence and also as including the restoration of human rights to the "unfortunate," but I would again emphasize that these are simply my own frank opinions. I shall not go to the Nigger Congress or to any other party in it.

James High School has been re-organized.

## AN INTERESTING EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION.

Dear Mahatma,

Perhaps you might have forgotten, amongst all you see, that I was called upon yesterday to explain to you how the Government had revised independent education in the Punjab, and how, in doing so, he granted it funds for the first time. You showed me that I was simply making you more free in your programme of Non-cooperation, and that it was in the morning you had been, and that I should tell you something in the way of practical work that I had done. I then explained to you my scheme of primary education, the practical work that was done, and what remained to be done by improved technical systems collected from door to door.

You fully followed me, but you could not give me time and attention at that time, because you had much work to do, and therefore you asked me that I should submit a short summary of my work and programme. It was then the end of October 1893. Since then I left the Punjab for my agricultural work, and perhaps have so occupied that I have not been able to comply with your request. I now take the earliest opportunity to do your bidding, and hope that you will oblige me by giving some answers from your very valuable time to the present.

The "Punjab White People," as the society is called, was organized on the 25th Dec 1893. The present scheme has been during the work of Primary Education from the year 1887. It was first inaugurated as the Punjab Primary Education Provisional Society, and its object was to procure ground for free and compulsory primary education by opening free primary schools at the same expense, to encourage the spirit on of the Government "that people did not want it," and then to set over these schools to the British Board. The Imperial and Provincial Governments were liberally supported by the movement, and the work of the society was soon cast in terms of public aid to the Imperial and Provincial departments. It also received considerable loans both official and non-official.

After the British Act in the passing of the Education Act, the school will have to be free from any other aid and movement because they are in a political sense thoroughly independent system that the society was a private body, and nothing if not it should be given to it.

Since then the Society has been running its work on a permanent, and has been able to start 11 English high school, 12 secondary, and 11 primary schools, and 11 dispensaries. The society has also opened 4 branch at Delhi, where it has established one secondary and 11 primary schools. The total number of students in all these schools is 1,400.

The society owns a high school building of the cost of Rs. 20,000, and a middle school building at Kanpur worth Rs. 1,000.

The society spends per month about Rs. 150 for the secondary schools, Rs. 500 for the primary schools, Rs. 150 for dispensaries, and Rs. 200 on other expenses and other. Thereafter all proceeds from fees and contributions are set free of Rs. 1125, which the society has to be more very month. It should be noted here that primary education is completely free, and in some cases some books and stationery are also provided free.







# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by E. K. Gandhi)

New Series  
Vol. II, No. 40

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1930

Price Two Annas  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS

	Page
H. G. Wells on India	1
News	3
Articles	
An Address	3
Madras	3
The Royal Visit	4
The Royal Visit	4
National University Notes	6
Comments	
Two Rajahmundry Papers	7
Madras	8
A Letter from ...	11

## H. G. WELLS ON INDIA

In the 'Lionel Lincoln' story, Mr. H. G. Wells explains some level, but making comments on the British administration in India. In his own remarkable manner he relates how, after the professional revolution that had taken place in Europe, the British officials seemed to be 'left out' they seemed more conspicuously corrupt and unscrupulous than were any of them. He considers how 'trials of various systems gone wrong' and how the Indian administration, and particularly the manner of its military, suffered from legislation that he considered the British administration. For an account of these and other interesting things we read today the reader. Part II of the History. We shall, for the present, only quote Mr. Wells' views on the present system of government writing that they are a 'shocking contrast to the usual type of European nations, who on their visits to India with a lack of other feeling or regard that is both ungenerous and unscrupulous.'

'India', writes Mr. Wells, 'is a country without an exploit. It is not contented the development of its economic resources with the superimposed and responsibility of democratic obligations. The Indian with a conscience to make his own visible account to go to, but Europe is a public standard. In such conditions something in England or Europe is required in the British House of Commons, the more corrupt Parliament is with British officials, the less attention India will receive and the more she will be at the mercy of her small group of higher officials.'

This is a completely opposite as a present state of affairs. India, Mr. Wells, wherever she remains, is moving forward with the rest of the world, India has a continuing state of development, an increasing

number of educated people affected by western ideas, and an increasing sense of a common grievance against her government. There has been little or no corresponding advance in the education and quality of the British officials in India during the last century. The tradition is a high one, but in other a sense of unscrupulous quality, but the system is unscrupulous and unscrupulous. Moreover the military power that stands behind these officials has developed under no disaster nor a catastrophe during the last century. No other civil has been so elegant unscrupulously as the British military caste. Contrasted with a more educated India, the British military man, mainly aware of his educational defects, and constantly apprehensive of rebuffs, has in the last few years displayed a deplorable forward spirit which he has had more very remarkable results. For a time the Great War showed what small amount of British public education was possessed given to India altogether, and how easy the more intelligent military men from the service during those years, and the financial part of unscrupulous that he would have occurred in India the manner of an unscrupulous political gathering of Indians in which nearly two thousand people were killed or wounded, fugitive and knowledge soldiers, a case of Obood. These, too, produced a profound moral shock, when in last the House of Commons of 1919 brought them before the House public. In unscrupulous indignation, who had been most to regard their conduct as an outrage to, or of free people, the real state of the Indian people in the administration produced a very unscrupulous change....'

During the transition and military system of India as well, it is not surprising that Mr. Wells should make a reference when dealing with the present situation. 'In the Government of India Act of 1919' he writes, 'we may have the opening of a new and happier era that may culminate in a free and willing group of Indian people taking on their own the administration of the world....' But, as he says, 'we may have the opening of a new and happier era that may culminate in a free and willing group of Indian people taking on their own the administration of the world....' But, as he says, 'we may have the opening of a new and happier era that may culminate in a free and willing group of Indian people taking on their own the administration of the world....'

'India, we believe, the first sign that we have ever before recognized and seen in writing the fact that India is now working for her liberation from the state of no longer being her subject from the Government of Parliament.—[Vol. II, 1.]

## Notes.

**Senior Akhbar's Treatment**—I proposed to inquire of Madhuskar Akbar Akhbar on about the accuracy of the statements he made to me regarding the treatment of his father in the Lahore jail pending trial. I have now heard from him and he has no hesitation in telling the local government "commissary" a lie. He says that the information he gave me was absolutely correct, that Madhuskar Akhbar was kept in a dark room, and that he was not permitted to receive food from outside. The son however adds that, after the public deliberative work at the Lahore meeting his father was removed to better quarters and permitted to receive food from outside. This does not improve the government's case but rather makes it worse. Their having removed the dignity after it was made public brings a guilty conscience. They know that they were in the wrong, but had expected that the great disreputing of an anti-national prisoner would go unmentioned. There is another possible and alternative explanation. It may be that the higher authorities knew nothing of the dignity, that it was the act of an under official without the knowledge of the higher authorities, and that they have themselves been duped by the guilty official. But if that was it is a further proof of the state of corruption that is rampant in the present administration. I hope that Government will cause further inquiries to be made. I have no desire to keep anything open at where any weakness that all the matter pointed up, the public will be enabled to follow the statements confirmed by the son of Madhuskar Akhbar.

**The Duke's Visit**—The Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught will be seen in our midst. It is a matter of great sorrow to me that I should have to advise a complete boycott of all public functions held in his honour. He is personally an amiable English gentleman. But in my humble opinion public opinion demands that this official visit should be strictly opposed. The Royal Highness comes to witness a complete system of government, he comes to witness an irresponsible bureaucracy, he comes to witness an Empire the independence, he comes not to lend his words without open or, but to seek to by bringing disrepute on him as on the welcome the Royal Highness is to be made with him in presenting our own discommodities. No government official, whether he be European or Indian, has a right to show any welcome or honour to us so long as the government which he represents, remains unrepentant and unresponsive to the one thing useful.

**Home as a Tea Day**—A paper of this I am required to notice the Leader's flag of Mr. Mahomed Ali in so much as he accepted the invitation to be of a dinner sympathetic. It is not after that I am able to read newspaper paragraphs but I happened to read the Leader of the *Ilahi* Newspaper. It certainly gave

me The Leader has a reputation for being bright, prompt and accurate, but across the dining table the left. The paragraph about Madhuskar Akhbar appears to me to be false. The Non-co-operation resolution beyond official functions. It does not happen private conversations too little between an official and a public man. When the Leader sees an opportunity, I see a gentlemanly act on the part of Madhuskar Akhbar. It is a demonstration of the fact that the movement is neither based on hatred nor is it aimed at Englishmen personally. It seeks merely to destroy a system which even the best of Englishmen cannot make tolerable. It was an professions not an intention to persuade dis- obedience. In my opinion, Mr. Mahomed Ali would have failed on the day as a public speaker, if he had repeated the *Ilahi's* Magazine's resolution to have tea with him and been a drink. It would have been a different thing if a public function was held by the Indian Magazines in order to witness or witness his presence.

**Bad Taste**—In a letter last letter, in my humble opinion, the attack delivered by the *Amritsar* *Panjab* *Mahad* *Nehru* regarding his telegram about the return of the Punjab Government in having published a completed Home Rule League gathering *Panjab* *Mahad* *Nehru* is reported to have said that the protest was "unbecomable." Instead of sending the unbecomable self protest regarding the telegram, the Leader has chosen to laugh at *Panjab* *Mahad* *Nehru* for having returned to opposition. If the *Panjab* *Mahad* *Nehru* had advised and disapproved, if the government had been ruled and the people had started, the Leader would have been rightly justified. I do not regret the Leader to be just now to appreciate. The goal of Non-co-operation is the attainment of liberty by purification of public life, and guaranteeing public opinion by non-violence, a discipline or civil action. I admit that non-co-operation have not as a body yet achieved anything in their own person.

But the tendency is substantially in that direction. Now for the words of the address of the *Panjab* *Mahad* *Nehru* words are conveying some values. Expectations has a bad object. But it is not a bad word in itself. Civil disobedience is lawful, but it is not desirable or expedient so long as the nation has not acquired full self-control, and so long as it has not found the necessity of staying just laws of its own free will and apart from the fear of punishment prescribed by them. Impudence of payment of taxes is lawful but also expedient so long as the nation as a whole has not subdued the lesson of non-violence in its life. In other words non-violence is not a mere object of Non-co-operation. It is its integral and inseparable part. Its further and more potent forces may not be adopted till it can be said, with a fair measure of certainty, that the nation has reached the situation and can stand resistance, improvement, and work with an unparticular mind,

## Young India

Announced, February, 14 November, 1938.

### AN ADVICE

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The following anonymous address has been received by me —

"Madam."

"Come to a woman's address. Report is, that poster since it will induce you repeat, and pray to the All-was heavenly for wisdom and suspension. Occasion-trader is strength, divergence is weakness. Last year steps of Non-co-operation to only three things—foreign goods, the police service, and the army. Thereby you will remove all external differences and strengthen our mass and speed every. Consider your efforts steadily, not a half, to the leader's letter, the Sikh to the Punjab, the Duggan, and especially the Gurkha. With the high regard to history teacher, and not by force of discipline. Do not shirk but strike and strike at the root and not at the branch. May God speed you and our cause to success.—M. K."

The letter is undated. It is evidently not a woman's letter. It is also obviously not a woman's letter. The woman of India are infinitely better than the letter would make them out to be. The writer writes about God but in possession with the fear of the British beyond, and would therefore gladly make use of the Sikh and the Gurkha's steel. The line of argument of the gospel of Non-co-operation. In his bitterness, he does not see that to advantage British trade forms for any other trade form or so real remedy for the ill of India. And if it is the steel that is to divide the mass, it must be not Sikh or Gurkha steel, it must be all-India steel. That is the one supreme lesson that Europe teaches. If it is a brute force that is to rule, then the millions of India must have the art of war, to meet for ever various postures of the fist of him who wields the sword, whether he is a pariah or a conqueror. The millions must become 'steel-driven nails.' Non-co-operation is an attempt to weaken the masses to a state of their dignity and power. This can only be by reaching them to realize that they need not fear brute force, if they would but have the steel within.

The Duggan, the Sikh, the Gurkha, and the other martial races of India, we do want, and for the purpose of giving battle to the British soldier, but for the purpose of refraining from helping the British soldier to subjugate us. We want our military classes to realize that they only prepare their own and our slavery by winking the sword at the defiance of a British officer. And that time will come when the school the writer represents has become defunct, and when the military classes have also abandoned the remedy of non-violence.

The writer writes me suspicious about himself when he asks me to concentrate for strength on foreign goods, the police, and the army. He would

these means referred to by warning all ourselves, it is purification by the very classes who have hitherto led public opinion—whereas the whole battle of Non-co-operation began round these very classes. It may, for the time being, appear to have struck a disastrous note, but so that, it will achieve real unity—for the purpose of purification is over.

The writer has moreover missed the great credit already achieved by the absolute opposition of our battle. In my opinion, the public has never expressed itself so fearlessly and openly as at present. It has shown not the face of the highly civilized law of nations. When the writer talks of secret activities, he seems to talk of a hypocrite spy. The writer gains the great nature by which brought by the western methods of secrecy. We come, by habitually carrying on our campaigns in the light of the glaring sun of exposure, across the coast and disarming police departments. Non-co-operation is nothing if it does not strike at the root. And you strike at the root when you come to water the family tree of the British Government by means of open and honorable Non-co-operation. The writer takes the name of God in vain, when he alludes to the steel beneath the sword ways of these.

### SCOLDING HIM.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The columns of Young India are open to all who have any genuine appeal and suggestions. One who knows her well is the letter a letter which I gladly publish. He has in a covering letter giving his name promised for the publication of his letter. Such pleading was unnecessary in connection with a matter of public concern. If the facts related by the correspondents are true, they reflect on credit to the young man of Dharamd. The correspondent has succeeded. He confided with Non-co-operation. It is the Indian nowadays to present every incident of misbehaviour with Non-co-operation. I wish that the incident had been brought to my notice when I was at Dharamd. I would then have been able to investigate the matter and deal with it then. I may state that there was a meeting of Dharamd students that was held by me in the open. One boy seriously attempted being severely hurt. And it was a pleasure to watch the students swimming removed in spite of the stone-throwing. I was told too that stone-throwing at meetings was not an unusual incident at Dharamd if connected with the non-violence movement. I state this not only to show that Dharamd enjoys the admirable reputation for stone-throwing on a special manner. I must therefore charge to account the student with Non-co-operation or with any non-European movement. Though the correspondent's letter is chosen in the press, it is evident from what he says that considerable was left of the idea of gain being put in a dream. The correspondent says that the disease was dropped in the case of

tion at the desire of 'the guardians' These must have been persistence to provoke comment.

But my question is this. No amount of protection could possibly justify the indignation of the "mob of young men". They had no right to prevent the performance that was at last detached upon, if the guardians of the glands did not mind it. The finest test of democracy is in the ability of anyone to act as he likes, so long as he does not injure the life or property of anyone else. It is impossible to control public morals by legislation. Public opinion alone can keep a society pure and healthy. If the young men of Denmark did not like a public exhibition of Danish girls on the stage, they should have held public meetings and otherwise related public opinion to their leaders. The movement of Non-co-operation is intended to show all such classes Non-co-operationists are undoubtedly expected, not only to refrain from taking part in such vulgar shows, or are represented to have taken place at Denmark, but they are expected also to prevent them on the part of others. The success of Non-co-operation depends upon the ability of non-co-operationists to control all forms of violence. All may not take part in the progress of civilization but all must recognize the necessity of non-violence as word or deed.

I am surprised that the correspondents in the covering letter speak of the indignation at Denmark as the new breath in the movement of Jahn-wald Day. No form of non-co-operation when he compares the well-intentioned and uneducated history of innocent men, who had given no provocation, with the unbridled and thoughtless demonstration of a "mob of young men" who were laboring under a hatred or real wrong that was no worthy of consideration. But there is no such difference between the progress of the Danish boys and the operation of America as there is between an attempt at simple love and a criminal murder.

## ROYAL VISITS THEM—THE AND AIDING

(By C. J. Anderson)

With the visit of the Duke of Gloucester to the country still pending one of the greatest expectations for the people of India, namely to witness and how these royal visits are often more objectively and by Government for political purposes. The idea is, first of all, voluntarily propagated that the royal visit has nothing to do with politics; that the Royal Family are above politics—that they are merely invited to their political interests. They, afterwards, the press is pleased as all sides that a great political success has been obtained. The late King Edward VII was rightly called the greatest diplomatist in the British Empire. The present Prince of Wales has now assumed the title of "Our Greatest Ambassador."

If it were merely the agreement, a message of goodwill and peace to all nations that could be accomplished by such diplomatic and ambassadorial

work, the world might be all the better for them. But the danger always looks at the back, that more definitely political objects may be aimed or behind the scenes that evil systems, which have power and authority behind them, may receive from them an added power and an added authority for the oppression of the poor and subjection of the weak. Even today, the greater proportion of European in the continent of Europe believe, that the visit of King Edward was not by English politicians for the encouragement of Germany, by a mob of low life power. Whether that opinion is right or wrong, need not be discussed here. I only wish to point out here, after a better past experience, those royal visits are merely based in Europe. Europe has had her bad times to learn and the proverb is true.—"Once bit, twice shy."

I wish now to tell the story of what happened, behind the scenes, on the Prince of Wales' recent visit to Fiji. The facts have just come to light, and they are most interesting.

The Indians immediately were suffering, at the time, from a most painful epidemic. They had been charged with the offense of stirring up racial hatred against the Europeans and breaking out into 'open rebellion', yet the truth was simply this: that the Indian laborers were merely starving and had started work in order to obtain from the plantation Gola and Sugar Refining Company a more just and equitable share of the enormous profits being made. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company had reaped these enormous profits out of Indian labor, year after year, since the War. After the war also they had gone on with further increasing. Yet the Company consistently refused to share what they had gained with the Indian laborers.

When I was in Fiji in 1911, there was an attempted strike of an Indian. In open Court the Indian declared, that he would not have to see his young children dying for bread and to have nothing to give them to eat. The judge dismissed him with warning. That was all he could expect. And when he was so strong enough about the oppression of the poor by the wealthy Sugar Company with an army of police behind him, he held out to the last, against a more war he might do if he did when I tried to negotiate plan for the Indian laborers in the Colony in 1911.

The Indian community, when I met at last from colonists, demanded a direct living wage—like wage of a free man and a free woman. I have for instance, that the C. S. R. Company could easily have afforded to give this out of its enormous profits. But it would not have been so pleased as I first position, and when at last the strike began, the news was everywhere spread abroad, that the Indians were in 'open rebellion' and were preparing to massacre the Europeans. Troops with machine guns, were hurried to a number of the N. S. Island Navy, from Australia, and the Indian laborers were sentenced back into their work, without getting them out on wages.



ment of Non-Cooperation and refused it to remain. Moreover in the history of modern Europe England is a better instance, a brighter example, than the anti-partition agitation. And out of this agitation came a movement of Non-Cooperation. Mr. Bismarck's Non-Cooperation inspired by such as the General. British goods were boycotted. Young men gave up Government Examinations and Colleges. Women wore headscarves. But in the meantime a work of violence was developed, known and reflected by the national movement in Europe. Violence in the scientific sense for greater violence. What 'Gandhiji' clearly the present Government is still planning was shown during the Jallianwala Bagh massacre when the brave General was being shot. 'Gandhiji' says and hands were dropped as innocent citizens. Violence in Gandhi's way, violence in the way of Ahimsa. The ancient advice by Krishna after the victory of Kurukshetra is a perfect story, and all the world knows how a cruel Hinduism was replaced on Germany Hungary and France with a new to them. How to subvert violence in Gandhi's way, but it can be very. Hindu strength that Europe's success in the power of the West.

'Gandhiji' recently cannot proceed, for the simple reason that the Indians they suggest is impossible, and the people cannot offer resistance in an organized form which would upon the religious institutions and the cause of national unity. 'Mahatma', it is true that he would they intend to do in all countries and all struggles for freedom. They did so in Egypt—'What are we doing? Let us make the best of the situation', and the Hungarian Revolution. To them answered an Indian Nationalist. 'You have not realized yet past months remain closed. Now, you in the Indian which cause the greatest when its rights are outraged, it is not violence in its own strength by its choice. The Nation which stands in opposition to Hinduism is doomed.'

Such was the feeling of the younger generation in this country. They have glimpsed the beauty of the Ideal. They have India's leaders. They are in their hands the vision and the dream of freedom. And they compare this the struggle is not merely 'political'. The leaders must lead towards the spiritual of freedom, having studied intellectual subjects for Government examinations. 'What is the youth of the country?' was the question. 'The youth is a generation of a political movement. And there is no more political, who have the will of the Government. They are staggered by the new experience of 'non-cooperation'. There are some who stand, the young men in 'all India' and 'non-cooperation'. There are some who stand with the 'Wardha' that is asking the nation, we wish to 'non-cooperation' on the side of 'non-cooperation'. 'We wish to 'non-cooperation' on the side of 'non-cooperation'. They have faith in the People, they have faith in their own, they have a faith in freedom. They know that the struggle in which the country is involved is not merely a political campaign. They know it is a struggle to gain both and freedom. They know, these patriotic young men in Ahimsa—that they become the memory of the World as well by leading a New India. And now that great Indian leader must a National Movement independent of Europe, must stand as a Nation'. Did he not realize the the nature of our Indian Government which, he said, was 'the Nation only'—that of a National Movement and give it.

The Movement cannot be called by a 'nationalist' constitution. And we should expect a separate policy of repression. And then, what then? One thing I feel sure

of. The youth of India will. India will the youth of Egypt under English Rule could not be raised by violence and India's youth is repression and repression. They stand the Nation.

They have stood in the Temple of their lives. That India's youth shall be free. And in some Agency will be long, I believe, a new struggle for the Nation. And they will achieve what we cannot see—the Freedom of India.

### GUJARAT VISITATION NOTES

The Gujarat Political Conference held at Ahmedabad in the month of August last appointed a small committee of 12 members (with power to add) to organize national education and a national university in Gujarat.

The members formed a provisional committee for the national university, which was adopted by the Council on the 10th October 1930.

Under the terms of the constitution, the committee will add members (not exceeding 50 in all) and appoint a Board of the University for a period of one year.

All persons who have attended 10 or more hours with Mahatma Gandhi as Chairman, and Pragnanlal Dasgupta as the Gujarat Mahatmya, as the Vice-Chairman. Over 2000 students have passed examinations under the control of the Pragnanlal.

The committee and the Board opened on the 10th November a National Arts College at Ahmedabad with 70 students.

They have also affiliated a second grade National College at Surat, opened on the 25th idem with about 20 students.

The following High schools have been affiliated—

1. Nadiad—Rasthara High School (formerly known as the Government High School) with about 200 students a proprietary system under the University.
2. Baroda—The Loknagar Rasthara High, a new institution founded by the National Education Committee, with about 200 students.
3. Broach—The Loknagar Rasthara High, Baroda—A new institution founded by a local group, with about 20 students.
4. Ahmedabad—The Proprietary High School, 1000 students.
5. Ahmedabad—The Model High School, 800 students.
6. Solapur—The Parbhaya Gujarat High, 60 students.

Further the following High Schools have been recommended, though not officially affiliated—

1. The New English High School, Udhna.
2. Jagatnandan Prabhakar National Classes, Bombay.

Universities and high-Vocational Schools have been also recommended in the following places—

1. Nadiad, where a national school has been established, and the Rasthara High has also declared the intention to show up Government recognition and give it.

2. Baroda—where the people have decided to send their children to national schools only—a school with about 200 students was to be opened on Monday last.







# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by K. T. Gandhi.)

New Series  
Vol. III, No. 49

JANUARIAN, PARLIAMENT, BOMBAY, 1918.

Price Two Annas  
Per Copy.

## CONTENTS

Title	Page
Dropping the Work	1
Articles	
Social Service	2
Caste System	3
Depressed Classes	4
Special Articles	
Dilemma of Mass Leadership	5
Discussions	
Dilemma of Mass Leadership	6
Social Service	7
Education—A Supplement to Article 6	8

## Notes.

**On the Wrong Track.** Lord Rensdell has been doing us the favour of reading my booklet on Indian Home Rule which is a translation of Lord Swamy. His Lordship told me yesterday that if Swamy meant what I had indicated it to be in the booklet, the English would have none of it. I am sorry that Swamy of the Congress resolution does not mean the Swamy depicted in the booklet, Swamy according to the Congress means Swamy that the people of India want, not what the British Government may understand to give. It is so far as I can see, Swamy will be a Parliament chosen by the people with the fullest power over the finances, the police, the military, the navy, the courts, and the educational institutions.

I can find no reason that the Swamy I expect to give wishes any part of India, especially, will be kept Swamy as well make positively responsible the expenditure of the Khilafat and the English money, and will enable the nation to do good or evil as it chooses, and not be 'guilt' of the decision of an irresponsible, unchosen and godless bureaucracy. Under that Swamy the nation will have the power to impose a heavy punishment 'with no such foreign goods as are capable of being manufactured in India, or also the power to refuse to send a single soldier outside India for the purpose of enforcing the law, or to commit any other act. The Swamy that I dream of will be a possibility only when the nation is free to make its choice both of good and evil.

I adhere to it, I have said in that booklet and I was at certainly restrained in the matter. Government ever will in the hand Swamy, it is a compromise with reality or otherwise, and I have seen

nothing to show the way that doctors, lawyers, and perhaps an orator, and an other a business, in the one thing worth striving after. But I have that association with a certain activity, such as the Government is engaged in, unless we do effect for such freedom a practical responsibility. I cannot locate allegiance to God and State at the same time.

The worst sign of the entire nature of the present system is that even a politician of the type of Lord Rensdell is obliged to get up on the back. He will not deal with the one thing useful. Why is he silent about the English? Why does he make the Khilafat? Can a statesman realize a power who is suffering from a wrong conception? Does his Lordship not see that it is not the responsibility of the nation that has not taken place but that it is the intention of the two wings and the whole attempt to make us forget them? Does he not see that a complete change of heart is required before independence?

But it has become the better knowledge to be made known to our own people. And I expect to find that even Lord Rensdell has fallen into the trap. I make bold to say that the only way to recover India is to give it a complete rest. No man can do anything—perhaps the responsible task of removing India as long as a country and change for the feelings of India are suddenly cured. It is a necessity to set India out to take what is the most. India's independence would be a complete and complete break with the past. India has made and helplessness and a complete helplessness by being the type, it also depends on and makes her move on the body like the rest of her ancient wrongs and wrongs has made children to acknowledge her power by making his big four times a day. The spirit of Non-cooperation will achieve itself in the task of making the people strong and self-reliant. It is an attempt to establish a new life.

A strong and self-reliant India will have to take its own path and find its own way, for she will have the power to punish them and therefore the power also to pity and forgive them. Today she has neither power nor dignity, and therefore helplessness is a curse. If the Khilafat were strong, they would not take the English but would fight and even live than the dearest possessions of India. I know that the British who are only for the power and the prestige of India, and are not



## Young India.

Published, Wednesday, 6th, December, 1905.

### SOCIAL BOYCOTT

(By K. K. Ghosh.)

A correspondent writes from Hyderabad that a letter regarding boycott which I lately published. He refers to what is alleged to have happened to Mr. Khaparde Hyderabad had not for my loss sake, I might have thought Mr. Khaparde has been put to all the inconveniences that the correspondence relates. Mr. Khaparde is well able to take care of himself, I hope, however, that there is much suggestion in the information supplied to the correspondent about the incident.

Nevertheless, the case raised by the correspondent is important and serious. It would be a dangerous thing if, for difference of opinion, we were to prohibit social boycotts.

It would be totally opposed to the doctrine of non-violence to stop the supply of water and food. The battle of non-co-operation is a programme of propaganda by voluntary protest to protest, not one of compelling others to yield obedience by violence direct or indirect. We must try patiently to convert our opponents. If we wish to revive the spirit of democracy out of slavery, we must be completely strict in our dealings with opponents. We may not explain the strategy of the Government by that of the non-co-operationists. We must convince our opponents the freedom we desire for ourselves and for which we are fighting. The constant co-operation will lead to the more enlightened process of there is real response from the people.

But there are non-violent boycott which we shall be bound to prohibit if we are to make any progress. We must not progress with what we believe to be an outrage, whether it resides in a white skin or a brown. Such boycott is political boycott. We may not receive letters from the new Commissioners. The voters, if they are true to their pledge, will be bound to refrain from making use of the services of those whom they have declared to regard as their representatives. They must satisfy their verdict by complete abstention from any encouragement of the elected representatives.

The public will be bound, if they are non-co-operationists to refrain from giving these representatives any prestige by a showing their political functions or parties.

I can conceive the possibility of non-violent non-cooperation under certain extreme conditions, where a defiant majority refuses to bend to the majority, not out of any regard for principle but in sheer defiance or rage. But that has been certainly not proved. Obstruction of a violent character, such as the denial of the use of public wells is a species of barbarism, which I hope will never be practised by any body of men having any sense for national self-respect and national spirit. We will fight neither Islam nor Hindu by process of violence, whether enemy or ally in England, Afghanistan,

### THE CASTE SYSTEM

(By K. K. Ghosh.)

I have received several copy letters about my article dealing my views here on the caste system. I am not publishing these letters because there is nothing but repetition in them, and when there is no repetition, there is little argument about them. I am anxious to open the columns of "Young India" to opinions expressing dissent from its views, but the writers must be firm and interesting. Harmony is an argument. I am obliged to make these remarks because even writers at least would have gained publicity for their letters, if they had not been polite and uninteresting in their expressions. The question, however, that my correspondents have raised, demands attention and deserves an answer. They argue that the restriction of the caste system applies now for India and that it is a caste which has retained India in slavery. So my opinion is not maintained by such a what we see, it was our great and thoughtful of essential things which concerned us. I believe that caste has never hindered from development.

But like every other institution it has suffered from excessiveness. I consider the four varnas to be fundamental, natural, and essential. The varnas which are contained in a government, often a hindrance. The worst there is in it is the caste. The strict distinction and reservation of varnas have ever gone on and are out of it entirely. Social progress and public opinion can be treated to deal with the problem. But I am certainly against any attempt at destroying the fundamental divisions. The caste system is not based on inequality, there is no question of inferiority, and in the sphere of any such question arising, as in Madras, Maharashtra, or elsewhere, the tendency should undoubtedly be checked. But there appears to be no valid reason for ending the system because of its where it leads itself only to reformance. The spirit of democracy, which is fast spreading throughout India and the rest of the world, will, without a shadow of doubt, purge the institution of the idea of preferences and inferiorities. The spirit of democracy is not a mechanical thing to be adjusted by alteration of forms. It requires change of the heart. It calls for a change in the spirit of that spirit, the substance of five religions in India—Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Jainism—equally has. The spirit of democracy requires the maintenance of the spirit of brotherhood, and I can find no difficulty in considering a Christian as a Mohammedan as my brother or absolutely the same man as a Hind brother, and Hindman that is responsible for the distance of the man is also responsible for the maintenance of the caste, but checked, not merely of man but even of all that live.

One of my correspondents suggests that we should abolish the caste but adopt the class system of Europe—meaning thereby I suppose that the idea of heredity in caste should be retained. I am in-

hard to think that the law of heredity is an eternal law and my attempt is after that law, and not, as it has before led, to state confusion. I can see very great use in considering a Brahmin to be always a Brahmin throughout his life. If he does not inherit himself like a Brahmin, he will naturally cease to command the respect that is due to the real Brahmin. His way to escape the unconscionable difficulties of our work is to set up a sort of pseudo-moral and rewards, degradation and punishment. If Brahmin believe as they must believe, or conventionalism, immutability, they must know that nature will without any possibility of mistake, adjust the balance by degrading a Brahmin, if he substitutes himself, by committing himself to a lower degree, and transferring one who from the life of a Brahmin to his present existence to Brahminhood in his mind.

Interference, interference, interference! That, are not principal for the promotion of the spirit of democracy. I do not sympathise under a vast democratic movement in a democracy of masses and masses about voting, drinking and sleeping. We shall ever have to work under an authority, and I desire to consider it a sin for a man not to drink or eat with any and everybody. In Brahmin, children of Brahmin may not necessary. The prohibition does not interfere with verifiability of relationships. In Vedantism knowledge I have known motion and being in the eternal Brahmin, not drinking from the same pot, without their becoming exclusive, arrogant, or less loving. There are democratic politicians which are set in themselves had caused in Brahmin countries they may become harmful, and of the nature more of arrogant of egotism, the exclusive nature as selfishness, therefore harmful. But as has gone forward, and now movement and economic work, the system regarding inter-casting, inter-caste, and inter-caste, will require massive modifications or rearrangement.

Thus what I am prepared to defend and have always done, the freedom of Brahminate four castes, as I have in other castes in these castes, I consider verifiability to be a Brahmin means against humanity. It is not a sign of self-restraint but an arrogant assumption of superiority. It has served an useful purpose and it has supported, as casting also in Brahmin has, but consists of the human race who are not only every bit as good as ourselves, but are rendering in many ways of life an essential service to the country. It is one of which the entire Brahmin people stand the better if it be itself, or if it be to be regarded as an honorable and elevating religion. I know an argument in favour of its retention and I have no hesitation in repeating empirical evidence of a doubtful character in order to support a solid institution. Indeed I would repeat all emphatically if it is as useful as a better reason or the division of the least. Authority restricts and weakens the work which it is the hindrance of respect but it degrades them when it suppresses traces manifested by the self-will and self-will.

## 'DEGRADED' CASTES

AND

### THE HALLUCINATION OF GOVERNMENT SYMPATHY.

It takes me little time to say to all correspondents on the question of the "degraded" classes regarding their verifiability. We have not been able to give the whole of the correspondence for want of space. Most of our correspondents are full of righteous indignation at the existing disability of our down-trodden and oppressed brethren. There are some of them, however, who seem to be working under the hallucination that the Government has been doing all that it possibly can for a greater spirit of the "degraded classes." "Are not all legal rights secured to them under the first Constitution, under the eyes of the British Ruler? . . . Are they not entitled to the same rights and privileges which the privileged classes so much desire?—That is their true line of argument."

Yet it is one thing for the law to be drawn up against us, it is another thing for those responsible to be put into practical operation. And so far we make a people a little better, when we either only a poor treatment as a race, or a violation by the authors themselves. The elevation of the so-called "degraded" classes depends much more upon the actual behaviour of their social and national condition than a mere recognition of equal political status. And we would not our correspondents to tell us by what legal and legal what the contribution of our Government has been done. What has the Government done for the situation of the "degraded" classes who form one-fifth of the total population of the country? Total and degraded tell us that over 210 millions of the total population of India are illiterate, and hardly (one) 1/10 of the labourer belong to the intermediate class. How the old pre-British educational institutions met their end and how approximately the masses have been deprived from taking education is described in our special article. The few institutions that were here and there for the children of the Pariahs and the "untouchables" are merely the result of the efforts of a few patriotic Indians of wealth, intelligence, and of some rich men or British contractors like the Theosophical Society, the Social Service League etc.

What has the Government done to educate them out of their habits of untouchness, caste and dirt and superstition, which are among the mainstays which reduce the latter classes to keep away from their better brethren? What has the Government done to educate them to give up their habits of dirt and taking other demeaning and degrading, degrading dirt which is verifiably too much required to it as the inferior system, justifying their right dignity of persons in a more direct equal situation in the only sense and verifiability of the Government?

The American Government when it wanted to emancipate their slaves and support the stars and stripes did not only fail, but it also saw that it was an accomplished fact even at the cost of a civil war, and millions of men and money. If the

"Depressed" classes had been allowed to a free access and enjoyment of their ancestral, duty, and dignity, it would have been responsible for the claims to deny them, even for a day, rights and privileges that were legitimately theirs, as it would be responsible for their Government to deny the entire nation its rights, even the nation denominated its access of self-respect and honour.

The national educational movement inaugurated in accordance with the programme of Non-co-operation attempts to build the death machine. It aims at converting the nation of the 'British of the Empire' into a nation of self-respecting, self-dependent men, it holds stress of the mass of reaching this goal, the education of "pariahs" we have created in our minds as equal brethren and partners sharing with us the same rights that we claim for ourselves.

Unavailability is not a religious or caste objection. Krishna refused the services of Durgapada and went into the house of Valera, the deity's son Rama could have a forest school Order of Krishna's caste and casteless kin, and pay his homage to a Krishna; Krishna Raja would go to a house of a Brahmin (teacher) and so on that is Hindu religion. A careful study of our religious authorities would convince any open-minded student that all the usual laws and rules of the Hindu religion were made to keep us, and not to a small extent depending upon the other. When certain books are prohibited, it is to keep the body unadulterated with the impure and to keep the same under control. The Hindu religion prescribes equality of men, making differences only according to character and quality. That is the principle which we understand to be underlying the caste system. Unavailability is associated with the impure, the wicked and the defiled and not with the healthy here. The Non-co-operation movement may consider the entire Government and its class as "unavailable", but it works for the uplift of the "depressed" classes as it works for Hindu-Muslim unity. L. S.

### THE DECLINE OF MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA.

(By Dr. B. N. Sanyal, B. A.)

It is generally believed that from the time the British Government has taken in their hands the duty of educating the people of India, in accordance with the Parliamentary enactment of 1854, the country has made remarkable progress in education, so far as the number of schools, the number of scholars, and the standard of education are concerned. It will be my business to prove, that we have made no such progress in these respects,—a fact which will be starting in some and a revelation to others,—and in so far as our mass education is concerned, we have actually made a downward more than India has passed to the British Crown.

The advent of British Rule based on India systems of education of great antiquity and value

existing among both Hindus and Musalmans is not one simply based up with their religious or sectarian. There was not a mosque, a temple, a Dargah, that had not a school attached to it. To give and receive education was regarded as a religious duty. Schools of learning were found in centres containing a considerable high caste population, where the high caste education in Sanskrit, government, logic, philosophy, and law.

For the lower classes religiously were attached over the country in which a good educational system was given to the children of poor teachers, artisans, and husbandmen. The very fact that every family of the *Wajras* (house-holds) and every guild of the same order, and every village of any importance, had its own school, and that it was applied upon the poorest as well as to the richest brought, education to the level, no strong ground, some grounds, that education was very widely diffused among the people.

The higher education of the Hindustani was on the level of mass of learning. Schools were attached to mosques and temples and supported by the state great in cash or kind, or by private liberality. The course of study in a Muslim Madrasa included grammar, rhetoric, logic, literature, jurisprudence, and science.

Thus, in Kalyan, it is reported that by Mr. Thomas Jones in 1810, it is stated that in 1810 there were 10,120 indigenous schools and 707 Colleges giving instruction to 1,57,000 boys, and 4,511 girls. (The Education Commission Report by the Madras Provincial Committee 1881) Dr. S. Sanyal estimated, that considering the population in that period (1,26,50,000) elementary indigenous education was reported to about one-fifth of the boys of school-going age. It was also estimated that there was at least one school to every 1000 of the population. But as only a few families were brought to schools, we may reckon one school to every 500 of the population.

Mr. Jones (as he then was) further supplements this estimate of the spread of education with the following observations—"I am, however, inclined to estimate the portion of the male population, who receive school education, to one-third this one-fourth of the whole, because we have no return of the numbers taught at home." In 1820, such was the state of purely religious education in a province which had been under British influence for over a century and yet, therefore, had developed no old institutions and nothing new.

In Bengal, Mr. W. Adams, who lived in the country and found that in 1820, it was estimated that the Government Schools existed throughout Bengal, and he estimated their number to be about 1000. The British Government has granted aid that "no attempt was made to develop these schools." Government preferred to devote its energies to secondary and higher schools, on the theory, that if Western education were introduced among the upper classes, it would "bleed down" by a natural process to the lower classes. Practically all the

public funds available for education were expended on schools and colleges founded and controlled by Government, and nothing was spent upon indigenous schools, and as rent-free lands attached to these schools were resumed, the schools were left without any financial aid and seriously crippled.

The purpose of all this was political, the Swarajya Kala is his masterly study of Dutt's writings:—“Efforts were made by the Government to secure higher education and secondary education, leading to higher education, to help in difficult circumstances . . . . . Schools were made subservient to restrict the diffusion of education generally and among the poorer classes in particular. Conditions for ‘recognition’ for ‘schools’—still and various—were laid down and enforced, and the non-fulfilment of any one of these conditions was liable to be followed by serious consequences. Fees were raised to a degree, which, considering the circumstances of the classes that resorted to schools, were abnormal. When it was objected that measures like these had a great tendency to deprive students the means, was such students had no business to receive that kind of education. Managers of private schools, who resented this in whole or in part, were punished by reduced grants-in-aid.” Thus, by this policy, education was only confined to the middle-class classes. “They, it was believed, would give no trouble to the Government.” Sir Swarajya Nani, therefore, concludes that “it is the ungrateful belief, and there is little doubt that facts unfortunately tend to prove it, that primary English Education for the masses, and higher education for the middle classes are discouraged for political reasons. Higher, professional, industrial, and technical education is discouraged to favour English education and recruitment in England of English officials.”

In the Punjab the State of indigenous education was made better because of the special efforts made by Mahatma Keshavnath to promote learning. Dr. Latham, who was the Principal of the Central College and Government College, Lahore, and who also officiated for some time as Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, conducted a very thorough going inquiry into the state of indigenous education in the Punjab, and in his book on the History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab, he writes, “I am about to relate—I hope without exaggeration or malice—the history of the contest of a form of European, with one of the Aryan, civilization, here in spite of the best intentions, the most public-spirited officers, and a generous Government that had the benefit of the testimony of other provinces, the free education of the Punjab was crippled, choked, and is nearly destroyed, few opportunities for its healthy revival and development were either suggested or permitted, and here, far beyond the limits attaching to individuals, our system stands convicted of more than official failure.” He then goes on to say, “I feel that any account of the decline of indigenous education in the Punjab may offend some prejudices and arouse some interests. I have

no appeal to refer to past literature on the position of the school, if they wish to understand them, as . . . . . and both the writer of these pages and the reader must endeavor to direct themselves of every pre-conception. Indeed, the man has in whom I described the struggle with the law, that it would be well to sketch a picture which the law might have drawn had he been a painter.”

Referring to the educational glory of the Punjab before independence he writes, “Support has hitherto always been the redeeming feature of the East.” To this the Punjab has formed an exception. There by accident was, it is now preserved and added to educational institutions. The most conspicuous chief, the ever-ready pamphlet-maker and even the free-lance, and with the land-owner in making peace with his ancestors by founding schools and resending the learned. There was not a mosque, a temple, a Dargah, that had not a school attached to it, and to which the youth looked chiefly for religious education. There were few middle-class men who did not entertain a Muslim, Hindu, or Sikh to teach their sons, and along with them the sons of brahmins and dependents. There were also thousands of smaller schools, frequented alike by Mahomedans, Hindus, and Sikhs, in which Persian or Urdu was taught. There were hundreds of learned men who gratuitously taught their own religious, and sciences all round, for the sake of God, ‘Lillah’. There was not a single village into which did not take a party in devotion to a portion of his produce in a repeated leader in respectable Mahomedan families, brahmins taught their wives, and their their children, nor did the Sikhs prove in that respect to be unworthy of the appellation of ‘teachers and disciples.’ In short the lowest competition given to 1,00,000 pupils in the schools of the vernacular-educational who were acquainted with reading, writing, and some method of computation, whilst thousands of them belonged to London and London Colleges, in which oriental literature and systems of classical law, logic, philosophy, and medicine were taught to the highest standards. Tens of thousands also acquired a proficiency in Persian which is now rarely met with in Government and aided schools and Colleges. Through all schools there breathed a spirit of devotion to education for its own sake, and for its influence on the character and on religious culture, whilst even the sons of India who merely learnt what they absolutely required in order to gain a livelihood, looked with respect, admiration or affection, on their humble teachers, who taught them the elements of two ‘E’s’.

Dr. Latham further describes the state of learning with respect to education in the Punjab. He writes, “the Punjab is almost ground. Not merely the colonized country between Satey and the Jammu, but also the whole province teems with noble public-spirited. The history of its culture will tell us of a simple worship . . . . . of an ideal republicanism allied to the most characteristic devotion to



**SOCIAL OSTRACISM RUN MAD**

The Editor of "Young India"

Dear Sir,  
Last February I had put you a question in connection with Harijans and you very kindly had sent me the following reply —

"It is true that ostracism should be the last or last resort. A good Harijan does not expect others to look on him as a caste with him. He is always tolerant and polite to others even to those who differ from him. He tries to win others to his opinion by letters and personal contacts."

I am a firm exponent, but I am exceedingly pained at the attitude adopted by many Non-cooperationists against those whose honesty of purpose in opposing Non-cooperation is unquestioned. An ardent patriot like Mr. Khaspale, a close friend of Mahatma JI & K. Mahadev, differs in some part of the Non-cooperation programme, especially the boycott of schools, therefore he has been boycotted by his Non-cooperators and other people who support Non-cooperation. His services are not for hidden ends to draw water from a Harijan's well. A one of his greatest wishes of ever is to manage to get an education that would put what about an ordinary school. When I saw Mr. Khaspale happened to be in a remote village with only a few Harijan's wife & c. I have spoken about this to some young Non-cooperationists here at Hyderabad and a Non-cooperationist President. The latter said "It's none of your business. The Harijan and one against one well, he can be easily boycotted, even to the extent of cutting him off from food and water, and it does not matter if thereby he dies. And this is no accident with HINDU BILHARAN" The other young Non-cooperationists also supported this doctrine most vehemently. I think there can be no greater injustice and cowardice than that the religion which teaches such intolerance, and its adherents, need be boycotted more than anything else, for it is laid down in **SATY SAHITA** that the religion which is devoted of every should be boycotted.

My view is that a man has the right to differ from the majority and act accordingly, but if the majority honestly believe that such action is very dangerous to public relations they may restrain him by lawful means even by depriving him of food if he will not share him to death.

Mr. Khaspale is a leader of the Russian Party and his aims and objectives same as those of the Non-cooperationists, but he only differs in the method of achieving the object, in two or three points only. When the attitude of some of the Non-cooperationists towards a man like Mr. Khaspale is so extremely intolerant, it is not difficult to imagine their attitude towards the Mahatmas and the Russian who are also doing their best to serve the country according to their lights. I very kindly request that you will kindly throw light on this question, leaving no stone unturned in which the above words were uttered by the Non-cooperationist President.

Yours truly,  
Bhaskar Das.

Hyderabad. I remain,  
Your Most Obedient Servant,  
Bhaskar Das, Hyderabad.

**EDUCATION A SUPPLEMENT TO ARMY GOV.**

The following letter has been sent by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to the Principal of the Presidency's and Trinity College (Madras), where he was had been studying in the B. A. and intermediate classes —

There come instances in the history of a nation when, if honest and virtuous are to be undisciplined or converted, youth has to sacrifice the advantages of organized education. I feel that such an occasion has arisen now in our country.

Even if nothing else is to come out of it, I am sure in the years to come, the memory of such a sacrifice will be an invaluable asset to the individual as to the nation. The temporary sacrifice of the beneficial education in schools and colleges is rendered easy by reason of the individual that that usually the education imparted there is not the best for common mankind. Besides and following are the only weapons available to the nation. Starting with the one weapon, the present education enables only to weaken and waste through dissipation of the nation by employment in the Army etc. To that, another one is the weapons, which under autocracy, nor is it able to change the programme and the method of determined resistance to oppression and subjugation by withdrawal of cooperation and service.

If our youth continue to be exclusively trained in their own way by the single occupations of money or technical service in the present administration, the difficulty which other people feel in undertaking a determined campaign for the sake of national honor will continue to be the main obstacle also, and in that way the detachment will be kept up perpetually.

Having myself decided, I have however not issued my demands on my own, but left it to them to shape it out of their own free will. I have the great satisfaction of saying that they are brave enough for the sacrifice.

**MADRAS STUDENTS AND NON-CO-OPERATION**

The following appeal by colleges to students have sent to us —

In pursuance of the Resolution of the National Congress and the Madras League, we have withdrawn from our Colleges. If our country is to be liberated from the present condition of degradation and dependence, no youth can now remain in the College. Honoring of his own national progress is his life. If all the College students in our country come out determined to live for some time like the present living in and spread themselves among the masses, there will be work for all of us. We will again all our student students of the Colleges in the Madras Presidency to meet the present emergency and move out. Let us not by fear, wear of faith, or weakness retard the present of arrears for our country by another thirty years. If every generation of youth is segregated and old hands are too old to lead for months, our country will be eternal. Let us decide not to serve the Government under the present conditions, and we will see full freedom in our generation.

- |                          |                              |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. G. Ramaswami,         | IV Class, Presidency College |
| 2. K. V. Narayanaiah,    | IV "                         |
| 3. Sankaralingam,        | IV "                         |
| 4. R. F. Appa Rao,       | IV "                         |
| 5. K. Gopala Murthy,     | III "                        |
| 6. Arjuna Parthasarathy, | II "                         |
| 7. Hanumanth Rao,        | II "                         |
| 8. G. Venkateswaramaiah, | II "                         |
| 9. K. A. Mahomed,        | III "                        |

(Sign.) Presidency College

10. Srid. Subramanian, M. Com. Madras Univ.





which the eager heads of the Committee think a good advantage, but which is urged upon them strongly by the Mohawks, for whom the legendary wealth of India has a powerful attraction. It remains to be seen whether Erwin Peake, whose light-hearted adventures cost his country dear during the late war, will manage to get away by means of well-arranged, or whether such and already have assured him, and he will now submit to guidance from his wiser colleagues.

It seems to me that India has to face the prospect of a war in Asia, in which she may be forced to play the part that England played in the great war in Europe, with the difference that the great majority of the Indian people will at heart be neutral. I have doubt as to the opening phases of that war, but I feel certain that the final phase will be a struggle between the Committee of Union and Progress and the British Empire, and that the Committee will win, and thus renounce its appeal with its message to British Power as the result of England's bargaining, and endeavour to destroy the Turkish Empire—the task of which I doubt if any English statesman would inform me. For the sake of bargaining and advising and betraying, for the very love of mischief, as it seems to me, for the first time, outside, if not for the first time, England has not unreasonably in history, or practice, or legal opinion, and might be less well served if she persists in the same course of policy.

## Notes.

**Expresses in Bengal.**—The Government of India Commissioner on Non-co-operation says that, for the time being, as yet, there is no co-operation, or, at least, no Non-co-operation in any sense, and so long as questions do not arise beyond the limits set by the Statute. This means that I do not at the time that there was not much talk of co-operation, or even as to what that expression is applying to. And now the work is resumed, and I do not think it is to be done away with and replaced by any other. The case of India has not in fact been given. There is no order from Calcutta.

**Witness the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.**—It is reported that the Secretary of public meetings, by post, Hyderabad, with Districts of Calcutta, is likely to come to the assistance of an officer and to a disturbance of the public peace and maintain to and contempt of law and lawful authority, the Commissioner of Police, in pursuance of the power vested in him under Section 21-A, Clause 2, of Act 1 of 1910, and section 22A, clause 2, of Act 12, 1920.

— modified up to the 1st June 1921, published by the Secretary, North Bikaner, from delisting day 1921—request for a period of one year from Mar 4— the 12th November, 1920, within the limits of the 1st and 2nd Sections of Calcutta.

The order is dated 12th November, 1920, in the 1st delisting order are given. Vague list of a description is issued with no sufficient ground for

getting a young man, even a famous old man, one useful purpose. It makes an excellent point, to know the reason for restriction on his liberty. Under the order quoted, Mr. Nageswari Nath-Bhattacharya has no knowledge of his offence, the public has less. And yet there are people who wonder why laws are broken in the land, and then wonder "It, not in the high-handedness and insolence betrayed by the government, but, to Non-co-operation—the one remedy which is calculated to expel it and, ultimately, to eradicate it.

**And in the Punjab.**—The Punjab is not behind Bengal in the matter of administration, as demonstrated from judicial experience. Section 21-A, Clause 2, was read and approved. Now Mr. Fisher, a worker of unimpeachable character, commanding great local influence, and secretary of the Khilafat Committee, has reserved an advertisement in order not to speak in public. I have only seen a telegram to that effect. I am awaiting further information into the matter. But there appears to be no reason to doubt the accuracy of the information. Granting it to be true, the order shows that the Punjab Government cannot tolerate his speech. Late Legat Das, in his recent letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, has shown clearly that under Sir Edward Mordaunt the Punjab has not been much better than under Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He doubts the likelihood of a 1st or 2nd or 3rd or 4th or 5th or 6th or 7th or 8th or 9th or 10th or 11th or 12th or 13th or 14th or 15th or 16th or 17th or 18th or 19th or 20th or 21st or 22nd or 23rd or 24th or 25th or 26th or 27th or 28th or 29th or 30th or 31st or 32nd or 33rd or 34th or 35th or 36th or 37th or 38th or 39th or 40th or 41st or 42nd or 43rd or 44th or 45th or 46th or 47th or 48th or 49th or 50th or 51st or 52nd or 53rd or 54th or 55th or 56th or 57th or 58th or 59th or 60th or 61st or 62nd or 63rd or 64th or 65th or 66th or 67th or 68th or 69th or 70th or 71st or 72nd or 73rd or 74th or 75th or 76th or 77th or 78th or 79th or 80th or 81st or 82nd or 83rd or 84th or 85th or 86th or 87th or 88th or 89th or 90th or 91st or 92nd or 93rd or 94th or 95th or 96th or 97th or 98th or 99th or 100th or 101st or 102nd or 103rd or 104th or 105th or 106th or 107th or 108th or 109th or 110th or 111th or 112th or 113th or 114th or 115th or 116th or 117th or 118th or 119th or 120th or 121st or 122nd or 123rd or 124th or 125th or 126th or 127th or 128th or 129th or 130th or 131st or 132nd or 133rd or 134th or 135th or 136th or 137th or 138th or 139th or 140th or 141st or 142nd or 143rd or 144th or 145th or 146th or 147th or 148th or 149th or 150th or 151st or 152nd or 153rd or 154th or 155th or 156th or 157th or 158th or 159th or 160th or 161st or 162nd or 163rd or 164th or 165th or 166th or 167th or 168th or 169th or 170th or 171st or 172nd or 173rd or 174th or 175th or 176th or 177th or 178th or 179th or 180th or 181st or 182nd or 183rd or 184th or 185th or 186th or 187th or 188th or 189th or 190th or 191st or 192nd or 193rd or 194th or 195th or 196th or 197th or 198th or 199th or 200th or 201st or 202nd or 203rd or 204th or 205th or 206th or 207th or 208th or 209th or 210th or 211st or 212th or 213th or 214th or 215th or 216th or 217th or 218th or 219th or 220th or 221st or 222nd or 223rd or 224th or 225th or 226th or 227th or 228th or 229th or 230th or 231st or 232nd or 233rd or 234th or 235th or 236th or 237th or 238th or 239th or 240th or 241st or 242nd or 243rd or 244th or 245th or 246th or 247th or 248th or 249th or 250th or 251st or 252nd or 253rd or 254th or 255th or 256th or 257th or 258th or 259th or 260th or 261st or 262nd or 263rd or 264th or 265th or 266th or 267th or 268th or 269th or 270th or 271st or 272nd or 273rd or 274th or 275th or 276th or 277th or 278th or 279th or 280th or 281st or 282nd or 283rd or 284th or 285th or 286th or 287th or 288th or 289th or 290th or 291st or 292nd or 293rd or 294th or 295th or 296th or 297th or 298th or 299th or 300th or 301st or 302nd or 303rd or 304th or 305th or 306th or 307th or 308th or 309th or 310th or 311st or 312th or 313th or 314th or 315th or 316th or 317th or 318th or 319th or 320th or 321st or 322nd or 323rd or 324th or 325th or 326th or 327th or 328th or 329th or 330th or 331st or 332nd or 333rd or 334th or 335th or 336th or 337th or 338th or 339th or 340th or 341st or 342nd or 343rd or 344th or 345th or 346th or 347th or 348th or 349th or 350th or 351st or 352nd or 353rd or 354th or 355th or 356th or 357th or 358th or 359th or 360th or 361st or 362nd or 363rd or 364th or 365th or 366th or 367th or 368th or 369th or 370th or 371st or 372nd or 373rd or 374th or 375th or 376th or 377th or 378th or 379th or 380th or 381st or 382nd or 383rd or 384th or 385th or 386th or 387th or 388th or 389th or 390th or 391st or 392nd or 393rd or 394th or 395th or 396th or 397th or 398th or 399th or 400th or 401st or 402nd or 403rd or 404th or 405th or 406th or 407th or 408th or 409th or 410th or 411st or 412th or 413th or 414th or 415th or 416th or 417th or 418th or 419th or 420th or 421st or 422nd or 423rd or 424th or 425th or 426th or 427th or 428th or 429th or 430th or 431st or 432nd or 433rd or 434th or 435th or 436th or 437th or 438th or 439th or 440th or 441st or 442nd or 443rd or 444th or 445th or 446th or 447th or 448th or 449th or 450th or 451st or 452nd or 453rd or 454th or 455th or 456th or 457th or 458th or 459th or 460th or 461st or 462nd or 463rd or 464th or 465th or 466th or 467th or 468th or 469th or 470th or 471st or 472nd or 473rd or 474th or 475th or 476th or 477th or 478th or 479th or 480th or 481st or 482nd or 483rd or 484th or 485th or 486th or 487th or 488th or 489th or 490th or 491st or 492nd or 493rd or 494th or 495th or 496th or 497th or 498th or 499th or 500th or 501st or 502nd or 503rd or 504th or 505th or 506th or 507th or 508th or 509th or 510th or 511st or 512th or 513th or 514th or 515th or 516th or 517th or 518th or 519th or 520th or 521st or 522nd or 523rd or 524th or 525th or 526th or 527th or 528th or 529th or 530th or 531st or 532nd or 533rd or 534th or 535th or 536th or 537th or 538th or 539th or 540th or 541st or 542nd or 543rd or 544th or 545th or 546th or 547th or 548th or 549th or 550th or 551st or 552nd or 553rd or 554th or 555th or 556th or 557th or 558th or 559th or 560th or 561st or 562nd or 563rd or 564th or 565th or 566th or 567th or 568th or 569th or 570th or 571st or 572nd or 573rd or 574th or 575th or 576th or 577th or 578th or 579th or 580th or 581st or 582nd or 583rd or 584th or 585th or 586th or 587th or 588th or 589th or 590th or 591st or 592nd or 593rd or 594th or 595th or 596th or 597th or 598th or 599th or 600th or 601st or 602nd or 603rd or 604th or 605th or 606th or 607th or 608th or 609th or 610th or 611st or 612th or 613th or 614th or 615th or 616th or 617th or 618th or 619th or 620th or 621st or 622nd or 623rd or 624th or 625th or 626th or 627th or 628th or 629th or 630th or 631st or 632nd or 633rd or 634th or 635th or 636th or 637th or 638th or 639th or 640th or 641st or 642nd or 643rd or 644th or 645th or 646th or 647th or 648th or 649th or 650th or 651st or 652nd or 653rd or 654th or 655th or 656th or 657th or 658th or 659th or 660th or 661st or 662nd or 663rd or 664th or 665th or 666th or 667th or 668th or 669th or 670th or 671st or 672nd or 673rd or 674th or 675th or 676th or 677th or 678th or 679th or 680th or 681st or 682nd or 683rd or 684th or 685th or 686th or 687th or 688th or 689th or 690th or 691st or 692nd or 693rd or 694th or 695th or 696th or 697th or 698th or 699th or 700th or 701st or 702nd or 703rd or 704th or 705th or 706th or 707th or 708th or 709th or 710th or 711st or 712th or 713th or 714th or 715th or 716th or 717th or 718th or 719th or 720th or 721st or 722nd or 723rd or 724th or 725th or 726th or 727th or 728th or 729th or 730th or 731st or 732nd or 733rd or 734th or 735th or 736th or 737th or 738th or 739th or 740th or 741st or 742nd or 743rd or 744th or 745th or 746th or 747th or 748th or 749th or 750th or 751st or 752nd or 753rd or 754th or 755th or 756th or 757th or 758th or 759th or 760th or 761st or 762nd or 763rd or 764th or 765th or 766th or 767th or 768th or 769th or 770th or 771st or 772nd or 773rd or 774th or 775th or 776th or 777th or 778th or 779th or 780th or 781st or 782nd or 783rd or 784th or 785th or 786th or 787th or 788th or 789th or 790th or 791st or 792nd or 793rd or 794th or 795th or 796th or 797th or 798th or 799th or 800th or 801st or 802nd or 803rd or 804th or 805th or 806th or 807th or 808th or 809th or 810th or 811st or 812th or 813th or 814th or 815th or 816th or 817th or 818th or 819th or 820th or 821st or 822nd or 823rd or 824th or 825th or 826th or 827th or 828th or 829th or 830th or 831st or 832nd or 833rd or 834th or 835th or 836th or 837th or 838th or 839th or 840th or 841st or 842nd or 843rd or 844th or 845th or 846th or 847th or 848th or 849th or 850th or 851st or 852nd or 853rd or 854th or 855th or 856th or 857th or 858th or 859th or 860th or 861st or 862nd or 863rd or 864th or 865th or 866th or 867th or 868th or 869th or 870th or 871st or 872nd or 873rd or 874th or 875th or 876th or 877th or 878th or 879th or 880th or 881st or 882nd or 883rd or 884th or 885th or 886th or 887th or 888th or 889th or 890th or 891st or 892nd or 893rd or 894th or 895th or 896th or 897th or 898th or 899th or 900th or 901st or 902nd or 903rd or 904th or 905th or 906th or 907th or 908th or 909th or 910th or 911st or 912th or 913th or 914th or 915th or 916th or 917th or 918th or 919th or 920th or 921st or 922nd or 923rd or 924th or 925th or 926th or 927th or 928th or 929th or 930th or 931st or 932nd or 933rd or 934th or 935th or 936th or 937th or 938th or 939th or 940th or 941st or 942nd or 943rd or 944th or 945th or 946th or 947th or 948th or 949th or 950th or 951st or 952nd or 953rd or 954th or 955th or 956th or 957th or 958th or 959th or 960th or 961st or 962nd or 963rd or 964th or 965th or 966th or 967th or 968th or 969th or 970th or 971st or 972nd or 973rd or 974th or 975th or 976th or 977th or 978th or 979th or 980th or 981st or 982nd or 983rd or 984th or 985th or 986th or 987th or 988th or 989th or 990th or 991st or 992nd or 993rd or 994th or 995th or 996th or 997th or 998th or 999th or 1000th or 1001st or 1002nd or 1003rd or 1004th or 1005th or 1006th or 1007th or 1008th or 1009th or 1010th or 1011st or 1012th or 1013th or 1014th or 1015th or 1016th or 1017th or 1018th or 1019th or 1020th or 1021st or 1022nd or 1023rd or 1024th or 1025th or 1026th or 1027th or 1028th or 1029th or 1030th or 1031st or 1032nd or 1033rd or 1034th or 1035th or 1036th or 1037th or 1038th or 1039th or 1040th or 1041st or 1042nd or 1043rd or 1044th or 1045th or 1046th or 1047th or 1048th or 1049th or 1050th or 1051st or 1052nd or 1053rd or 1054th or 1055th or 1056th or 1057th or 1058th or 1059th or 1060th or 1061st or 1062nd or 1063rd or 1064th or 1065th or 1066th or 1067th or 1068th or 1069th or 1070th or 1071st or 1072nd or 1073rd or 1074th or 1075th or 1076th or 1077th or 1078th or 1079th or 1080th or 1081st or 1082nd or 1083rd or 1084th or 1085th or 1086th or 1087th or 1088th or 1089th or 1090th or 1091st or 1092nd or 1093rd or 1094th or 1095th or 1096th or 1097th or 1098th or 1099th or 1100th or 1101st or 1102nd or 1103rd or 1104th or 1105th or 1106th or 1107th or 1108th or 1109th or 1110th or 1111st or 1112th or 1113th or 1114th or 1115th or 1116th or 1117th or 1118th or 1119th or 1120th or 1121st or 1122nd or 1123rd or 1124th or 1125th or 1126th or 1127th or 1128th or 1129th or 1130th or 1131st or 1132nd or 1133rd or 1134th or 1135th or 1136th or 1137th or 1138th or 1139th or 1140th or 1141st or 1142nd or 1143rd or 1144th or 1145th or 1146th or 1147th or 1148th or 1149th or 1150th or 1151st or 1152nd or 1153rd or 1154th or 1155th or 1156th or 1157th or 1158th or 1159th or 1160th or 1161st or 1162nd or 1163rd or 1164th or 1165th or 1166th or 1167th or 1168th or 1169th or 1170th or 1171st or 1172nd or 1173rd or 1174th or 1175th or 1176th or 1177th or 1178th or 1179th or 1180th or 1181st or 1182nd or 1183rd or 1184th or 1185th or 1186th or 1187th or 1188th or 1189th or 1190th or 1191st or 1192nd or 1193rd or 1194th or 1195th or 1196th or 1197th or 1198th or 1199th or 1200th or 1201st or 1202nd or 1203rd or 1204th or 1205th or 1206th or 1207th or 1208th or 1209th or 1210th or 1211st or 1212nd or 1213th or 1214th or 1215th or 1216th or 1217th or 1218th or 1219th or 1220th or 1221st or 1222nd or 1223rd or 1224th or 1225th or 1226th or 1227th or 1228th or 1229th or 1230th or 1231st or 1232nd or 1233rd or 1234th or 1235th or 1236th or 1237th or 1238th or 1239th or 1240th or 1241st or 1242nd or 1243rd or 1244th or 1245th or 1246th or 1247th or 1248th or 1249th or 1250th or 1251st or 1252nd or 1253rd or 1254th or 1255th or 1256th or 1257th or 1258th or 1259th or 1260th or 1261st or 1262nd or 1263rd or 1264th or 1265th or 1266th or 1267th or 1268th or 1269th or 1270th or 1271st or 1272nd or 1273rd or 1274th or 1275th or 1276th or 1277th or 1278th or 1279th or 1280th or 1281st or 1282nd or 1283rd or 1284th or 1285th or 1286th or 1287th or 1288th or 1289th or 1290th or 1291st or 1292nd or 1293rd or 1294th or 1295th or 1296th or 1297th or 1298th or 1299th or 1300th or 1301st or 1302nd or 1303rd or 1304th or 1305th or 1306th or 1307th or 1308th or 1309th or 1310th or 1311st or 1312nd or 1313th or 1314th or 1315th or 1316th or 1317th or 1318th or 1319th or 1320th or 1321st or 1322nd or 1323rd or 1324th or 1325th or 1326th or 1327th or 1328th or 1329th or 1330th or 1331st or 1332nd or 1333rd or 1334th or 1335th or 1336th or 1337th or 1338th or 1339th or 1340th or 1341st or 1342nd or 1343rd or 1344th or 1345th or 1346th or 1347th or 1348th or 1349th or 1350th or 1351st or 1352nd or 1353rd or 1354th or 1355th or 1356th or 1357th or 1358th or 1359th or 1360th or 1361st or 1362nd or 1363rd or 1364th or 1365th or 1366th or 1367th or 1368th or 1369th or 1370th or 1371st or 1372nd or 1373rd or 1374th or 1375th or 1376th or 1377th or 1378th or 1379th or 1380th or 1381st or 1382nd or 1383rd or 1384th or 1385th or 1386th or 1387th or 1388th or 1389th or 1390th or 1391st or 1392nd or 1393rd or 1394th or 1395th or 1396th or 1397th or 1398th or 1399th or 1400th or 1401st or 1402nd or 1403rd or 1404th or 1405th or 1406th or 1407th or 1408th or 1409th or 1410th or 1411st or 1412nd or 1413th or 1414th or 1415th or 1416th or 1417th or 1418th or 1419th or 1420th or 1421st or 1422nd or 1423rd or 1424th or 1425th or 1426th or 1427th or 1428th or 1429th or 1430th or 1431st or 1432nd or 1433rd or 1434th or 1435th or 1436th or 1437th or 1438th or 1439th or 1440th or 1441st or 1442nd or 1443rd or 1444th or 1445th or 1446th or 1447th or 1448th or 1449th or 1450th or 1451st or 1452nd or 1453rd or 1454th or 1455th or 1456th or 1457th or 1458th or 1459th or 1460th or 1461st or 1462nd or 1463rd or 1464th or 1465th or 1466th or 1467th or 1468th or 1469th or 1470th or 1471st or 1472nd or 1473rd or 1474th or 1475th or 1476th or 1477th or 1478th or 1479th or 1480th or 1481st or 1482nd or 1483rd or 1484th or 1485th or 1486th or 1487th or 1488th or 1489th or 1490th or 1491st or 1492nd or 1493rd or 1494th or 1495th or 1496th or 1497th or 1498th or 1499th or 1500th or 1501st or 1502nd or 1503rd or 1504th or 1505th or 1506th or 1507th or 1508th or 1509th or 1510th or 1511st or 1512nd or 1513th or 1514th or 1515th or 1516th or 1517th or 1518th or 1519th or 1520th or 1521st or 1522nd or 1523rd or 1524th or 1525th or 1526th or 1527th or 1528th or 1529th or 1530th or 1531st or 1532nd or 1533rd or 1534th or 1535th or 1536th or 1537th or 1538th or 1539th or 1540th or 1541st or 1542nd or 1543rd or 1544th or 1545th or 1546th or 1547th or 1548th or 1549th or 1550th or 1551st or 1552nd or 1553rd or 1554th or 1555th or 1556th or 1557th or 1558th or 1559th or 1560th or 1561st or 1562nd or 1563rd or 1564th or 1565th or 1566th or 1567th or 1568th or 1569th or 1570th or 1571st or 1572nd or 1573rd or 1574th or 1575th or 1576th or 1577th or 1578th or 1579th or 1580th or 1581st or 1582nd or 1583rd or 1584th or 1585th or 1586th or 1587th or 1588th or 1589th or 1590th or 1591st or 1592nd or 1593rd or 1594th or 1595th or 1596th or 1597th or 1598th or 1599th or 1600th or 1601st or 1602nd or 1603rd or 1604th or 1605th or 1606th or 1607th or 1608th or 1609th or 1610th or 1611st or 1612nd or 1613th or 1614th or 1615th or 1616th or 1617th or 1618th or 1619th or 1620th or 1621st or 1622nd or 1623rd or 1624th or 1625th or 1626th or 1627th or 1628th or 1629th or 1630th or 1631st or 1632nd or 1633rd or 1634th or 1635th or 1636th or 1637th or 1638th or 1639th or 1640th or 1641st or 1642nd or 1643rd or 1644th or 1645th or 1646th or 1647th or 1648th or 1649th or 1650th or 1651st or 1652nd or 1653rd or 1654th or 1655th or 1656th or 1657th or 1658th or 1659th or 1660th or 1661st or 1662nd or 1663rd or 1664th or 1665th or 1666th or 1667th or 1668th or 1669th or 1670th or 1671st or 1672nd or 1673rd or 1674th or 1675th or 1676th or 1677th or 1678th or 1679th or 1680th or 1681st or 1682nd or 1683rd or 1684th or 1685th or 1686th or 1687th or 1688th or 1689th or 1690th or 1691st or 1692nd or 1693rd or 1694th or 1695th or 1696th or 1697th or 1698th or 1699th or 1700th or 1701st or 1702nd or 1703rd or 1704th or 1705th or 1706th or 1707th or 1708th or 1709th or 1710th or 1711st or 1712nd or 1713th or 1714th or 1715th or 1716th or 1717th or 1718th or 1719th or 1720th or 1721st or 1722nd or 1723rd or 1724th or 1725th or

(2) Is there no danger of the movement going out of control and leading to violence?

As to (1), I must say that the movement is not meeting state-approval. It certainly gives, as I have already said, disappointed expression to it. You cannot mistake evil by ignoring it. It is because I want to promote national brotherhood that I have taken up Non-co-operation as that, by self-purification, India may make the world better than it is.

As to (2), I know that the words 'violence' and 'unethical' are strong, but they state the exact truth. They denote a system and persons. We are bound to take evil, if we would shun it. But by means of Non-co-operation we are able to distinguish between the evil and the evil-doer. I have found no difficulty in denouncing a particular agency of a locality of men to be denieth, but I am not aware of having harboured any hatred about non-co-operation leaders or to have our fellow-men on spots of their heads, not by ignoring or overlooking them.

As to (3), the movement is certainly being conducted on strictly non-violent lines. That non-co-operation have not yet thoroughly imbued the doctrine is true. But that just shows what we evil legacy we have inherited. Because there is in the movement. And it will remain. A man without emotion is a man without feeling.

As to (4), there certainly is danger of the movement becoming violent. But no way is more deep non-violent Non-co-operation because of its dangers, than to stop freedom because of the danger of its abuse. M. K. G.

**Value of the New Constituents.**—Some prominent members of the Anti-Non-co-operation movement have been talking their substance that under the New Reform Act, the tragedy of the Punjab would be averted. What truth there is in this assertion is clear from the following questions and answers printed on page 400 of the minutes of evidence taken before the Joint Parliamentary Committee for James Hinton, who represented the Government of India before the committee was under examination. Lord Spinkham asked her—

Question.—There have been some very serious riots in the Punjab which might have spread over the whole Province. Do you think that a Government, the policy of which are to work independently, would be able to deal with a great emergency of that kind?

Answer.—You will find it quite that question very carefully and I think I have the clear authority of the Viceroy for saying that under the scheme of the Bill there would be no power lacking which he exercised in dealing with the Punjab disturbances. I know he felt that very strongly and I think he would indicate me to say so.

Question.—That is the view of the Government of India, that the two independent bodies of any Provincial Government would have as much authority as an emergency which had to be dealt with equally as at now time?

Answer.—I think so.

## Young India.

Published, Wednesday, 23th, December, 1930.

### STEREUM IN CHAMPARAN\*

(By J. K. Gandhi.)

India is a land full of progress. Champaran probably contributes the largest number of them. The deathblow of Panna has just reported one such vital tragedy. It is being investigated by a local Congress Committee of which Mr. Madhusudan Das is the chairman. I do not propose to investigate the matter. I understood that the matter is also engaging the India Government's attention. But as I happened to be in Patna, together with Krishna Shastri Ji, in connection with our Non-co-operation tour, I venture to give my own impressions gathered from a hasty visit to the spot.

The tragedy took place about fourteen miles from Patna about the 20th November last. I do not think that the Government, i. e. the high officials, had any part in its commission. Nor had the English planters. This seems to have been purely a police matter, in which the police have acted in an unbecomingly manner and without the knowledge of the higher authorities.

It originates in a petty dispute between villagers that resulted in a petty assault. In connection with it a local case of violence was started by the police. The villagers appear to have created it and rescued the man, and then surrounded the constables who arrested him. This proved too much for the wounded dignity of the police. The local District, i. e. Sub-Inspector of Police, is said to have given a word in which, under the guidance and direction of the police, men from a neighbouring village elsewhere had to have taken part. Homes were searched of their contents—grain and ornaments. Women are reported to have been maltreated and robbed of their jewellery. One woman told me that she was much maltreated and there was thrown on her face. Another was equally maltreated while she was in the act of making hermit. The villagers had had in a cowardly manner. Homes were shown to us in which the grain-balls were found to be emptied and broken. Glass, scattered about, big holes selected and opened—i. e. the contents removed.

Needless to say, that the maltreated man was almost immediately re-arrested and seven other men, too, were arrested by the police. Among them is a local Schoolmaster. He is a man of considerable influence. He has succeeded in organizing Jathas and thereforwards visiting local temples. His activity has led to popularise the principle of self-reliance among the villagers. The police, naturally wanting to undermine his influence and regarding him as having had a hand in making the people to defy their authority (as it appears from the evidence given to me), have arrested the Schoolmaster who is now out on bail.

I am encouraged with the result of the trial that will very probably take place. Some of the

an armed man will no doubt be considered an armed robbery. Of all the places in India, most property accumulated on either side is in Champaran. Inevitably as it may appear, the movement I have reported is not the best of its kind. The Champaran peasantry is the most helpless and the most terror-stricken of all I have seen. They dread the approach of the police and leave their villages as soon as they appear on the scene. The police have become equally demoralized, feckless and corrupt, no respect among them. And with time the people have resented the police treatment, as in the case in point, they have been obliged to greater helplessness by a system of terrorism, in which the magistracy has taken no mean part in behalf of the local Sirdar.

At times the police have been reprimanded by magistrates or the Government. That they do not mind. The better police never even know anything about such reprimands, and they care less. The system of terrorism continues and flourishes.

How are the people to be helped? How is the terrorism to be removed? Certainly not by corrupting an official agency. What most needs is only strengthening the police. Already the police is fortifying its position. Certainly not by the villagers seeking the protection of the Sirdar. It is my settled conviction, based on a study of the records of cases, that in the vast majority of them the people have had both no money and no power. An admitted discharge of an account was all they are there as a result of paying bribes to the keepers and the bribe-takers.

This police, composed mainly of our own men, must be reformed and run over by our standards. We have unnecessarily killed them instead of paying them. They are victims of a useless and waste inglorious system. I desire to believe that the Indian police men are voluntarily led and that the Government are powerless to reform them. On the contrary, the system of Government is such as to corrupt even the most honest of men. It is based upon the practice of securing the greatest immunity for itself. It has made of justice a fraud and has succeeded to ruin the process of which they had protection.

Local men everywhere must therefore befriend the police, and the best way of befriending them is to stand on their side as their authority.

In the present case the village must be allowed to fight the wrong. If they are weaker under pressure by seeking the intervention of friends, they must do so. They must patiently suffer an imprisonment. As defendants, they must resolutely decline to be represented by pleaders. They must give an unswerving version to the Court. They must submit to misjudgment, even to the loss of having no case.

And whatever it and when such accidents happen, they must be prepared to defend themselves. It is better if they are lawfully stand prosecution and show themselves to be robbed, instead of being in defiance of their persons or property. That would

showed to their standing through their own fecklessness can only be corrected out of strength and not out of weakness. Till that power is acquired, they must be prepared to meet the wrong-doer by force. When a policeman comes out to arrest him to arrest, he travels beyond his authority. The citizen has then the inalienable right of treating him as a robber and dealing with him as such. He will therefore not withstand him to prevent him from robbing. He will meet head-on his force in order to defend the honor of his manhood. The business of non violence is not for the weak and the cowardly, it is meant for the brave and the strong. The bravest man offers himself to be killed without being. And he shrinks from killing or wounding, because he knows that it is wrong to injure. Not so the villagers of Champaran. They flee from the police. They would strike and even kill a policeman, if they had no fear of the law. They gain no credit of non violence but as the ordinary man the respect of cowards and ungentlemen, they stand undaunted before Government and men.

But the workers among a people as like as in Champaran will have to be much careful about what they do. They and the people will put themselves in the wrong, if they stand the police or the local execution of their will, even though the execution may prove or appear to them to be unlawful. The police must not be resisted if they arrest without a warrant. They must not take the law into their own hands but scrupulously obey it. The wronged against any wrongs Sirdar has in the fact that no government are they to seek the protection of the law. If, therefore, they are in the wrong, they will scrupulously suffer punishment. And when they are in the right, they will most probably not suffer punishment, and they will always have the satisfaction of having acted, or attempted to act, in the property, or what is widely better, the honor of their women. In the case in point, it was wrong to stand the man who was arrested even though in the opinion of the villagers he was innocent. It was wrong because the police had the authority to law to effect arrests. It was cowardly on their part to have fled on the approach of the police, it would have been right for them to have defended their women and their goods. If they had not fled, they, being so non-violent, would surely have saved their property and protected their women surely by standing in their ground. In no case would the villagers have been justified in doing more bodily injury than was needed on the occasion. It is invariably a sign of cowardice and weakness to use excessive force. A horse man does not kill a thief but arrests him and hands him to the police. A brave man can just enough force to drive him out and think no more about it. The bravest man has that the thief knows no better, runs away with him, risks being threatened and even killed, but does not retaliate. We must it say not cease to be cowardly and cowardly.

## REPLY.

(By M. K. Dasgupta.)

Mr. Popley and Phillips have been good enough to reply to my letter in *Young India* and in *India*—I recognise and appreciate the friendly spirit of these letters. But I see that there are fundamental differences which must for the time being divide them and me. So long as I talk about, in spite of previous lapses, the British Empire represented as entirely for the world's and India's good, I cling to it like a child to its mother's breast. But this faith is gone. The British empire has reduced the Punjab and the Khanda provinces. There is no doubt a degrading minority. But a degrading minority that stands itself with a more expression of its opinion and inclination to help the wrong-doer parties in the wrong-doing.

And when the non-hind of the empire represents a minority, can any not pick out the plain questions, hold them up for consideration, and ask an advancing public to help regarding them. It is a fortunate change of India to temper and with a dose of good and then has the necessary will to do. It is only way the world has known of doing. It is by starving him. I quote Englishmen, who could work out the ideal they believe in, to provide means of non-co-operation. W. E. Gladstone proposed for the removal of the British arms during the Boer war. Mrs. Habington started the Boers to keep up the fight. The betrayal of India is such worse than the Boer war to the Boers. The Boer fought and died for their rights. When, therefore, we are prepared to bleed, the fight will have become noble, and the advanced world will praise it and do homage to it.

But Mr. Popley and Phillips object that I have allied myself with those who would draw the sword if they could. I am so long wrong as it. They represent the right no less than I do. And it is not worth while trying to prevent the unshakable of the sword by helping to win a bloodless battle. Those who represent the best of the Indian people can only do God's work by entering the non-violent struggle.

The usual objection raised by these English friends is more to the point. I would be guilty of wrong-doing myself if the British state was not just. The fact is that the British state is not to perpetrate foreign dominions of non-Hindus or non-Turkish races. The Indian Moslems do not want self-determination, but they would fight to the last for the independence of a united Hindustan under the flag of self-determination. They want first the united struggle to liberate the Bay, and then through them, under the flag of a common Arabian independence.

The third objection has reference to schools. I do object to money or any article being carried on with Government money. It is true that it was so one time or more. Will these good men, however, be justified in advising me with funds given to them by a ruler who has robbed me of my money, religion and honour because the money was originally mine?

I previously indicated the financial robbery of India, but it would have been a sin to have indicated also robbery of honour through the Punjab, and of religion through Turkey. There is strong language. But nothing less would surely damage my deep conviction. Besides to see that the emptying of Government, aided, or affiliated, schools does not mean starving the young mind. National Schools are coming into being as fast as the others are emptied.

Mr. Popley and Phillips think that my sense of justice has been blunted by the knowledge of the Punjab and the Khanda wrongs. I hope not. I have asked friends to show me some good fruit (intended and deliberately produced) of the British occupation of India. I expect the request. And I assure them that I shall make the simplest results if I find that I have acted to my regret about the Khanda and the Punjab wrongs.

## SLAVES ON BEHALF:

(By Principal J. J. Subramanyam.)

These great upheavals of this century, that stand up to modernism in India's struggle for freedom, have inspired three distinct movements in National Education. They are embodied by National Council of Education at the time that she awakened India from her long slumber to save her from a cruel political, Mrs. Besant inaugurated another agency for the promotion of National Education in the electric atmosphere of her whirlwind campaign for Home Rule, and now that Gandhiji's message of Satyagrah and Ahimsa have started a radical re-organisation, there is yet another effort to overhaul our educational system. Is it not significant that the leaders of all these vital movements, otherwise differing so widely in their other outlook, should agree in regarding the re-organisation of education as national issues as essential for the uplift of India? Whatever one may think of the Indian or success of the various steps in National Education, it is beyond doubt that there must be something radically wrong with the present system to lead education—religious, political, social—of unending complexity to declare it incompatible with the Nation's ideal and aspirations.

Wherever India has been regarded not of the comfortable complacency of normal life, wherever a man has come to disturb the placid calm of every-day existence with stirring words, leading thinkers have seen in our country and abroad that the greatest obstacle to our advance. For did this revolt begin when Besant organised to save the Nation from the helplessness of the present, there are other colossal attempts like the Council of Mahatma Gandhi in Bardoli; and, even the organisation of institutions like the Department Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore and the Central Hindu College of Benares, a vague feeling of the inadequacy, if not the failure, of the present system did exist.



## BRITISH IMPERIALISM CROSSING THE WORLD

II.

The smuggling of opium into China, which led to the two Opium Wars has had its origin in India. Under the British East India Company, British smugglers were flooding China with Opium. The Chinese protested and had a treaty "Tientsin The Treaty" demanding 50,000 chests of good British Opium "The revenues of a Christian Nation" were too much for the "Foggy Mountain." Great Britain deflected China Opium was forced to give up Hong Kong to the British, also an indemnity of £ 20,000,000. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Peking, Ningpo, and Shanghai were opened from China for the exportation of opium.

In the second war, which ended in the Treaty of Tientsin in 1859, China paid another indemnity of about £ 10,000,000 and five more treaty-ports were opened. Thousands of Chinese lost their lives in the war. In one sense of carnage, the Times correspondent recorded that "not an army of 10,000 men was destroyed by its sword in ten months, or forced into the broad sea."

Hongkong was taken from China by England in January 1841, as an indemnity following the first opium War, when China challenged England's right to flood the country with opium. Hongkong, an island 26 miles south of Canton, is the market for British Opium. The opposite peninsula of Kowloon is also British territory. The island of Lantau and various other islands of China—much larger than Hongkong, also belong to England.

These islands are not subject to British control. "Here is a complete government-opium factory, and all the exports of Indian opium into Hongkong in the year 1914-15, were £ 100,112 sterling." The figure is lower by £ 1,600,000 than the year preceding, because of the outbreak of the European war there were fewer ships. The Hong Kong revenue reports show that about one-third of the total revenue is derived from opium traffic.

Shanghai is another Chinese city. It is divided into two sections, one is under nominal Chinese control, and the other under foreign occupation, known as the International Settlement. Over the latter section China has no control. Although Opium is prohibited in the Chinese territory, in the International Settlement "any one may buy as much opium as he wishes 'merely by stepping over an imaginary line, into a portion where the rigid anti-opium laws do not apply. In 1924, revenue derived from opium business in the International Settlement amounted to Rs. 9,200. The Statistical Abstract relating to British India for 1913-14 shows that the export of British opium into Chinese Treaty Ports, over which the Chinese have no control, amounted to 5 million pounds. It showed a tremendous increase over preceding years.

Yet, China according to reports is being deluged all with morphine, manufactured either "refined forms" of opium manufactured mostly in England. The Board of Trade of Great-Britain shows that during 1914, 14 tons of morphine were exported from Great Britain. Figures compiled over the 1911, when

all the Chinese opium markets were closed, show that the export has risen to 20 tons.

Since 1917, there have been changes in Chinese official-conceptions, but Hsin Lu Mohin points out "the customs is being made up by trading raw materials, and new papers to drug. The statement is inadequately supported by the Statistical Abstract of India for the year 1915-16 and by a number of other British and Colonial West Indies.

The Colonial Report on F.Y. Hong Kong Report for 1917 gives the exports and imports of opium (page 7) is as follows:

"The imports and exports of certified opium during the year amounted to 7,620 chests imported and 224 chests exported. Of these the exports all come from Shanghai, and of the total import of 844 chests, 786 went to Shanghai. Seven hundred and forty chests of Chinese opium imported during the year and 745 exported to Fuzhou. 610 chests of non-certified opium were imported, 119 chests by the Government monopoly and the remaining 491, by the Home opium business."

Known as a Portuguese settlement, an island near Canton, where the opium trade is so full that Fama has also entered the field. Fama lost its real independence in 1905 when the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty divided the country. It is now practically a Dutch possession. In Yarkand and Fama opium is grown. Great Britain is greatly interested in these countries, not only outside the water to land and their markets has held on India, but also now has actual control of the world's output of opium.

Suzarak, near British North Borneo, is another British dependency. When the last ruler, an English trader, died, a great tribute was paid to him by the National Geographical Magazine. He had done credit to British rule in the Far East. For nearly 20 years he governed an absolute territory, a mixed population of Chinese, Malays and numerous paper tribes scattered through the villages and dense jungles of an extensive territory of the north-west coast of Borneo. Constant soldiers for the welfare of his people won the sympathy and devotion which enabled the white man, supported by an exceptional army and police, to establish peaceful occupation of civilization in place of barbarism (greed and oppression)."

The "merchandise" grown. Hsin Lu Mohin points out, may be judged from the Colonial Atlas for 1917, which stated that "the principal source of revenue are the opium, gambling, gaming and opium." In 1917 the "real government" which colony showed a return of nearly £ 1,000,000 sterling from such sources.

British North Borneo itself depends partly upon opium for its revenue. In 1920 the official figures showed a net revenue under the head of opium of about £ 1,000,000.

Another British possession where opium is used widely is the island of Mauritius. The statistics for British India, English news, show that in 1914-17, twenty chests were exported to the island from India. The statistics also showed exported in 1915-16 and thirteen chests imported in consequence.

Opium is freely sold in Singapore, the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. A

large portion of the revenue of these dependencies depends upon opium trade. A steady increase in the use of the drug is shown by official figures.

Spain is supposed to use an enormous quantity, but is "prohibited" very strictly and thoroughly by Great Britain.\* Spain has been prohibited by the English to export opium to all territories except British ones. This agreement was made in the treaty between Spain and Great Britain in 1826. The Statistical Year Books for the Kingdom of Spain show that in the year 1812-13, 1820 chests of opium were imported. Each chest contains about 1200-3 lbs weight. The number of retail opium shops in 1818-19 was 8,111.

British Consul in South America shows opium imports in 1818 in the amount of 2,500. This sum must have undoubtedly increased, since Argentina is now taking the share of the drug, which falls in its way over into herding countries. Argentina is fighting the drug war, but without much effect.

According to the English statement 'opium is a good thing for Oriental Asia, by which a number of millions, dark, brutal, idle, savage, demonstrating that in Spain an Englishman proved it to her.' He was travelling through the jungle, he said, with a number of natives. By nightfall they were exhausted with the long march. But when he was asked for time, he merely gave them such a 'stick of snuff' as the word, 'to compose all traces of fatigue vanished and they stretched all night.'

But Japan and Philippines which are two Oriental countries but independent of Great Britain do not permit the sale of opium and guard their people against the drug habit as anxiously as do western people, so to be, and for their colonies these their own people.

It is a well known phenomenon that drugged peoples are usually docile and obedient. Mrs La Motte thinks that that is the reason of much of the successful British administration. She has successfully demonstrated by facts and figures which we have quoted especially that wherever the British flag waves over subject peoples there opium is sold and its use is not only encouraged, so did the English merchant of the Netherlands in Java.

"It would seem at first glance," Mrs La Motte concludes, "as if subject races were far gone of there is money in it. Subject races, dependencies, who have no vote, no share in the Government and who are powerless to protest themselves—for gain by exploitation. Is this double-dealing what we mean when we speak of 'our responsibility to backward nations,' or of 'the sacred trust of civilization,' or still again, when we refer to 'the white man's burden'?"

And we ask Will the British race ever take from these dependencies from this to send to perpetrate upon the world, and upon thousands of her own children, by the growth, use and export of the opium poison? We pause for an answer.

## STUDENTS STRIKE: A MOVING STORY

We reproduce below a graphic and picturesque account of a Students' strike from the *Madras Mirror*. It clearly reveals the new spirit that pervades the student-world. The matter, it may be noted, is not in anywise with 'school boy non-co-operation,' though the admission that "Indian politics is being done method, without, created with excitement and a fine spiritual quality by the high demands made upon it by the younger generation," may surely have started the ideal quality of such his nature co-operation:—

"In the long holidays when I have, I was working at my desk in my office, when a sudden bell rang reached my ears. It presently grew more and more distinct, and glowing out of my window I found, far away in the street below, several hundred of boys, Hindus and Mohammedans, carrying paper double life, with loud strains of Hindu Melodics. It was moving right in my many college students showing out their bold challenge against the existing order of things in the heart of these gentlemen and students taking things as they would happen to them in the street. For the purpose of the boys were not with them in this movement, and the boys had chosen their part with their hearts. Though at a lively distance from political level as national, it had reached my ears through several channels that for some days previous the college and the schools of the town were all agog with a sense of an approaching work, of mighty things coming to pass a system and habits unacquainted with in the distance, there was the great public meeting, a general gathering by the large the college, where both sides of the question were defended, in which the presence of the boys was also desired to take part in opinions and speakers.

In their meetings, the majority of the boys exhibited itself by such symptoms as these: the gentlemen were asked to show, by some ten, this set of self meeting, that they desired to play the role of advisers in preference to Mahatma Gandhi whose idea was one long member of self, and the future Minister in charge of the problem of education was called a 'dread' There were various meetings by the gentlemen: groups of repeated meetings, Hindu and Mohammedans, were met with at the street corners, especially discussed, the past and aims of the students. There were some among the students who had advised caution and delay, in view of the coming Congress at Dacca, where non-co-operation would receive the final verdict of the country, but others there were whom indignantly would look to India, and the resolutions showed that they had won the day. As the day wore on, a determined gathering, an educated professional gentlemen, came to consult me about the matter who had joined the strike. He gave me a preliminary account as to how he had found Mahatma Gandhi but not to my surprise. He had even threatened to turn back, but the boys were fully prepared for it and said that he would not give up the cause of his countrymen. The gentleman had heard from his wife that the day before the boy had taken a great saying that since the time might come when he would not have a single word a day. And now that the boy was gone his number was diminished. The same gentleman told me that some who had attended of the boys' meetings had found that they could argue, create and debate easily and to good style, and that it was not quite so very hard to bring all these arguments.



# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi.)

New Series }  
Vol. II No. 21 }

JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH AND APRIL 1930

Price 1000 Annas  
Five Cents.

### CO-OPERATION THROUGH COERCION\*

(By J. I. Mookerjee.)

Young India, crowded last week with instances of gripping of individual Non-cooperation workers in the Punjab and the Punjab, shows that the gag has been applied to two states, whereas, while four popular fronts, organisations as one of them have been arrested into delinquency, Delhi and Lahore have also upon last week produced under the Indian Act, but while one National and three Khadda organisations have been arrested under the same, the Central Law Amendment Act. So it seems the British rule having retained the faculty of those applied to the "color method" and "black" men, with which in the country, we are according to entering its operations by means. The Royal Engineers the Duke of Cornwall is now to arrive at the Imperial capital and he must be able to speak the language of an "anti-constitutional" propaganda of the very heart of the Government, but the world will witness one of the greatest—perhaps the greatest—drama ever created, about the entering in of a new era in the world and Responsible Government, by the resignation of the new legislators. For while within the four walls of the Council Chamber the Royal Engineers, the Ministry, and the official and non-official "honorables" and "M. L. As" will be absent from the scene, yet beyond these very walls some will dare to stand and speak, or even to write, unless it be to hang upon the head the extreme signs of respect and reverence have and legislation. The role of a daring, independent protest, against the demagogues of the Khadda and the Ministry, the Ministers of the delinquency, and of a world-defending demand of complete separation and independence of the self-governed nation dignity of the two great communities, would have been seen through the close walls of the Council Chamber and through the like, desperate notes of the day, "honorables", or the world, standing room of the appointed "honorables". The reason stated by the gag will also help to bring the other legislatures of the new legislators at its very essence. The question is now as to the newly constituted members in any way safeguard the right of public meeting, liberty of the press and the right of association, which are among the safeguarded, primary rights of mankind and will which have ever been the special mark under the British flag?

But what is the justification for the application of such extreme measures? The circumstances stated by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi may be summarized in the following two sentences — "These organisations and meetings have now become 'a serious menace to the moral life and public discipline of peaceful and law-abiding citizens of Delhi' and, "The Government has good reason to believe that discipline necessary for the public peace and order are not only engaged to the law-abiding population of Delhi and in their interest, but confined to secure the 'honorables' and the presence of the Central Law Amendment Act."

In these expressions to come within a potential "menace to the peaceful and law-abiding citizens of Delhi," the Government have given every thing and betrayed the confidence of their mind themselves at meetings of law-abiding citizens of Delhi is always absolutely voluntary, and the right of holding public meetings should not be arrested away from them, because, according to the Government themselves, a law speak is begun to show the right. The voluntary laws of the Government are all sufficient and even should enough to permit them to do so—whether the allegations true or otherwise—the have seized the right and created a delinquency etc. One objection of the working of the voluntary laws, however, is a better response. In most of the governments in the world, such a sort of emergency and suspension laws have been brought in support of the charges against the accused persons.

The history of the operations of such repression measures in other countries, such the official apology in the country. Dr. Bhabha, Mr. J. I. Mookerjee and other legislative members, declaring delinquency organisations and committees (legal and voluntary), have had their names and applications not when "National volunteers" of the public peace and order are already engaged to the cause of the "population," but while these measures had been with the help of them (I have my own).

But take in our charge. The self-preserving institutions of the West are supposed to rise in its help. The opposite demand they do in the Indian case. India only be self-determination, but not according to the wishes of the people of India. The self-determination would be "according" to the degree to be determined by an "inter-territorial" and "British" who would, and judge his progress from a distance of 1000 miles. Their way in those rule or Responsible Government but the Executive need not be responsible to the legislature. The very

exercise might be taken, but in the proper form of 1) p. r. address of letters usually, till after ten years full 20 1/2 p. r. is needed. There may be popular legislatures whose members, representing 5, 10, 15, or at the most 20 p. r. of the entire strength of voters, sit and deliberate against the explicit wish and will of the majority of the electorate. And where, in such particular instances, a new era of liberty may arise, but without the above-mentioned rights of assemblies, of public meeting and of free expression of opinion, and where the Government may justify encroachments of these rights, of the "powerful and law abiding mass of the population" because of their supposed abuse by some unknown and unaccounted persons.

Then the constitution can live more and have its being richer by total surrender and non-recognition of the fundamental rights of the citizen, or by keeping the "mass of the population" of the part of the largest, covering them thereby into an unwilling co-operation.

But where under the sun has one found of course being successful in expounding and fully developing a voluntary co-operation either on the part of an individual or a community? The Delhi town meetings. And with a hundred other hundred instances may succeed, one instance, in referring one from physical action, and showing their actual experience in their processes, but we have yet to learn whether such concerns, or however many like them, bring the creation of mass and group, one ever creates a free and high minded people from giving full play to the requirements of the spirit, whose presence, for what concern or matter, they may refuse from action. And India, the first and best spiritual India, will, despite all, continue to think and hold her opinions, in the freest manner possible, at the farthest limit of the day and the policy of disclosure and disclosure that it involves.

#### FARIEE ROYSTER'S DONATION OF Rs. 40,000 FOR NATIONAL SCHOOLS

Mr. Royston Jeyaraj of Madras who has always taken a lead in public affairs and has suffered imprisonment on a false Delhi writes to Mr. Gandhi:

I am wishing your good movement and wish you success. If you request the Government Schools you must start national schools in the villages for the poor children. You may on my account build your own schools each costing Rs. 20,000, more or less, the condition being that the local leaders guarantee that the school will be maintained permanently, and let there be a deed drawn up.

I feel that his request and therefore I must ask you to allow me, through you, to do something for my motherland in her time of need. I am especially anxious about the schools, and make a donation of Rs. 40,000 for four new school buildings, the up keep to be undertaken by the people. You may see how we join hand. If you like to hold slight school meeting half the amount each you may do so. There will be no difficulty for funds and I will send an arrange for payment to be made to you.

## Notes.

**Rebuke the Women.**—We may learn much from the women of India. I wish the Englishmen as well as our own nationalists in the efficacy or the necessity of non-co-operation were to witness the demonstrations of the women of India in favour of non-co-operation. Everywhere they have defied on their husbands and husbands. They have even come out of their parlours and given Madras Street. Ah and see their bearing. They have indignantly rebuked the people of the movement. Their hearts have been touched. They have given up their pearl and diamond bangles, their earrings and their rings. All have come—both rich and poor—and given to their husbands and accompanied them with such gifts, rich because of the absolutely voluntary nature thereof. They have understood, too, that the party of the poor women of India is leader in the matter of the opening school. They do not look to the standard of non-co-operation through hatred.

**The other side.**—But the men are impatient and grievously so as they are expected to have done at Delhi and in Bengal. It was cruel and unfair to deny the rights of women to the corps of a man when the needed non-co-operation (if they were non-co-operators) defied it. It was silly to draw, at a place in last Bengal might call on a candidate who let give his address as a council member, or to set the mark of a vote for during to success his vote. There are just the ways of thinking one own purpose. Non-co-operation is non-stated not merely in regard to the Englishmen and government officials. It has to be equally so as between ourselves. A non-cooperator is as much entitled to freedom of action, speech and thought as the talked among non-co-operators. Non-co-operation is directed against all wrong. Every non-cooperator therefore regards the freedom of his name by referring to violence. It is a sure sign of want of faith in his mission.

**More Resignation.**—Whether it is in answer to the Delhi incident or what, the Englishmen withings' feet or upon applied to Delhi and official violence were demanded. I am unable to say much about this aggressive movement in the absence of more information. But that I know that the orders of detachment, prohibition of meetings, orders to stand by completely carried out if the campaign is to be quickly carried to a successful issue. We must be able to conduct the movement without public meetings and placards if need be. The discipline order has not worth necessary. No government on the world can prevent a man from rendering any service of his worth to. He does not need a label to enable him to do so. But volunteers must act on as the police is reported to do. They must not increase those who do not feel in with their views. They are not only not members of the scheme.

M. K. G.

#### TO THE DELEGATES AND VISITORS AT MADRAS CONGRESS

Those of the delegates visitors and others who will assemble at Madras and who are not members are to this journal and desire to do so may pay their subscription to Messrs. Pichai and Shanmugam at Gandhi's press, Nagpur.



### NON-CO-OPERATION IN BEHAR

Before 1905 but to 1911 all other provinces as far as non-co-operation is concerned in common. Mahatma Gandhi and Madhusudan Ghosh had their Belur tour only a week ago.

They addressed largely attended meetings of students at every place they visited, and we were sure their visit shows as good results as in Belur. Soon after they left Patna, the students of the Engineering College there—over two thousand in number—left their College as a body and sought shelter in the general bungalow on the Ganga-shore at Patna conducted by that great Father-Mentor Mr. K. M. Das, who has literally burnt his boats has left his palace "Mahatma Mandir" for good, and his family to his country house at Chapra, where they are living on a weekly pension, and having (through his friend) all his lectures, lessons learnt from top to toe in English, Khadija, and in now living in Gandhi's Ashram, having determined to give the rest of his life to Swamy-ji. He had got together a whole number of workers and was working with the cooperation of the Ashram who entirely free strong students of Engineering students revealed his practical ideas, and however, in detail the same cannot but to make it more so that of "the successful non-co-operation" series of the students have since been called away by their parents, but the remaining 100 are busy digging foundations for a workshop and making openings which will give the Ashram will be a busy opening and working workshop. Many students of the Belur Ashram College have followed suit, and they and a large number of students of the Madanipur College—so that that 125 in number—have created an admirable demand for a national college, which the leaders are busy making every endeavor to satisfy. Dada Das, Kishore Prasad, one of the leading co-workers of Mr. Gandhi at the time of the Champaran Agrarian struggle, and later to Mr. Mahatma Das writes that all non-co-operation—making the appointment of a professional staff composed entirely of local non-co-operationists—have been made. An education committee has also been formed, which will control the national school in the province.

We also write that a Swamy-ji Sabha for the province has been formed which has amongst its members all the leading non-co-operationists. They of the Sabha on the general body of the Sabha will definitely withdraw from parents from their contact, and then whose interest upon the month will be very great. This is true.

It will be remembered that when Mr. Gandhi was in Belur he himself had the foundation of a national school at Hajipur, and a national school at Chapra was also soon to be opened. Mr. K. M. Das, Kishore Prasad writes as in the *Swamy-ji Academy* in his own town, of which he is the president of the Board of Trustees, that he is making every effort to see that the institution is soon opened.

belur school is a purely private maintained—and that if he fails he will resign his trusteeship.

The Indian students thus deserve to be warmly congratulated on the progress they have been making.

Subscriptions too, were collected at all the meetings. Over Rs. 1,000 were paid in cash. The students gave away their ornaments including pearl and diamond bangles and rings. They might as well as have had an additional Rs. 1,000.

### THE REVIVAL OF HANDICRAFTS IN INDIA

(By G. F. Anderson.)

#### I

Along with Mahatma Gandhi, I firmly believe that the revival of handicrafts in India—the expansion wherever possible of machine-made and foreign goods by hand-made and domestic goods,—will bring about, more than any other national cause, the regeneration of our villages. And the revival of handicrafts in our villages may ultimately mean the regeneration of India herself, because eighty per cent, at least, of the Indian population still lives in the country, not in the town. In the few pages, I propose to trace the causes of the decline of the villages, owing to the loss of their village handicrafts. In my second paper, I shall try to show, how truly Mahatma Gandhi has grasped the very central issue in the problem of Indian village revival.

The British conquerors have most profoundly affected the villages of India than any previous rulers. Other conquerors except even the Arabs, the British invaders destroyed the main principle of village life itself,—the principle of self-support and self-sufficiency. It made the village households more and more dependent, on the very necessities of modern life, on the outside and foreign world. Perhaps no more material change has ever happened in India than this, and—let it be again and again repeated and remembered,—Indian village life is the heart and soul of Indian History.

I wish to state some of these unfortunate causes which have thus destroyed these foundations of Indian village life.

(1) Part of all these was the wholesale plunder by the East India Company (and such its officers, from the highest to the lowest) The evidence for this is abundant. While searching through the Historical Records of the East India Company a short time ago, I came across one single statement, which has not yet, so far as I am aware, been published to modern times. There is an allusion to it in Herbert Spencer's "Sociology," but it is not quoted. It runs as follows:—

"To the Honourable, the Court of Directors,  
London.

"The objects of a grand scheme, which visited these provinces in the year 1775, and regred during the whole course of that year, had been regularly made known to you by our former officers, and the influence of the Revenue had being

as yet unaccounted and even withheld, except by loans from whom it is collected. First, notwithstanding the loss of at least one-third of the inhabitants of the province (i. e., Bengal) and the consequent decrease of the collection, the net collections of 1871 exceeded even those of 1799, as will appear from the following abstract of accounts—

1799-1798	Rs.	12,254,556
1799-1800	„	15,149,149
1870-1871	„	24,289,029
1871-1872	„	18,233,860

“It was naturally to be expected that the dominion of the province should have kept an equal pace with the other possessions of the great monarchy. That it did not, was owing to its being violently kept up to a former standard.” (Signed) Warren Hastings, &c.

These are the signatures of the other Council members, which I did not copy down at the time.

I wish to go over the passage once more, in order to make its significance abundantly clear. It seems that, at a time when at least one-third of the population of Bengal had perished in a single year from famine, and a very large area of land had become a wilderness because the remaining population was too feeble and scattered to till the soil, at such a time Warren Hastings and his Council wrong not of the collected peasantry, at the peak of the woe, an area larger even than the most prosperous provinces of India. I will now write down again those terrible concluding words, which an Indian can afford to forget—

“It was naturally to be expected that the dominion of the province should have kept pace with the other possessions of a great monarchy. That it did not, was owing to its being violently kept up to its former standard.”

§3. Furthermore, the East India Company's revenues were all the early collections of money that were “violently kept up.” The private profits of every officer who came out from England in order to “shake the people free,” produced a still greater depletion of wealth from India. From Clive's Coromandel, this wholesale plunder went on in Bengal. It was not less outrageous in Madras and in the West of India. To take one instance only, the heavy tribute of the Pitt lands in the Elizabethan century was based on the plunder from Malwa.

This ill-gotten money enriched England in exactly the same way that Spain was suddenly enriched nearly two centuries earlier by the plunder of the American “virginians.” There is practically no difference between the knowledge of the New World and the Old.

All this incalculable wealth, which poured into England from India, represented the Indian villages. It soon began to hang about, more and more, the inhabitants of the villages and their dependents on outside help, for they were forced to sell their produce outside and to get heavily into debt in order to obtain money to satisfy the

local gentry for gold, and the richness of the revenues which were “violently kept up.”

(2) But this was only the beginning of slavery. The very money, which they paid to their foreign free-borders, was used, as capital to England, either for Indian or for further dominions. The English manufacturers used this new wealth from India,—

- (a) to increase manufactures and commerce,
- (b) to defeat Napoleon on war,
- (c) to control the markets of the world and to explore weaker ones.

(To be Continued.)

## AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. BEN BLOOM.

(Special to Young India.)

Mr. Ben Bloom, U. S. official delegate of the South Indian Party was here at Allahabad for a few days. A welcome meeting was held in his honour when Mr. Bloom gave a very impressive address. During his stay Mr. Bloom visited several of the local national education. Before his departure he had an interesting interview with Mr. Spoor of which the following is an authentic version—

INDIA AND LABOUR PARTY.

Q.—Did the Labour Conference adopt a resolution in favour of self-determination for India at its last session? If so, can I be understood that your party is pledged to support the Indian National Congress if it claims “Swarajya according to the wishes of the people of India”?

A.—Yes, I would that resolution. There was no qualification about it whatsoever. Strongly adopted it, the party is certainly pledged to the policy of self-determination. And it will continue to strive for that principle being secured and applied.

Q.—Then it follows that the Labour Party is bound to support the Congress on that claim when it comes into power?

A.—There is no legal reason for that.

Q.—What are the prospects of the Labour Party coming into power?

A.—I am so pledged. But I will tell you what our chances are. We will support about 600 seats at the next election. The prospects of our winning of that 600 seats are exceedingly good at that, you see, we do not come into power at the next election. But after the life of the next Parliament, very likely Labour will come into power.

If you like I will give you my forecast. The Liberal party has almost ceased to exist in Britain. That does not mean that Labourism is dead. But an increasing degree of Labourism is forthcoming, through the Labour Party. It seems quite clear that we shall have two parties Labour on one side and Tory capitalism on the other.

THE CASE.

Q.—Mr. Spoor, you condemn the warlike attitude created by the French and the British brigades. What do you think your constituents would have done under such circumstances?

A.—Why, the whole of our history is an answer to that question. The facts in the 17th century we had one France's King. And you know, the other events that have made Britain the richest country in the world. Our people would never have created without serious resistance.

Q—I suppose you mean by members that there would have been violence?

A—Yes, I fear so.

**THE MOVEMENTS OF NON-CO-OPERATION**

Q—Then, don't you think that it is rather difficult, if not altogether impossible, for members to understand and appreciate the spiritual aspect of the Non-co-operation movement in India because of their training and outlook?

A—Yes, I think it is very difficult for Westerners to comprehend this side. It strikes me I may be wrong—that the majority is essentially Eastern.

Q—Do you think Egypt profited by adopting the Indian method?

A—The independent and nearly absolute of Egyptian leaders did inspire England and influenced the formation of the constitution for her.

Q—Have you not done, year after year, part of the country covered everywhere, first when regarding the non-violent side and of the Non-co-operation movement and being provided to, and isolated among the minds of the people of the country?

A—Yes, at all the meetings I have attended I find great emphasis put on the non-violent character of the movement, the speeches that I have heard all here in this hall ground the idea of non-violent methods rather than inspire enthusiasm and the people seemed to respond to these comments.

#### THE PROTESTS

Q—You appreciate, also, that Mr Gandhi's propaganda has been successful in that direction?

A—I certainly believe in the moral value of Mr Gandhi's propaganda—this that out of course cannot be to the support of it as an immediately practical step.

Q—It comes you mean to see that for yourself, You have seen it on the side of the country and you propose to visit other parts of the country and the Congress, and meet Mr Gandhi before coming to final conclusion?

A—Yes, that is so.

Q—But don't you think if India were not this much united successfully, it will break the whole world that would come to support the British here?

A—Yes, undoubtedly, I have dealt with this point in my speech on the 22nd.

#### BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS

Q—Have you noticed that a very important percentage of votes in each constituency have voted in a walk-out of the Non-co-operation movement?

A—Yes, that has been brought to my notice, and as far as I can see the last year to be successful propaganda of the Non-co-operation movement.

Q—What would you do if 75 per cent of voters in your constituency declare openly that they do not wish to be represented in the council and that you are there against their wishes?

A—All I can say is that I would not like to be in that unhappy position.

Q—It is true that as representative institutions, a member can be in there only as representing the whole constituency?

A—Yes.

#### MOVING OF SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

Q—It has been suggested that moving of schools and colleges will not bring the Government in all. Do you think it does not affect their progress?

A—Certainly, it lowers the prestige of the Government. It would particularly raise the prestige of the

movement and if institutions spring up to replace them successful even without delay.

Q—I understand that you visited some National Institutions in Ahmedabad. What impression did you have?

A—I was profoundly impressed by the wonderful spirit of the students. India seems in these schools to be getting back to her own deep roots in religion and philosophy.

#### REPORT ON YACHTING

Asked whether allegations made in certain quarters that the Labour Party did not represent the Congress now have taken seriously in the House of Commons when the motion was being discussed there, Mr. Spence denied the charge. Accordingly was greeted impatient for the sake of convenience. If any statement was wanted it would this to point out that it was due in the House to avoid duplication. In the connection he was explicit that without the knowledge of the Indian situation it would have been impossible for him and his colleagues to have done half as much as they did. He was particularly grateful to Mr. V. J. Patel, the Secretary to the Congress Organisation, who, he said, worked with a delightful energy and enthusiasm. He thought that valuable work could be done in England and America by securing a wide knowledge of Indian problems, and most of the resolutions of India could be discussed through the English press. Asked if he would suggest release of foreign propaganda in the evidence of absence of a programme here, he said that in progress of help should derive as from dealing out a course of events.

Q—Don't you think that it is high time for the Labour Party to maintain a Department in the country to keep their party in touch with the progress of the present movement, rather than report India, to send a Department afterwards than that?

A—The Labour Party has recently sent deputations to various countries including India and I have no doubt that they will do more when the funds permit.

#### MR. GANDHI'S CALCUTTA SPEECH

The following is a fairly full report of Mr. Gandhi's important speech at Calcutta on the 19th instant, as would possibly be desired—

#### THE KEY FOR SETTLEMENT IN INDIA

The key lies, that is what you must understand that which is bound to be the National system of expression throughout Hindustan is gatherings of Indians belonging to different parts of the land, above the height of the degradation in which we have sunk, and points to the extreme necessity of the Non-co-operation movement which is intended to lift us out of that condition. This Government has been instrumental in degrading you has great interest in your eyes, and it is impossible to be free from it without co-operation amongst ourselves which is so important without a national system of expression.

#### GOOD VIOLENT (PROGRESSIVE) NON-CO-OPERATION

But I can not have to say to you for this motion. I am to plead for the acceptance by the country of the programme of non-violent, progressive non-co-operation. Now all the words that I have used here are absolutely necessary and the two adjectives 'progressive' and 'non-violent' are integral part of a whole. With an anti-op

less is part of my religion, a matter of creed. But with the great number of Hindoos non-violence is a policy, with thousands, it is a religion. If Hindu is as equally a matter of policy, then whether it is a creed or a policy, it is entirely responsible for you to think the programme for the advancement of the millions of India, while it is recognizing the necessity and the value of non-violence. Violence may for a moment and in some extreme cases of necessity but it could not on the long run achieve any appreciable result. On the other hand all violence would prove disastrous to the future and self-respect of the nation. The lines laid down by the Government of India show that non-violence is not a mere religious, military organization has gone up, and proportionately but it gives rise to progress. The hands of our slavery have been loosed all the stronger for our having offered violence. And the whole history of British rule in India is a demonstration of this fact that we have never been able to offer successful violence. Would therefore I say that rather than have the pain of a Government that has to be maintained, or, I would not want violence, I would agree with all the symptoms that I can command that India will never be able to regain her own by methods of violence.

#### THE SWARAJ OF MY IDEAL.

Lord Boddley who has been one of the best of our country's leaders in India has been visited by a young man, one of our students in this country, from whom I do not want to withdraw a struggle word of it, I would say to you on this occasion that I do not ask India to follow me today the methods prescribed to my brother. If they could do that they would have India. India is in a year but on a day, and India by realizing that what wants to appear as non-violence was the rest of the world. But it must remain a day dream until we have for the time being. What I am doing to day is that I am giving the country a preliminary programme and the also lines of its courts, ports, telegraphs and so on, things that for the attainment of the preliminary Swaraj. I am talking you to do that so long, so we do not reduce our vision from that horizon, we are co-operating with it through schools, law courts and courts, through letters and and military and payment of taxes and foreign trade.

#### WHAT SWARAJ MEANS.

The moment that we try to realize our non-co-operation as offered, the Government would rather to give, if I knew that the masses were prepared for the whole programme at once, I would not delay in getting it at once to work. It is not possible, at the present moment, to prevent the masses from learning our own words against those who want to maintain the law, it is not possible that the military would lay down their arms without the slightest violence. If that were possible today, I would propose all the stages of non-co-operation to be worked simultaneously. But we have not secured that needed over the masses, we have only a half-hearted way progress from the nation's life in mastering a language which we need least for winning our liberty, we have scattered all these years in learning liberty from Milton and Shakespeare, in deriving inspiration from the pages of Hall, which liberty could be learnt at our doors. We have thus succeeded in leading ourselves from the masses, we have been disappointed. We have killed them 20 years by

with our education in order to prepare for nation. We have not upon the political and from these delivered languages to them in a language they do not understand and we are today that we are unable to conduct large gatherings in a disciplined manner. And the culprit in the manner of masses. How is therefore our reason why I have introduced the word 'progressive' in the non-co-operation resolution. Without any introduction I say you that I understood the word much better than any one amongst the educated Indians. I wanted that the masses are not ready for suspension of payment of taxes. They have not yet become sufficient self-control. If I was sure of non-violence on their part I would ask them to suspend payment today and not waste a single moment of the nation's time. But as the liberty of India has become a general liberty of India it is that it is I would not therefore delay a moment if I found that the whole of the programme could be carried out.

#### WHY NON-VIOLENCE?

It gives us to see the face of our own country's leaders in this assembly. We must have the trumpet voice of Gandhiji's Swaraj, who has rendered immeasurably service to the country. And though we stand as public enemies today, though we are aware of our differences with him, we must respect him with becoming respect. I do not ask you to give up a single word of principle. I urge non-violence as a language and as deed. If non-violence is successful in our dealings with the Government it is more successful in our dealings with our leaders. And it gives us a deep to hear of several instances of violence reported to have been used in that respect against our very people. I was pleased to hear that the case of a man who had voted in the present election had been a bit, and might not had been. There is a bit of a man who had stood in a candidate. Non-violence is never going to succeed in this way. It will not succeed unless we make an atmosphere of perfect freedom, unless we give our opponents liberty as much as we give. The liberty of faith, conscience, thought and action which we claim for ourselves must be extended equally to others. Non-co-operation is a process of purification and we must constantly try to keep the hearts of those who differ from us, their minds, and their emotions, but never their hearts. Non-violence and restraint are the cardinal principles of our conduct and I will prosecute any sort of physical assault against me. I was deeply pained therefore to hear of the cruel attack on a dead body in India and feel that if it was the source of non-co-operation they have disgraced themselves and their creed. I repeat we cannot do any but lead through violence.

#### SWARAJ IN ONE YEAR.

It was not a year when I realize the progress of India that Swaraj could be established in one year if there was sufficient response from the masses. Three months of this year are gone. If we are true to our souls, true to our nation, true to the cause we say, if we are true to the Bhagavad Gita and the Gita, we would finish the programme in the present year. We have delivered India in the Punjab and India.

I have proposed a limited programme suitable within one year, having regard to the educational classes. We seem to be hesitating under the distance that we cannot possibly be a village. Certainly, few courts and schools provided by the Government. The moment we are finally asked we have Swaraj. In a shortening both by Government and the general that a limited educational programme should be made to be a nation composed of three hundred millions. And how will they can be done. It is known we have been divided and they have failed. I have never forgotten Karam's death, my





# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

New Series  
Vol. II No. 21

ANNEALED, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 25th 1921

Price Two Annas  
Per Copy.

## Notes.

**A gospel of hate?**—The Indian Independent has made its very special non-co-operation. I do wish Indians will try to understand public questions by first dealing with them. The Indian Independent is a Christian journal and has a right to express a free knowledge of subjects treated in a responsible journal devoted to religious readers. To do so will serve, says the Independent, a common unity by means of a common hate. That appears, as far as its intention goes, to be the reason in which Mr. Gandhi, the chief, has expounded himself. Mr. Gandhi, who has endeavored to study the movement as an on-looker says that it is not based on hate. I have read to myself that paragraph the last few days of most quiet, in which neither parents have or making the largest contribution, people feel their purpose, unconsciously it may be, by striving to have conditions on individual life.

**A common danger.**—It is a common danger, a common affliction, that is striking Hindus and Muslims. I have no wonder to greet as others say "I already as long struggle had illness. With us it has been together not strangers but neighbor, one of the same sort."

**British rule—an evil.**—The Independent is however more to the point in saying, "Does Mr. Gandhi hold without hesitation or reserve that British rule is hate as abhorrent evil and that the people of India are to be taught so to regard it? He would hold it to be an evil that the wrong it does out-weigh the benefit it confers, he may as it non-co-operation to be justified as the less of evils or of evils." My answer is emphatically on the affirmative. So long as I believe that the non-co-operation of the people of India, Empire was good, I stand as it accepts what I need to regard as temporary alternatives. I am not sorry for having done so. But having my eyes opened, it would be no for me to associate myself with the Empire unless it purges itself of its evil character. I write the wife versus and I should be pleased if I discovered that I was in error and that my present attitude was a mistake. The continuous financial drain, the concentration of the Punjab and the largest of the Indian resources, the concentration of my health, the financial robbery of India, the knowledge of your treatment I receive, therefore, to be a cause. We would have at least professed like the other nations have not

and women, instead of feeling as we do an utterly helpless, if we had an British rule regarding us as an equal power. The blessing of roads and railways in a nation as well as providing water would accept for its development. The blessing of education as providing one of the greatest obstacles in our progress towards freedom.

**A movement of generalization.**—The best of that non-co-operation by means of its non-co-operation has become a religious and purifying movement. It is daily bringing strength to the nation, clearing of its weak spots and the remedy for removing them. It is a movement of self-reliance. It is the mightiest force for revolutionizing opinion and stimulating thought. It is a movement of self-organized self-help and therefore possesses automatic strength against all foreign and capitalist. The capacity of the nation for reforming opinion its advance towards freedom. It is the basis of self-reliance and self-organization as it is, in my sleep or in my

**A Day Over Fiji.**—The Indian Independent's statement that powerful support to the movement. My editorial correspondence analyzes the reasons for our non-co-operation being retained as such large numbers as they have done and are still doing in Fiji, not even the women were immune from prosecution and imprisonment. Of course there is no reason why the men should receive immunity from punishment, for a proved crime. But all the economic removal from Fiji go to prove that the prosecution of Fiji was very like those of the League—a method of oppression adopted for making the spirit of a people struggling to be somewhat free, I am that we shall bring back support to our distressed countrymen in Fiji by making a Congress delegation. I do thoroughly believe in the Fiji Government. It will stand no history to the Government for conducting an agency. The Government may even be stopped by the Indian Government from leaving the Indian shore. For as the Fiji trouble affects more cases for questioning the non-co-operation movement, meanwhile we must do everything we can to look after those who may return to India. For returning Indians must not be left to sink for themselves, left disappointed, and then deal of going back to Fiji. I am glad therefore that the men who have returned are being looked after by Mr. A. V. Thalaker who has just reached his house in Fiji, and Mr. Bhandari of Madras who is sending Mr. Andrews to his headquarters work.

H. K. G.

## Young India

Announced, Wednesday, 23rd, December, 1920.

### 'ONE STEP ENOUGH FOR ME'

(By Dr. K. Ghosh.)

Mr. Stokes is a Christian who wants to follow the light that God gives him. He has adopted India as his home. He is watching the non-co-operation movement from the Khatola hills where he is living in isolation from the India of the place, and serving the Indians. He has contributed three articles on non-co-operation to the columns of the *Journal of Christian and other papers*. I had the pleasure of reading them during my recent leave. Mr. Stokes approves of non-co-operation but doubts the consequences that may follow complete economic estrangement of India by the British. He compares up before his mind a picture of India created by the English from the North-West, plundered by the British from the Hills. Far from being with Cardinal Newman 'I do not ask to see the distant seas, nor step enough for me.' The movement is essentially religious. The business of every self-seeking man is to dominate himself from and to feel despised of consequence. He must have faith in a good deed producing only a good result. What is my opinion on the Christian doctrine of work without attachment? God does not permit him to step into the future. He follows truth although the following of it may endanger his very life. He knows that it is better to die on the way of God than to live in the way of Satan. Therefore whenever it is asked that the Government improve the strategy of India has no stone left to turn but to surrender himself here it.

However, let us consider the mood that was happen to India on a sudden revelation of India by the British. What does it matter that the British and the Pathans attack us? Surely we would be better able to deal with their violence than we are with the economic straits, moral and physical, propagated by the present government. Mr. Stokes has not come to realize the use of physical force. Surely the unskilled labour of the Khatola, the Hills and the Khamirias waste in a united India may be treated to deal with plunders from any or all the sides. Imagine however the word 'Japan' over-whelming us from the Bay of Bengal, the Ganges from the Hills, and the Pathans from the North-West. If we do not succeed in driving them out, we make terms with them and drive them out of the best opportunity. This will be a most costly course than a religious education in an abjectly wrongful state.

But I refuse to contemplate the dual outlook. If the movement succeeds through non-violent non-co-operation, and that is the expectation. Mr. Stokes has started with the English whether they remain or not, they will do us no friends and under a well-ordered agreement as between partners, I will believe in the goodness of human nature,

whether it is English or any other. I therefore do not believe that the English will have us 'a night'.

And do I consider the British and the English being unscrupulous thieves and robbers without ability to respond to purifying influences? I do not. If India reforms in her own way, it will react upon the neighbouring Empire, she will influence herself in the welfare of those hardy but poor people, and even support them if necessary, run out of her land as a matter of neighbourly duty. She will have such work Japan simultaneously with the British. Japan will not wait to invade India, if India has learnt to consider it a sin to use a single foreign article that she can manufacture within her own borders. She produces enough to eat, and her men and women can produce clothing manufacture enough cloth to cover their nakedness and protect themselves from heat and cold. We become gay to ourselves if we create the great of foreign articles by dealing with them under a foreign dependence on them. We must learn to be independent of everyone of them.

Whether therefore we really succeed through violence or non-violence in any manner, the prospect is by no means so gloomy as Mr. Stokes has imagined. Any conceivable prospect is, in my opinion, less bleak than the present economic and political conditions. And we should do better than following our feelings and with confidence the open and honourable programme of non-violence and non-force that we have accepted for ourselves.

### CASTE VS. CLASS

There being a social being has to devise some method of social organization. We in India have evolved caste. They in Europe have organized class. Neither has the similarity and resemblance of a family which perhaps is a God-revealed institution. If caste has produced certain evils, class has not been productive of anything less. As Grand Vyasa once said, 'I have the child-widow who has been so wretched—these learned mendicant monks are able to know.' All the arguments of the Bourgeois and the Communists go to prove that class is neither a natural nor a healthy arrangement of society.

If class helps to ensure certain social virtues, caste does the same to equal, if not greater, degree. The beauty of the caste system is that it does not base itself upon distinctions of wealth, possessions, rank, or history has proved, in the greatest degree, that class is not only against the production of wealth,—says Shankarabhartha. Caste is but an extension of the principle of the family. Both are governed by blood and heredity. Western countries are busy trying to prove that heredity is an illusion and that heredity is everything. The solid experience of many lands goes against the conclusion of these scholars, but even accepting their

doctrine of caste, it is easy to prove that caste can be introduced and developed more through caste than through class. The Anglo-Indian is comparatively incapable of appreciating any outlook but his own. One may understand his violent opposition to everything that goes against his grain. But Indians, whether Hindus or Christians, ought to be able to see that the spirit behind caste is not one of arrogant superiority, it is the classification of different systems of self-culture. It is the best possible adjustment of social stability and progress. Just as the spirit of the family is a measure of those who love each other and are welded to each other by love of blood and relatives, caste also tries to include members of a particular way of purity of life (not standard of life, meaning by this term, minimum standard of life). Only it does not have the freedom, whether a particular family belongs to a particular type, or the classification is introduced by judgment of a few individuals. It rests on the principle of heredity, and being only a system of culture does not hold that any superior or inferior of an individual or a family has to remain in a particular group in spite of their desire to change themselves of life for the better. As we all know, change does not very slowly in social life, and thus, as a matter of fact, caste has allowed new groups to enter the changes in less. But these changes are so quiet and stay in a change in the shape of the death. It is difficult to imagine a better harmonious human adjustment.

Caste does not create superiority or inferiority. It simply organizes different outlooks and corresponding modes of life. But it is so one denying the fact that a sort of hierarchy has been evolved in the caste-system, but it cannot be called the creation of the Brahmins. When all castes accept a common goal of life a hierarchy is inevitable because all castes cannot realize the ideal at equal degree. If all the castes believe that vegetarian diet is superior to animal diet, the vegetarians will naturally be looked upon. There are certain sub-castes in India that have a or stood on a par with each other, and you have not introduced or introduced. Just as a Hindu or a Mohammedan does not think himself an inferior of the other because of his difference of faith, or just as a Brahmin or a Lingayat in Southern India naturally refuse to inter-caste, all castes can realize their food and drink in their own caste. Only by accepting the standard of the Brahmins or the Mohammedans as the best, have the other castes consented to class at the hands of the "purer" caste.

Truth, dharma, food and marriage are progressively private affairs. By refusing to touch a man, you practically refuse all intercourse with him. It is here denied all the basis of social development. The touchable, for instance, can still attend the Kuthira, the Nirvana (religious ceremony). They can enter temples and thus get the first education of religion, culture and arts. In the temple, all the touchable exchange their love and service, and the

caste of untouchables. The "untouchables" are with- outly barred from all that. In many places being required to live outside the village, they are deprived of even the protection of their life and property. In the social doctrine of India they do the almost opposite of the most important duties to society, and they are deprived of the fruits of the great social life which is evolved by the Hindu of caste. Untouchability has made the "depressed" classes, the untouchables of Hindu society. The question of food and drink has to be left to have no social value. It is merely the satisfaction of physical wants. It is, on the other hand, an opportunity for the control of the masses. Introducing vegetarianism has known to promote brotherhood in any social class. But the resistance about inter-caste has to a great extent helped the cultivation of self-power and non-assertion of various social virtues.

### HOW INDIGENOUS EDUCATION WAS CRUSHED IN THE PUNJAB 1848-55

(By Mr. Swaminathan Sanyal B. A.)

The Punjab was the last of all the Provinces of India to come under the direct influence of the English. The Hon. Sir John Lawrence had during a couple of centuries, extended their sphere of influence from Cape to the James, but an educational revolution never thought it worth the trouble to go beyond the English Court. The English Court itself was jealous of any competition upon its northern province—the gateway to Kabul—whilst they still looked upon as their ancestral home.

When the descendants of Akbar began to bring things in their private, the wisdom from the North and the people from within there is in a state of steady and marsh. Under such circumstances the Hindu Sikh began to make his own experiments and individuality. Even afterwards till now, the Hindu kept the hearts of those from all department or marital overtures. They preferred their own society to go into an established order of things where their liberty would be restrained and their religious interfered with. The Hindu like the Hindu is naturally direct, and his direction always leads him on the side of non-assertion, of respect for the party, its institutions and traditions.

So that, when the reins of Government and authority passed into the hands of the Sikhs, both from lack of initiative and requirements of diplomacy, they left unaltered all the old village institutions. Whereas, British administration in other provinces were changing and modifying ancient ways and manners to suit their own requirements, the Sikh ruler was content to let things have their own way, so long as he got the revenues, that he wanted. The result of it all was that most work of village schools which traditions of a thousand years past had spread all over India, was in its full strength here. If any change was made at all, it was to add the Oriental or Hindu, to the Hindu and the Muslim. Instead of there being two traditional features of village youth, now there became three.

The village education was an essential part of the village administration and the provision for it was made in the village expenses. The schoolmaster's field, the "village-master's field" never disappears from the village books. There were every village in the Punjab, a school of some sort, in which elementary education, having a direct bearing on the regular needs of the people, was imparted either less or not, or at a nominal rate of monthly fee. In addition to these schools, there were opened all over the province 'villages' of various grades and descriptions in which the several kinds of the students were kept alive and pined. There were centers of advanced study of Sanskrit, astronomy, mathematics, Grammar, Philosophy and other sciences.

That much good was done in all portions of the country by these village schools and colleges, is beyond doubt, a fact recognized even by the later introduction of indigenous systems. From the advanced villages, in which advanced education (divine and human) was imparted to students of mature age and thought, to the elementary Mahajan, Khatri, and Lathi Schools, there was a very large variety of good classical vernacular and technical schools. The teachers always kept in view the requirements of individual students and the 'proficiency' they were qualifying for.

There was no other motive, as in our schools today, all centered in the same level and catering the education for the sake of the dollar. The resistance to Scripture and the system of repeating lessons in classes on the departure of the school "encouraged such conduct as may be necessary, whilst the regular instruction of the pupil and his desirous to be wick during the time that he was not reading with his tutor circumvented those habits of reflection and of private study, in which the students of present day schools too sadly deficient. Thus again when the student grew older, he was led to have philosophy under one color, and law under another, such in the same way as students of German Universities read various sorts of literature in order to have, say, international law at Heidelberg the Professor of Berlin.

It would not be without interest to point out that from the heaviest burdens in education upon the highest masses in Hindu and Muslim and other great nations was displaced. Ideas of the "Emancipation system" are still found, the simplest method for arranging and keeping attention were resorted to and the mental and moral sagacity of children, according to their sphere of life, were everywhere carefully studied and cultivated. As for the mode of instruction, it also bore in every one of its features the completely practical as well as education of the Hindu legislator.

That the above statement is not an unsupported assertion, I will quote a paragraph from the first educational Dispatch of the Court of Directors which was issued on the 2nd June 1818.

The Directors point out that "the indigenous village schools are a part of the village system and that they have formed a model to schools in England." Again they point out "the venerable and successful institutions of the Hindus is represented to have cultivated the stock of civilization, and to do operations is carried the general intelligence of the entire

In 1818 the Government of the Punjab passed into the hands of the East India Company. The first Board of Administration in the Punjab recognized the full value of the rich educational system, which they inherited from the despotic and demoralizing Sikh constitution. Recognizing the wide spread character of the indigenous education, and the necessity of keeping up old educational traditions alive, the Duke and the Henry Lawrence defined their policy in matters of education in the following words,—"We intend "to set up one school, if not in every village, at least in every circle of villages, so that at least there should be something throughout the land in which the natives do not attend some rudimentary school." How far this policy was actually carried out will be explained in another article.

#### REVIVAL OF HANDICRAFTS—

(By C. F. Andrews).

CONTINUED FROM OUR LAST ISSUE.

Let us see what happened in India. First, the hand-made textile goods from India were protected from entering England by a prohibitive tariff. They were not allowed to compete with English goods. Then, when the home market was thus completely protected, the manufacturers went on to capture the Indian market itself. The raw wool which had been drawn from India was stored in building up the new machinery, run by steam power, and with this new machinery power the British market of the whole world was soon at England's feet.

The weavers of the Indian villages were the first to suffer. No protective tariff was allowed to safeguard them, unprotected and unprotected of national competition was now the world of England, when the wide market of England's looms. Thus, the weaver classes grew more wealthy out of the poverty of the poor of other countries.

The village life of India had already, in former times, passed the narrow of narrow, the village industries and the village occupations. Much of the village industry was derived as by the introduction during the medieval periods of competition between in which agriculture was at a standstill. While the crops were growing, the village hand-loom was being busily plied, but now the hand-loom was driven out of use altogether by the import of cheap Manchester goods. The British rulers naturally encouraged in every way the sale of British goods. Thus the Indian villages were unprotected, and their textile industries were destroyed.

(2) First of all, it must never be forgotten, that all the while, the houses of the large ad-

administrative system was growing heavier upon the impoverished villages. I propose here again to go to a free land movement for my idea.

Second, the oppression of the merchant carried out by the Thugs, had a more extensive extension of Indian village life than any Englishman of his time. He has done the following picture of the foreign administrative burden, which comparing it with the rule of the indigenous administration of Oude—

"There was, in 1857, "in those unhappy days of anarchy, outside British territory, neither manufacturing system of hand weavers nor railways back roads, to weigh down the village proprietors. There was no controlled degree of Court to drive debtors to hopeless despair. The villagers came both from their Court of Bankruptcy, the judge forest, free from encroachments. The Land-tax was fixed with some regard to the coming harvest. Agreements specified when the responsibility of paying within the year was clearly demarcated. The people generally, or at least the greater part of them, would prefer to trade in Oude than in our own British territory, under the rule they are expected to from the uncertainty of our laws, the multiplicity and formality of our Courts, the pride of magistrates of those who preside over them, and the tortiousness and hardness of those who must be employed to prosecute or defend a case in them." Sir James said the passage as follows—

"I am persuaded that, if it were put to the vote among the people of Oude, a vast number out of a hundred would rather remain as they are, without any feeling of anxiety in life or property than have our system introduced in its present completed state."

The mismanagement in Oude, at the time when Sir James wrote, was notorious, and Sir James has disputed it in hard colors. Yet Sir James has positively stated that even a badly managed indigenous administration was preferred by ninety nine per cent of the people themselves to the hard mismanagement of British rule.

If now the whole argument be repeated for the sake of clearness, it amounts to this—

(1) The revenue system under the East India Company was "voluntarily kept up" and the wealth of India was drained from the villages.

(2) The private pilfering which went on for nearly fifty years, with hardly any check, enormously added to the wealth of England and the poverty of the villages of India.

(3) This very wealth was utilized in England to finance the new machinery of the new machine-made traffic industries which went to prove the destruction of Indian village handicrafts.

(4) The funds in England and in India were employed by the companies quite unconsciously to complete the destruction of Indian village handicrafts.

It should not be difficult now clearly to understand how, under all these oppressive and political and

cultural disadvantages, the village industries were found, one by one, to disappear. I have seen hundreds of names down the Ghazal Ghazal, at Delhi,— which used to be, at one time, the greatest market for some of the most flourishing village industries in the world. Yet I have searched from one end to the other for a single village handicraft, and I have not found one. In order to purchase some hand-made drape, I had to go to Shaw Robinson, the Austrian water dealer, who kept (before the war) such things for foreign tourists dealers and globe-travelers and American tourists.

What the removal of Indian village handicrafts may mean to India I shall discuss in another article.

**CONGRESS NEWS.**  
(Special Telegram)

Congress leaders began at two o'clock. The delegates number over sixteen thousand. President's speech which was originally violently against the proposal of Non-co-operation, was, backed up by Lokesh and Gopalakrishna and suspension of pressure by Lokesh, was radically altered in those parts which being read it was widely received. The President was a man of known name. Mr. Speaker's name could reach all an audience meeting held outside the Palace was addressed by Gandhi and others. The Students Conference, presided by some-what noisy majority committee, procedural and complete withdrawal from schools and colleges. The Congress Sahajana Committee made to-day noon. From talks at Ganga, we expect sympathy between Ganga, Maharashtra and Karnataka. Ganga-Karnataka Deshpande in doing splendid work. Ganga Sahajana addressing large meeting explaining Non-co-operation. Mahatma's address of Karnataka and Karnataka attending Congress.

Thousands of letters (Hindu Chitragraha) and a large amount of rejected letters also about an address. Mahatma's address and could not attend personally. Mr. G. K. Das comes with large following. The Western Conference was great success, mainly due to demonstrations of hand-splicing handspinning given by Mr. Mahatma. Ganga who was met by Rajgarh with a large party from Ganga's Sahajana Forum, Sahajana equally for its purpose, large crowds went to watch. Swadeshi, Sahajana and demonstrations which have made many of them students. There is no constant demand from India that the demonstrations be continued for few days, and the party is staying in response. Congress meets again on Tuesday.

**FRINDENT'S ADDRESS**

The President had presented a draft statute containing a declaration of rights to what he also called, a "writing movement", a scheme of Representative Government on the lines of the French constitution, making the legislators not only a law-making body but also a executive body. It is a surprising statement to offer the constitution. This proposition a revolution could be immediately established by Mr. Mahatma's cooperation with it, including Ganga to come with him and about the King Emperor to have emergency institutions by British India under the Great Seal.

He criticised the present situation in (1) Mass Boycottive legislation immediately after completion of Great war on basis of British judges (2) The Punjab Boycott (3) Indemnities, compensation and even apportioning work which Punjab Govt was dealt with by Government of India, the British Government and Parliament and even British public (4) The huge Khilafat Fund by which judges entirely made were edited and qualified away (5) Treatment of Indians abroad and (6) an already doubtful, possible release of Indians, considered and the forced by administrators, and employees.

Non-cooperation establishment of Empire this government on the principle of equal nation by all in the country. He very honest opinion as to the necessity of organized non-cooperation. The Young has pronounced non-cooperation as non-cooperation. But then in the Executive knew that the whole system of British administration in India came to N-C-O, of complete refusal against the acceptance, of the type system, of which people against selected people, several discriminating laws, and administrative measures in India brought with its own principles non-cooperation and non-loyalty was considered from the stand point of British Government. New detailed system of provincial non-loyalty committee belongs to the direct demands of non-cooperation, of the British Government, with abolition of tax. It has nothing whatever in the past of Government to determine Gandhiji's experience with its essential principles of non-cooperation, and non-loyalty and non-violence as non-cooperation, whereas there were non-cooperation, aggressive, and other.

Having met Mr. President examining the programme suggested modifications in cooperation of India, avoiding (disapproval) of administration of law, industrial goods, an explicit opposition in the reports of Schools and Colleges, and to the report of law courts and the suspension of justice by law courts. Instead he advocated, what he characterized, "National Boycott." The Congress must at once accept one special committee with power to appoint sub-committees charged with the important business and working them. They must select funds and appoint where necessary for starting various law schools by day and by night for the benefit of labourers, the building, law courts, dress-makers and so forth. Thus we must deal with problems of our own, abroad, especially in the British Colonies. We must stand in the position of these countries' representatives. The country needs the scientific, high moral and lofty, of all law children for the development of our resources to the highest degree in the light of modern science. Thus there is the question of labor organizations and unions for the elimination of the depressed classes. The country has been historic struggles regarding the real problem of the maintenance of unions of our countrymen and our own women designated as "Over and under" and "Of all of classes," and so on. Congress must appoint committees for the purpose of starting and co-operating in governmental connection with all these problems. He also advocated what is called "Starving the English."

We can starve the English factories, the English merchants, traders and manufacturers who produce luxuries and live a comfortable life mostly towards us by producing national articles in better and smaller work more in Railways, posts, Telegraph and telegraph Congress must appoint a sub-committee of experts which branch committee throughout the country for making suitable arrangements for gradual boycott of foreign goods and

for stopping of expenditure of our profits. He concluded that as the most effective method of starving Englishmen was our foreign, finally he urged citizens with British labour.

The Chairman, both financial Department in Madras has been whole-hearted support in the Non-cooperation programme. He asked those who lay great stress upon constructive work, why they were not applying themselves to constructive work instead of sending their energies over futile projects, or quarrelling with those who wanted to work out the Non-co-operation programme.

### SWARAJ IN NINE MONTHS.

Asked by the Young representatives as to his impression formed as a result of his address during the last three months, Mr. Gandhi said—"My own impression of these three months' extensive experience is that the movement of non-cooperation has come to stay, and it is most decidedly a pending movement, in spite of isolated instances of withdrawal, or let someone at Mr. Bennett's meeting in Bombay, at some places in Delhi, Nagpur and even in Gujarat. The people are continuing day after day the spirit of non-violence, not consciously as a creed, but as an inevitable policy. I regret most anything, more than anything else, say, the character of Mr. J. D. Bhan, or the acceptance, by the people of our violence. If the Government could be moved beyond any possibility of doubt that no violence would ever be offered, by the Government would look that moment after the alternative unconsciously and certainly, but now the law surely we that moment."

"What is the remedy,—or what direction?" asked the Young representatives.

"Certainly in the direction which we ask it should move—that being in the direction of Government becoming responsible in a very real of the nation."

"Will you kindly explain further?" asked our representative.

"By that I mean," said Mr. Gandhi, "people will be able by meeting themselves through local demonstrations and resolutions to provide evidence of the Khilafat wrong, the People wrong, and others the wrong of their rulers."

"But what is your remedy, and what does the Government come in the middle Government which you say will alter its character completely?"

### SWARAJ OF MY IDEAL.

"My Young," said Mr. Gandhi, "in the Parliamentary government of India is the realization of the aim for the time being, and that government would be moved in its other through the healthy action of the British people as without them."

"What do you mean by the phrase, 'without them'?" questioned the representatives.

"This movement," advised Mr. Gandhi, "is an endeavor to judge the present Government of affairs and great which demands almost every one of their attention. Suppose that we have with it possible by demonstration from them to find their great. They might not wish to remain in India, or happened in the case of Swaraj, when the moment of independence arrived in a paying programme they wanted it."

"How do you think," queried the representatives, "the justice law will work out?"

"What I have stated before you," said Mr. Gandhi, "is the best possibility. What I regard is that

nothing of that kind will happen. It is as if I had not stated the British people I will recognize the force of public opinion when it has become real and potent. Then, and only then, will they realize the Indian agitation which in their name the Imperial education and their educationalists in India have perpetrated! They will then face squarely the two wrongs in accordance with the wishes of the people, and they will also offer a compensation entirely in accordance with the wishes of the people of India, as represented by their chosen leaders.

Supposing that the British Government wish to retain Indian India as not a paying concern, what do you think will then be the position of India?"

#### THE LOAN AND THE LAMB.

Mr. Gandhi answered: "At this stage surely it is easy to understand that India will have evolved a line extending spiritual height or the ability to offer violence against violence. She will have evolved an organizing ability of a high order, and will therefore be in every way able to cope with any emergency that might arise."

"In other words," observed the French representative, "you expect the movement of the British Government, if such a contingency arises, will coincide with the movement of India's preparation and ability and readiness to retaliate for India to take over the Indian administration as a going concern and work it for the benefit and advancement of the Indians?"

Mr. Gandhi answered this question with an emphatic affirmative. "My experience during the last year has led me with the hope," continued Mr. Gandhi, "that with in the next months the removal of the yoke of which I have spoken! Swaraj for India we shall achieve the true swaraj and we shall see Swaraj established in accord with the wishes of the people of India."

"There will the general Government be at the end of the next month?" Asked the French representative.

Mr. Gandhi, with a significant smile, said:—"The line will then be with the land."

#### NON-CO-OPERATION AND DEPRESSED CLASSES.

To The Editor of Young India.

Sir, May I draw the responsibility of your editorialist making a few observations on the position you have taken upon the subject of the Depressed Classes? These observations mainly set out my own personal views but also those of some educated and intelligent members of the Depressed Classes with whom I have talked on the subject.

In your article under the heading "Depressed Classes" published in the issue of "Young India" dated 26th 11th 1899, you have appealed to the Depressed Classes to join the Non-co-operation movement. You say that you have now made up your mind to devote exclusive attention to National Non-co-operation, and you further express your confident belief that the movement National Non-co-operation will necessarily and inevitably lead to the removal of the disabilities from which the Depressed Classes are suffering. This belief of yours is one which, I am afraid, will not be shared by many thoughtful people who have carefully studied the attitude of those who are at present taking an active part in the movement of Swaraj. A very large number of those people who hold advanced political views are, I regret to say, social missionaries, they do not realize the necessity of counteracting those social wrongs and injustices which have

been retarding our national progress and growth. What grounds is there that, in case the Non-co-operation movement is successful with success and full freedom established in one year, you have been promising the people, the untouchability and other practices of the Depressed Classes will be removed? On the contrary, the danger is that the untouchability and orthodox caste is in India today will become more powerful than they are at present and add to the disabilities of the Depressed Classes in making even as much social progress as they are making at present.

Many educated and thinking members of the Depressed Classes have expressed to me the fear that the establishment of Swaraj, before the preparations have been made for the maintenance of the existing order will be thoroughly shattered as to some extent again as their present strength, will simply perpetuate the slavery in which they have been condemned for centuries past. They would very much like to join the movement for Swaraj and do their best to promote its success, but they feel convinced that the most pernicious condition is that the forces which are opposed to the abolition of untouchability and other disabilities from which they suffer, should be destroyed once for all. It is a mistake to suppose that their submission to the movement of Non-co-operation or Swaraj is due to the desire on their part to play into the hands of the able British Government. Nothing is further from their mind than to aid in the maintenance of that Government. They refuse as well as you do that thereby they will fall from the flying jet into the sea. They are not uneducated, and have no desire to rely on the British Government for getting their disabilities removed. The British Government, in spite of their rule for over a century, have not been able to help them in the matter, and indeed, on a recent and in the opinion of orthodox Hindus, religious, question like this, it is difficult to see how the British Government can come to their aid and abolish their untouchability.

If therefore they have not as yet joined the movement of Non-co-operation or Swaraj, it is partly due to their feeling that the establishment of Swaraj must be preceded by such a weakening of the orthodox caste as in the Hindu society that they will never again contract the social or religious caste. This class classes to are still powerful and hardly to demand the Non-co-operation of Karver probably held a Religious Conference at Delhi. In that Conference the Depressed Classes were treated as untouchables and were allowed a separate lecture, and very few people even raised protest against the treatment given to them. The Indian National Congress has passed a resolution in favour of the abolition of untouchability, but that resolution has practically remained a dead letter. Most Congressmen took upon the Non-co-operation resolution as mandatory and expect that each and everyone should abide by that resolution whatever his or her views may be. But these very people have not shown the slightest desire to set up to the Congress resolution regarding the removal of untouchability. There are clear indications that the Hindus as a whole do not as yet honestly feel the great wrong that they are doing to the Depressed Classes in still maintaining their untouchability. You appeal to these classes to join the movement of Non-co-operation, but under these circumstances it is not that appeal likely to be a success which may yet be realized? How can we appeal, however noble, cannot bring about co-operation between the Depressed Classes and other members

of a Non-co-operation. It is better naturally and surely than to give the whole population the gift of a chain of gold of their weight by doing away with a small bit of iron.

Do you or do you not agree with Mr. C. F. Andriani in his view that the independence of India must be preceded by the abolition of slavery to which the Depressed Classes are subjected at present? If you do, is it not your chief duty to lead the movement for the abolition of untouchability, at any rate, simultaneously with the movement of Non-co-operation? The best that is expected of you is that whatever and wherever you proceed the Group of Non-co-operation you will aim to aim to the removal of untouchability. Your great passion of heart and heart has given you constant influence with all classes of Indian people, and if you had the resources for the removal of untouchability as yet are leading the movement of Non-co-operation, there is every possibility of untouchability being removed without much delay or delay. The present movement properly fostered and when it reaches you that you should direct resources towards to Non-co-operation but that you should lead both the movement of Non-co-operation and the movement for the abolition of untouchability. If the cause of Indian Swaraj is so closely bound up with the cause of the removal of untouchability, as Mr. Andriani and all thinking people rightly maintain, it is absurd that for the very success of the Swaraj movement express efforts must be made for the removal of untouchability. The Depressed Classes look up to you and feel every hope that if you take up their cause, untouchability will soon be a thing of the past.

THANKS,  
M. S. PRADHAN

Thank You Sir,  
[Mr. Pradhan suggests that Non-co-operation against the Government means non-co-operation among the governed, and if Hindus do not remove the cause of untouchability there will be nothing, whether in one year or in one hundred years. If I write the depressed classes to join the movement of Non-co-operation, I do so because I want them to rid themselves through. Several as an untouchable without the removal of the sin of untouchability as it is within Hindu-Muslim unity. M. K. U.]

**INDIANS IN FIJI**

WHY ARE THEY BEHAVING SO? :  
(In the Editor The Young India.)

The readers of your paper are aware that thirty thousands Indians of Fiji are selling of their property and are ready to start for India. It has often been asked why such a large number of our countrymen have been determined to take this step which means a loss of wealth and health to them. I have talked with many persons who have returned from Fiji by the last two ships and they have told me the following reasons.

The most important reason is that during the recent disturbances in Fiji the Indians were persecuted by the Government, the planters and the European community of the Colony. I need not repeat here how the strike of half-starved Indian labourers for higher wages was broken by the Fiji Government as an "open rebellion," and how that so-called rebellion was put down by the military. The lesson was from Fiji has brought a lot of the plantations that were accepted to our countrymen during the recent disturbances.

Unfortunately something more than five—3 men, 12 months each and 1 man 3 months.

Rank in Women—120 men 1 month each, 20 men 2 weeks, 12 women no work, 1 woman three weeks,

and 1 woman 2 weeks. Drudge-Working in Women—17 men 2 months each, 1 man 12 months, 4 men 12 months and one man 3 years.

Native labourers—3 men 12 months, 1 man and 2 women 12 months, 1 man and 1 woman 2 months, and 1 man 3 months.

Working and menials—2 men 3 years, 1 man 2 years, 2 women 12 months, 1 woman 12 months, 1 man 2 years, 1 man 12 months and one man 12 months.

That 120 Indians—men and women—were sentenced to imprisonment. Most of these have already finished their terms but still there are not less than 20 Indians waiting, in the cells of the colony.

The second reason is the depression of Mr. and Mrs. Masani. Our countrymen in Fiji were a considerable number for the Fiji Government, urged by thousands of Indians, requesting them to try Mr. Masani's labour as open work. They stated in their memorandums that they would leave the colony if justice was not done to Mr. and Mrs. Masani! The Fiji Government sent a very laudable reply to the Indians. Now the Indians are leaving the colony in large numbers and are thus proving that what they stated in their memorandums was not an empty threat.

The third reason is the apathy of the Indian public to the Indian Government and the Marwari Street. The public here has not done anything for the Indians in Fiji. The Indian papers have now—after 9 months—taken up the question when the Masani in Fiji has already been done to a very great extent. The Indian Government has definitely refused to do anything for the Fiji Indians. Mr. George Mason has told us clearly that the Government of India does not feel justified in pressing the removal of the Indian Government, and the colonial office has informed the Indian Overseas Association that the question of Fiji disturbances has been closed. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered why the Indians in Fiji, depressed and disappointed on every side, have determined to leave Fiji. Our countrymen in Fiji have and know this perfectly well that the departure of some thousands of Indians from the Colony is sure to give a great blow to Fiji from which it will not recover soon.

Besides these there are two more reasons to be taken into account. For the last few years no Indians could return from Fiji on account of the war and consequently there was no cash and no representation. The anti-Indian propaganda that was started in Fiji by some Indians, by sending the Indians to British Guiana, has also had its effect.

On the morning of the 18th December I was fortunate enough to hear your views on this subject. You suggest that there is more hope in Fiji urging the Indians to leave the colony. This is quite possible but it is difficult to believe that the Fiji Government will allow any propaganda of this sort, for the departure of thousands of Indians from Fiji means a financial ruin of the Colony.

The Indians in Fiji have asked the opinions of the leaders here, but the problem is a very complicated one and our leaders should not give any definite opinion unless they can get first hand knowledge of the state of affairs in the colony. It has been suggested that the Congress should send a deputation to Fiji to study the situation on the spot. The suggestion is worth consideration. The question of Fiji Indians was always raised by the Special Congress at Calcutta. Will the Congress at Nagpur take it up right earnestly? —M. Sharada Prasad.



# YOUNG INDIA

## INDEX TO VOLUME II.

LEADING ARTICLES BY M. K. GANDHI.

TITLE	No. No.		Subject	No. No.		
	Inst.	Page		Inst.	Page	
<b>H</b>						
Appeal to Madras—An	19	2	Reserve Committee (Mr. Gandhi's Statement) =	1	2	
Appeals—London	18	2	" (Mr. Gandhi's Embassage) =	1, 2, 3, 4	2	
April 24 and 1930	7	2	Evils Without Delay	11, 12, 13, 14	2	
Andrew's Difficultly—Mr	1111	4	How State League—To the Members of the	11	2	
Aligarh	11111	4	Hard Core—A (Bhambhani and Bagg)	111	2	
Aligarh College—To the Trustees of	111111	5	Hard in Madras	1111	4	
Aligarh Boys—In the Presence of	111111	7	<b>I</b>			
<b>J</b>						
Report Swatara to be	11	5	India Ahead—			
Several Letters—See, G.	7	7	East Africa—Deal not to	11	5	
Report of Gandhi to N. C. C. Programme	1111	4	India Overseas	11, 12	4	
Madras and Nita-Bandana	11111	2	Parade in the Empire	1111	2	
<b>K</b>						
Langra—The Answer	1	1	Germany	111	1	
Concept of Law	11	2	India—British Congress Committee and	11111	2	
Congress and Non-co-operation	1111	2	Johnston, Hugh	11	2	
Congress—For Labour	11111	1	Jungal—Madras In	1111	4	
Congress Constitution—The	111111	4	<b>K</b>			
Conrad Education	111111	1	Khalifa—			
Constitution—System in	1	2	Khalifa (Parliament of Turkey)	11	2	
Conditions—In	11111	2	Maroon Motion Demanded	11	2	
Costs of Law	11	2	A Question of Speeches	11	2	
Law—Practice	1111	2	Khalifa (The Leader Answered)	11	2	
<b>L</b>						
Legislation—British Law and F. J.	11	2	Speech at Bombay	11	2	
Law—General	1111	4	Violence, or Non-Violence	11	2	
Democracy vs. Autocracy	1111	4	Why I have Joined the Movement	111	2	
Some Illustrations	11111	2	Pravara Tappi	111	2	
Discipline—Necessity of	11111	2	Khalifa (Reply to Mr. Englishman)	111	2	
Our Late Time	111111	4	In Presence of Keeping	111	2	
Intelligence	111111	2	Some Questions Answered	111	2	
Depressed Classes	111111	2	Further Questions Answered	111	2	
and National College	111111	2	More Questions Answered	11111	4	
—'s Organisation and	111111	2	Prizeg Book	11	2	
—'s (New Education)	111111	2	Human Degeneration—A	11	2	
<b>E</b>						
Englishness in India—To Every	111111	1	Khalifa (On Mr. Gandhi's Letter)	111	2	
Englishness Reply—Two	1111111	7	Mahatma Depair	111	2	
English (Two Englishmen Answered)	1	2	Mahatma's Representation	1111	2	
<b>F</b>						
Fig. Indian Girls	111	2	Appeal to Young	1111	2	
Fig. ————Departments of Mr. Gandhi from	111	2	System of the British Standard	1111	2	
Fig. ————Training in	111111	2	Myself and Democracy	1111	2	
			More about the Mahatma	111	2	
			Khalifa's Answer	11111	2	
			Let of England	1111	2	
			Mr. Andrews' Difficulty	111	2	
			Mr. Hastings in Khalifa's Answer	111	2	
			A Novel Suggestion	111	2	
			Khalifa and Swatara	11111	2	
			London Speeches	11111, 111111	2	
			Khalifa—Our of	111	2	



Contents	No.	No. of Pages
<b>G</b>		
Congress—Adverse Resolutions in the	11	4
Congress—The Liberal Party and	7	4
Contempt of Court (Proceedings against Messrs. Gault and Dene)	7	4
Contempt of Court—Judgment	20	7
Christmas Day in Africa (C. F. Andrews)	20	7
Crises in China	20	7

<b>H</b>		
Depressed Classes and National Congress (C. F. Andrews)	22	2
Depressed Classes and Social Sympathy (E. A. Andrews)	22	2

<b>I</b>		
Education—		
Cost of Our Education	24	4
Ideal of Education—In India	101 & 112	4
Legal Education	222, 223	sup
The Decline of Mass Education—In India	112	4
Slaves or Subjects? (Princpal Gokhale)	112	4
Working Through Slaves	222, 223	4
Experiment in Education	222, 223	4
Indigenous Education	223	4
Immense Forces—Tread of	223, 224	4

<b>J</b>		
Japan — Great Britain in	27	4
Japan — Recent Developments in	27, 28	4
Japan Governor's Dispatch	27, 28	4
Japan Temporarily	27, 28, 29, 30	4
" " —Here About the (By E. A. Andrews)	27, 28	4
" " —There in	27, 28	4
Fiscal Autonomy	27, 28, 29, 30	4
French Economy—a Lesson from	27	4

<b>K</b>		
General—What is an Ideal (Swedish Serfdom)	33	7

<b>L</b>		
Home Rule and Home Defence	34	4

<b>M</b>		
Impartial Preference	37	4
Infant Welfare	41	4
Imperial Preference	37, 38 and 39	4
"India"—The Best Congress Committee in	37, 38	4
India—H. D. Wells on	37, 38	4
Indians Abroad—		
Address to Non-Resident Indians (C. F. Andrews)	37	4
Two Documents	37	4
Mr. Andrews' Memorandum Letter	37	4
British Opinion (H. S. & P. S.)	37	4
Collegiate Schools	37	4
Indians Abroad—on 3, 101 & 102, 103, 104	37	4
Indians in the Colonies (C. F. Andrews)	37, 38	4

Contents	No.	No. of Pages
Indians Abroad Continued—		
Anti-Indianism in New Zealand	37, 38	7
Race Prejudice in New Zealand	37, 38	4
Treatment of Indians Abroad	37, 38, 39	4
Indians in East Africa (C. F. Andrews)	37, 38, 39	7
Two Documents	37	4
Harrow Letter—See G	37	4
Indians in East Africa (C. F. Andrews)	37	4
Indians in East Africa—on 3, 101 & 102, 103, 104	37	4
Indian Association in East Africa East African Education (C. F. Andrews)	37, 38	4
Teachings in South Africa (Mr. Naudé's letter to Gen. Smuts)	37	4
Immigration to Fiji	37	4
Indian Immigration (Bishop of Polynesian Letter)	37	4
Indians in Fiji (Dr. Maudslayi)	37	4

<b>N</b>		
Nihilists—		
Syed Fakir Ahmad's Views	41	4
The Turkish Question	41	4
Nihilist Manifesto	41	4
Nihilist and The Common Revolution	41	4
Say Agitation in N. India	41	4
The New Stage (Work of Nihilist Revolution)	41	4
Noble Necessities	41	4
Nihilist Appeal to The Young Moral on Lat. August	41	4
A. Resignation	41	4
More About The Nihilists	41	4
The Publisher Incident	41	4
The Turkish Treaty (C. F. Andrews)	41	4
Outraging at the Border	41	4
Nihilism—For the Love of	41	4

<b>O</b>		
Order—India	41	4
Organic Reorganisation	41	4
Problems in Cases—Why N. A. (Lopez)	41	4
Law—The Professor of (John Jaynes Friend)	41	4
Law—(Ferdinand Muller, N. A.)	41	4

<b>P</b>		
Practical Education	41	4
Practical Education	41	4
Message of the Punjab (Swedish Serfdom)	41	4
Dr. Montagu and Mr. Maitland	41, 42	4

